HISTORY

OF

MUSLIM Civilisation

IN

INDIA & PAKISTAN.

Absidged & Edited by

Prof E.T. Embree.



ABOUT THE BOOK

This book was originally published in 1961 under the title, *History of Muslim Civilisation in India and Pakistan* and has remained a standard work for the period it covers. An abridged edition of the book, edited by Prof. E. T. Embree, was published by Columbia University Press, New York in 1964.

The book was accorded a very favourable reception in and outside Pakistan. Commendatory reviews appeared in several scholarly journals of international repute. Prof. Theodore Wright, reviewing the American version for the *Journal of Asian Studies* summed up his opinion by remarking, "S.M. Ikram has written the most lucid and impartial survey of Muslim Civilisation in the Indian sub-continent." Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams was equally appreciative in the *Journal of Royal Central Asian Society*, London.

The book has now been revised and considerably enlarged by the author.

may well appear to be so in the light of what has been written on the subject by Western historians—is only an attempt to uuderstand some leading personalities of Indo-Muslim history and write about them in the light of the material which was not available to the writers who had no access to Persian originals and whose approach was conditioned by what Elliot and Dowson had placed before them.

The present generation has been spared the distortions of Anglo-Indian historiography, but, as I stated in the Pr.face of the First Edition, it is exposed to the opposite danger of "romanticism". In a way this danger is universal and it may be useful to recall the wise words of Professor Bernard Lewis addressed to the Seminar on Teaching of History, held at Lahore in April, 1963 :-

> "We live in a time when great energies are devoted to the falsification of history—to flatter, to deceive, or to serve a variety of sectional purposes. No good can come out of such distortions, even when they are inspired by unselfish motives. Men who are unwilling to confront the past will be unable to understand the present, and unfit to face the future."

The danger is universal, but it is greatest in the new countries. In writing the history of Muslim India and Pakistan, where the balance has been so long tilted in one direction, the urge to go to the opposite extreme is naturally powerful. But this temptation has to be resisted, not only for the sake of historical truth and objectivity, but also to serve the real, abiding national interests.

In preparing the second edition of the fuller book, I have received valuable help from Dr. Peter Hardy, Reader in Indian History, London School of Oriental and African Studies, who spent a year at the Panjab University in 1964-65. In spite of our differences not only in general approach, but about individual writers like Barani, Dr. Hardy was kind enough to thoroughly revise the original version from the point of view of language, drew my attention to some debatable points and made many useful suggestions. Professor Shaikh 'Abdur Rashid, Head of the History Department, Panjab University, gave me similar help with regard to the first edition and also undertook to see the book through the press, but my gratitude to him is more general and extends over a number of years. When I was studying the subject for my Urdu books his vast library at 'Aligarh, consisting

not only of books but also of valuable manuscripts, theses and off-prints, was at my disposal during my frequent visits. He came to Lahore when his most active years were over, but it was always fruitful to discuss things with him and draw upon his rich store of knowledge and benefit by his ripe judgment. I gladly acknowledge this debt. This time the book is being seen through the press by Mr. Rafique Afzal, M. A., Research Officer, Research Society of Pakistan, to whom my thanks are due.

I have also to express my gratitude to Haji Mohammad Amin Bhatti, Proprietor of Star Book Depot. Publication of a voluminous book like this is not a minor undertaking. Haji Sahib took it up out of his interest in history—particularly the history of the Muslim people—and spared no expense in the process. Acknowledgement is also due to Mr. Muhammad Azam, M.A., LL.B., my former Private Secretary, who typed the lengthy additions incorporated in this version, and to Mr. M. Afzal Salim, M.A., the printer of the book.

10th July, 1966. S. M. IKRAM

NOTE

In spite of best efforts, some mistakes have crept in—partly owing to the author's absence abroad, while the book was in the press. More material of these has been listed below and may kindly be corrected before the study of the book.

28.12.1966. R. A.

CORRIGENDUM

P. 224, line 40 Add "their religion and the Hindus should follow their" in the beginning.

P. 295, line 31 should end with a full stop and not a comma. The first letter of the following word should be capitalised.

P. 301, omit the second para beginning with "It has etc."

P. 306, line 5, read "imposition" for "abolition".

P. 321, line 12, read "1637" for "1638."

P. 329, line 31, read "remind" for "remained"

P. 356, line 31, read "Gujari" for "Gujarati".

P. 365, line 15, read "father" for "grandfather".

P. 388, line 5, read "by Delhi Durbar" for "from Muhammad Shah".

P. 388, line 21, read "transferred to Multan" for "died".

P. 400, line 14, read "1799" for "1789".

P. 401, line 35, read "had" for "and".

P. 503, line 41, read "(Vol. II, p. 453)" for "(VII, p. 453)".

P. 517, line 16, add "not" at the end.

P. 552, line 36, add "occupied by Ghalib" after "times".

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This sketch of the political and cultural history of Muslim India has grown out of a course of lectures delivered at the Columbia University in 1953-54.

There are, in existence, two or three comparatively full accounts of Muslim rule in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but the present work is planned on somewhat different lines. It provides the basic details of political history, especially in so far as the different rulers made a more or less permanent impress on the course of events and their reigns affected general administrative policies and institutions, but the political history is only one of the many sectors covered in this book. Political activity is an important aspect of national life, and provides the basic framework within which other fields of human activity can be conveniently studied, but the glut of material on the subject provided by the court chroniclers has led the modern historians of Muslim India to concentrate on the politics and even petty details of the work of the individual rulers to the exclusion of more important aspects of national history. Even a perspicacious scholar like Stanely Lane-Poole observes:

> "*The history of the Muhammadan Period is therefore necessarily more a chronicle of kings and courts and conquests than of organic or national growth*".

This has been sought to be avoided in the following pages. In addition to the political narrative which furnishes the essential background, the book gives an account of the cultural developments, the changes in political philosophy and institutions, the rise of Indo-Muslim law, and above all, those religious and intellectual movements which in the long run proved more powerful than the mighty rulers.

The general features of the cultural, administrative, social and economic history have been outlined in separate chapters, but the developments in these fields which were closely associated with any particular period or regime have been summarised along with the political narrative of that period.

Apart from a general broadening of the scope and a greater

emphasis on social and cultural history, certain other considerations have also been kept in view. The approach, for one thing, has been more "practical" than is usual in the subcontinent. In the course of my work at Columbia, I was forcefully impressed by the view, more generally accepted in the American than in the British or Commonwealth universities, that the primary utility of the study of the past is in the understanding which it affords of the present. Study of history can be a good intellectual discipline and a fascinating pursuit, but its real usefulness consists in the manner in which it illuminates the present in the light of the past. Hence, while treating different periods and events, attention has been concentrated on those developments in the past which provide a link with the present. Episodes like the conquest, loss and reconquest of forts like Ranthambhor, the palace intrigues and the ephemeral, ineffectual conflicts on which the older histories dwelt at such length have been treated very summarily. An attempt has also been made to give a fuller background of events relating to the areas which have recently gained in importance. For example, there is no doubt that the history of Oudh, of Gujarat, of Malwa, of the Bahmani Kingdom and the succession states can easily be made more interesting—simply because of the availability of larger material—than that of the Punjab, Bengal and Sind, but the importance of a study of the Muslim tradition in the latter areas is obviously greater than in the regions where Muslims built up great kingdoms, but owing to the play of bigger forces their work has been submerged by other traditions. Special attention has, therefore, been given in this book to the treatment of the areas, like Muslim Bengal, which have gained in importance with the birth of Pakistan, and which did not receive adequate attention in the old historical works.

This narrative naturally involves going over the past, but the ground has been covered, so to say, "facing forward". The interest in the happenings of the past is on account of their contribution to the making of the present. This has been constantly kept in view, and has incidentally led to devotion of greater space to the political and cultural developments in the Eighteenth Century than is customary. It was a period of transition and confusion, but modern Muslim India is more closely rooted in the Eighteenth Century than in the palmy days of the Grand Mughals, and the present cannot be understood without a satisfactory study

of the period which saw the rise of Urdu and the systematisation of the local Islamic tradition by Shah Wali-Ullah.

Greater attention has also been given to the developments in the neighbouring Muslim countries than was done in the histories written during the British period. Not only is this desirable in view of the growing closer contacts between the people of different parts of the world, but such study is also useful in understanding the course of events within the subcontinent.

Every writer dealing with the Muslim rule has to give some thought to the date of the close of the period. The British replacement of the Mughals was a slow and gradual process, extending over a century. The newcomers did not attack the trunk first, but cut off the branches, and the determination of the stage at which they may be taken to have acquired Indian hegemony is a question, on which opinions differ. In the past, however, there was less difference of opinion than exists at present. Keene, for example, had no hesitation in fixing the fall of the Mughal Empire with the British occupation of Delhi in 1803. Even some years before this, the Mughal emperor was practically a pensioner under the control of Sindhia, but as Keene pointed out, that was a phase which may or may not have lasted and in any case, the Mughal Emperor had formally conferred power on the Maratha chief. The position was somewhat different with Lord Lake, though he also observed the courtesies traditionally paid to the Mughal King.

We agree with Keene, but for practical reasons have ended our narrative not at 1803, but in 1858, when the last Mughal emperor was exiled from Delhi. The period between these two dates is one of interregnum described in that happy phrase, "The Twilight of the Mughals", by Dr. Percival Spear. With the overthrow of Sultan Tipu in 1799 in the South, and a few years later, of Sindhia in the North, the British overlordship of the subcontinent was secure. Owing to their deliberate policy of slow and gradual extension of power, however, they did not exercise full power of sovereignty even at this stage. Till 1833, the coins were issued in the name of the Mughal emperor and in 1827, the meeting between Akbar Shah II and the British governor-general had to be abandoned, as the Mughal emperor refused to acknowledge the governor-general as his equal, wanted him to present a

nazar, and refused to give him a chair on the same platform on which he himself was to take a seat. Large areas of the country were yet outside the British control in 1803. Sind was not occupied till 1843. Punjab, Kashmir and the north-western areas remained outside the British influence till 1848-49 and Oudh was not annexed till 1854.

In selecting 1858 as the date at which to close our narrative we have also been guided by more practical considerations. In a subsequent volume we propose to deal with the developments in modern Muslim India and the rise of Pakistan, which can best be studied from 1858 onwards. To secure continuity of narrative and to leave no substantial period uncovered, it has, therefore, been thought desirable to deal with the major developments concerning Muslim political and cultural history till 1858.

This book has been completed during a period of long leave (1953-55) and my second visit to Columbia in 1958, but material for it has been gathered and published, mainly in Urdu, over a number of years. My religious history of Muslim India (Urdu) which originally appeared in two medium sized volumes in 1940 has now grown to three bulky books. It was written by a layman for the laymen, but being the first study of the subject, was adopted as a text-book by a number of Universities in the subcontinent and at the Islamic Research Institute, Mcgill University. *Armughan-i-Pak*, an anthology of Persian poetry, the main literary expression of the Muslim period, was first issued in 1949, and has been recently followed up by *Darbar-i-Milli*, a sort of source-book of Indo-Muslim history containing original excerpts from contemporary Persian accounts. A work on the *Cultural Heritage of Pakistan* dealing, as was explained in the Preface, very largly with the heritage of Muslim India and containing numerous chapters by the present writer, was edited in collaboration with Professor Spear in 1955. My Urdu studies of Ghalib and Shibli, and the pseudonymous book on *Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India* [An enlarged edition has recently appeared under the title, *Modern Muslim India and the Birth of Pakistan*] are also concerned with the Muslim tradition and activity in the subcontinent, though they deal with a more recent period. No effort has been spared to study the original Persian source-material, and as the readers of my Urdu books would have noticed, some of it, relating to religious and cultural history, was used first

by me, but as the copious references and quotations will show, full advantage has also been taken of recent researches in the subject. As a matter of fact, quotations from other works are more numerous than I would have liked, but such misconceptions regarding the Muslim performance in the subcontinent have become generally current, that a statement of the correct position had to be adequately documented and supported.

My basic draft was completed some time ago, but it needed a thorough revision and the preparation of the manuscript for the press, for which I lacked the necessary leisure. I have, therefore, taken advantage of the presence in Lahore of Professor S. A. Rashid, Director of Historical Research, Panjab University, Lahore and former Professor and Head of the Department of History, Muslim University, ʻAligarh. He very kindly undertook to examine and revise the text, check dates, references and transliteration of names and Oriental terms, compile an index, get the maps prepared, and see the book through the press. My deep gratitude is due to him as well as to Dr. P. Hardy of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, who saw the draft at one stage and made valuable suggestions. I also acknowledge, with thanks, a grant made by the Rockefeller Foundation to the Columbia University, which enabled me to visit libraries in England and India and obtain copies of the material needed by me. Acknowledgements are also due, for help received during the printing of the book, to Qazi Mahmud-ul-Haq, M. A., Research Scholar, M. Muhammad Azam, M.A., Haji Muhammad Amin Bhatti, the publisher and Mr. Shan Ilahi, the printer of book.

September 10, 1961 S. M. IKRAM
2—Club Road, Lahore.

P. S. References to citations in the text, except those relating to the preliminary chapter on Historiography, are given at the end of the book. The footnotes, containing additional information or comments are given on the page to which they relate.

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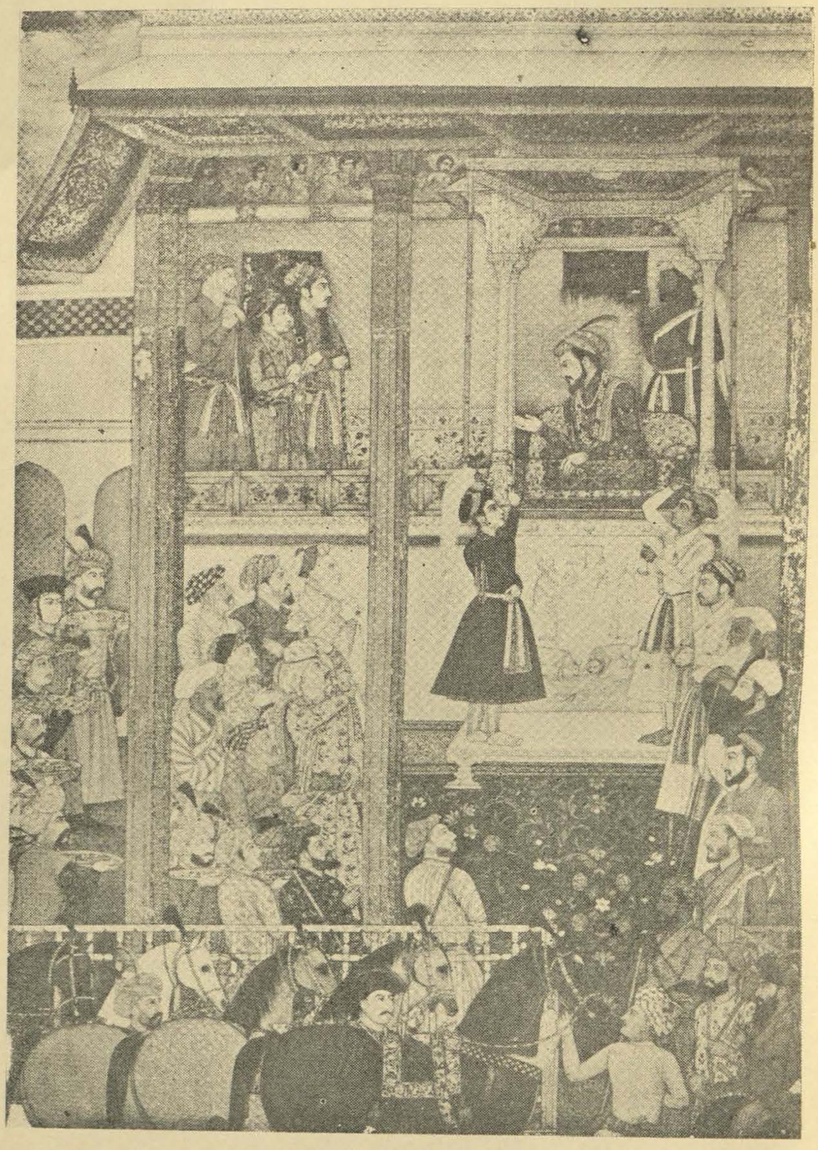
BOOK II

THE MUGHAL PERIOD

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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Shah Jahan receiving a Persian Embassy

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MUSLIM INDIA

Modern historical literature pertaining to Muslim India makes melancholy reading. The story is so full of stirring incidents and picturesque personalities, and has attracted such talented writers (Elphinstone, Lane-poole, and Laurence Binyon, to name only a few), that it is interesting to read, but if the object of the study of history is to know and understand a people, to learn about their ideas, institutions and movements, or even to have a true understanding of leading characters, the historical literature produced during the last hundred years proves. The relevant volumes of the *Cambridge History of India* represent the high watermark of Anglo-Indian scholarship during this period, but not without justification does Wilfred Cantwell Smith bemoan their narrow approach. "It is nothing short of ridiculous that the large Cambridge History of India's Volume, "The Mughal Period," should not so much as mention either Tulsi Das (surely one of the most influential poets in the history of mankind......) or Virji Vora (at the time "reputed to be the richest merchant in the world"), or Imam Rabbani (the Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani)."[a]

The modern study of Muslim India, really, began with Sir Henry Elliot, who undertook to make available in English selected portions of the native historical works written during Muslim rule. It was an ambitious undertaking, and one cannot but admire the grand project, to the implementation of which Elliot brought extraordinary industry, resourcefulness and perseverance. He utilised all the influence he possessed as Secretary to the Government of India to trace and procure rare and in many cases, little-known manuscripts of various historical works. His strenuous

(*a*) *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad (1944), p. 349. Dr. Smith has possibly not noticed that Prof. Beni Prasad, who got a Ph. D. from London University for a special study of Jahangir's period, writes about Imam Rabbani's *Maktubat* : "My inquiries after Shaikh Ahmad's book have proved futile." [*Vide*, Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir* (First Edition), p. 337). When the learned Professor wrote these lines, at least a dozen editions of Shaikh Ahmad's epoch-making book, both in Persian and in translation, and summaries of the same, had already appeared and were widely read.

labours—coupled possibly with some basic physical deficiency—sent him to an early grave, but with the accumulation of the basic material and the preliminary work which he had already completed, and above all, with the assumption by the Government of India of the responsibility for financing the ambitious scheme, its implementation was assured. The work was carried on, after Elliot's death, by Professor Dowson, and between 1867 and 1877, eight bulky volumes of *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians* were published.

The publication of this work ushered a new era in Indo-Muslim historiography. It brought within the reach of Englishmen and other English-knowing scholars, material which was hitherto available only in Persian and Arabic, and laid the basis of modern Indo-Muslim historical studies. The importance of Elliot's work and the influence it has exercised on generations of historians during the last century is too obvious to need any emphasis, but unluckily, the project was conceived in a spirit and completed in a manner, which has seriously detracted from its worth, and has impaired the value of all works depending wholly or largely on this source-material. The editor leaves no doubt that the main object of his undertaking was to show the deficiencies of Muslim rule, and thereby bring into relief the benefits of the British administration. In the "Original Preface", Sir Henry Elliot says about his selections :

> "They will make our native subjects more sensible of immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule......We should no longer hear bombastic *babus*, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position".[1]

Sir Henry Elliot's work in opening up the source-material of Indo-Muslim history to Western scholarship is of such an epoch-making character, and he accomplished it with so much zeal and self-sacrificing devotion, that one would like to think well of him and believe that the cynical and utilitarian considerations mentioned by him were to soften the resistance of a "tight-purse" Finance Department to the approval of his scheme, but unluckily this is not so. Elliot leaves no doubt about his personal bias and motivation. Apart from the Preface, in which he has spelt out,

in great detail, the considerations underlying his historical method, even in the notes and appendices to the first volume of the series, which alone he was able to complete, he points out how "expedient" it is that the darker side of the Muslim rule "should be often brought back to remembrance" to silence "the inhabitants of modern India as well as our clamorous demagogues at home".[2]

Equally revealing of Sir Henry Elliot's attitude (and of the balanced, non-communal writing of Indo-Muslim history, prior to his day) [(b)] are his remarks criticising the Hindu historians of the Mughal period for adopting the same style and conventions as the Muslims. "He [*i. e.*, the Hindu historian] usually opens with 'Bismillah' and the ordinary profession of faith in the unity of God-head, followed by laudation of the holy prophet, his disciples and descendants, and indulges in all the most devout and orthodox attestations of Muhammadans".[3] He was even more angry with the Hindu historians of the British period for not reviling the Muslims and dropped more than a general hint as to what they should do. "Even at a later period, when no longer *Tiberi ac Neronis res ob metum falsal,* there is not one of this slavish crew who treats the history of his native country subjectively, or presents us with the thoughts, emotions and raptures which a long oppressed race might be supposed to give vent to, when freed from the tyranny of its former masters, and allowed to express itself in the natural language of the hearts, without restraint and without adulation."[4]

The inevitable result of Sir Henry Elliot's basic approach is not hard to see. The manner in which portions from various historical works were selected and translated, further affected the worth of the compilation. So numerous mistakes were committed through insufficient knowledge of the original language and the defective reading of the manuscripts, that Professor Hodiwala had to bring out a bulky volume to correct these errors. These, however, were *bona fide* mistakes, inevitable in such an ambitious

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(*b*) This did not apply only to Hindu historians. It would be interesting to quote what Sir Charles Philips, Director of School of Oriental and African Studies has to say about the work of Elliot and Elphinstone. "Elliot poured as great scorn on Muhammadan Government in India as Mill has done on the Hindu ; in the process pushing into the background the more sober, more sympathetic, and objective interpretation of Elphinstone" (*Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon,* edited by C. H. Philips, p. 226).

undertaking. Equally serious defects arose on account of the method adopted in translation. These translations were purposely made too literal. "The versions are inelegant, as in order to show the nature of the original they keep as close to it as possible." The metaphors, the hyperboles and figurative expressions of the original language, which nobody acquainted with Persian would think of taking literally, were transferred into a foreign language, with a completely different genius and idiom. The result was that what was straightforward narrative in Persian, became quaint in a foreign garb, and what was only a silly mannerism in the original, appeared now to involve moral turpitude.

What was even more serious was that only excerpts dealing with political events and endless wars were selected for publication. Work which had a bearing on the cultural, literary, religious, and administrative history were ignored. This seems to have been done deliberately and as a matter of policy. Dr K.M. Ashraf, who has examined the Elliot papers in the British Museum Library, says that Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Nawab Zia-ud-din had collected historical material of every type including extracts dealing with "arts and sciences, tales and romances, poetry, table-talk of the saints, travel, ethics, biography, politics, but Elliot selected only that material for inclusion in his book, which was useful from the imperial point of view."[5] The result was that not only the original compilation, but the work of those writers, who through ignorance of Persian, had to depend on Elliot and Dowson's work contained little beyond a catalogue of war and endless slaughter.

The result of the new influences and considerations introduced by Sir Henry Elliot into the study of the past becomes clear, if we compare earlier works like Elphinstone's *History of India* with Vincent Smith's *Oxford History of India,* which may be regarded as the culmination of the new historical school. Smith combined a prodigious industry with a blatant lack of scholarly detachment and objectivity. He went farther than Elliot and Dowson, and utilised the accounts of European travellers and the Jesuit missionaries to lend colour and paint to his story, but the treatment followed lines advocated by Elliot, and was calculated to attain the same objectives. Smith's work, with all its faults, has some redeeming features. The same could not be said about

others—the Lethbridges and the Marsdens—who wrote for Indian schools. Indeed such was the trend of the writings of those who had drawn upon Elliot and Dowson for their material and had followed their approach, that Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, who was for long the Head of the History Department of the Delhi University, said about the results of their efforts, "...Schoolboys were taught text-books which from every piont of view were libels on the noble art of history."[6]

The effect of the admittedly political aims pursued by Elliot and Dowson becomes apparent, if the works based on their selections are compared with the studies of those Western scholars, who had a different material to work upon. In recent years, there have been some excellent accounts of the fine arts, mainly paintings and architecture of Muslim India, by scholars like Fergusson. Sir Thomas Arnold, Laurence Binyon, Goetz, and Percy Brown. Their studies are not mere catalogues of names or formal descriptions of the objects they deal with. The authors have tried to see in these creative works the vision and skill of the men behind them and the civilisation which they reflect. And how different in understanding and assessment is their picture from what emerges from the pages of the *Oxford History of India* !

On the questions of the narrowing of the scope of historical studies, by leading Anglo-Indian historians, it would be fruitful to quote at length from Dr. Wilfred C. Smith :

> "The study of history, during the past fifty or a hundred years, has been undergoing a revolution ; one as profound and as far-reaching as the Baconian revolution in the study of the natural sciences. The question need not yet be answered whether or not the new history is a science. At least all will admit that it is interested in a great deal more than kings, court annals, and military tactics. Modern historians are social-minded, and dynamically minded. They concern themselves with culture, the life of the people, the methods of production ; and above all with the basic processes of transformation in a country's life, and the casual interrelation of specific events with broad developments. But in general this revolution in the study of history has not yet hit India, or indeed the study of Oriental development at all. In fact by some it has been deliberately resisted. Vincent Smith, the Oxford historian of India, after quoting

The weaknesses of Indian historiography were aggravated by the method and objectives adopted by Elliot and Dowson, but there is no doubt that the chronicles, which they set out to summarise and translate greatly contributed to these defects. These chronicles may be, as Dodwell thought, "better than anything in contemporary Europe" but they suffered from very serious handicaps. Many of the authors were in the service of the state and only saw things through the eyes of their royal patrons. They concentrated on items of interest to the court, and tried to justify and praise their patrons in every possible way. They rarely mentioned the defects and reverses suffered by the Muslim kings, and often attributed to religious or public zeal, campaigns undertaken for sheer self-aggrandisement. These defects are common to court chronicles in general and are a marked feature of the Persian chronicles in particular, but in Muslim India, where historians represented a group living in the midst of a large antagonistic non-Muslim population, the tendency was greaty reinforced.

The attempts made by the court chroniclers to establish the extreme orthodoxy of Muslim monarchs often take ludicrous and even morbid forms. Panikkar has thus warned us at length about the historians of the Sultanate period: "We shall get a very inaccurate and altogether false view of the situation of the Hindus during the first period of Islamic Empire in Hindustan (1210-1370) if we depend on the court chroniclers and annalists of Delhi. Historians like Barani were primarily anxious to picture their heroes as the patterns of Islamic orthodoxy and virtue."[7] Haig repeated the same warning about the assessment of the accounts of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, but in this respect the Mughal historians were not very different. Although instances of actual misstatements would be hard to find in their pages, as in the writings of the Sultanate period, yet they had a distinct point of view, which coloured their interpretation of events, and even the inclusion or omission of information. Aurangzeb, for example, attempted to suppress *Sati* amongst the Hindus. European travellers of the period mention this, and accounts of the royal orders received by the provincial officers confirm their statements. It was an important measure, but the chroniclers, unwilling to attribute to Aurangzeb any solicitude for the Hindus, omit all references to this order. Even more selective is the author of *Padshah Nama*, the court history of Shah Jahan's reign. It deals at length with the

developments of arts under Shah Jahan and contains long notices of his building activity at Delhi and Agra, but as Dr. Saksena notes, there is "curiously enough no mention of painting, which also reached the highest perfection during his reign." Similarly, although Shah Jahan patronised a number of Hindu scholars, and in fact had a Hindi poet-laureate at his court, "there is not a single Hindu name included in the list of poets, scholars, etc.," attached to *Padshah Nama*. In the same way, although the court historian of Shah Jahan had so much to say about Dara Shukoh, the king's favourite son and heir-apparent, he is "so silent on the literary and spiritual life" of the prince. The reasons are obvious. The historians, or men like Sa'dullah Khan and Fazil Khan, who "vetted" the text, were so keen to give an impression of the emperor's orthodoxy that they omitted these important details. Their account can, therefore, hardly be considered a complete picture, and shows how much one has to be on one's guard in making use of the works of the court historians.

Muslim chronicles leave such gaps in the story and adopt such a peculiar approach in their annals that the value of what little is available from the Hindu sources is greatly enhanced. Lately, with the study of Hindu inscriptions, tribal ballads, works in Sanskrit and regional languages and historical accounts of Hindu sects (like the Jains, the Vaishanavas and the Sikhs) much material has been scrapped together, which gives the Hindu side of the picture. This material, except for many valuable works in Persian by Hindu writers, is not historical in a formal sense and is often vague and occasionally full of visible inaccuracies, but its sifting and careful analysis is yielding fruitful results. Curiously enough, these sources indicate a much healthier state of Indian society during the Middle Ages than is depicted in the Muslim chronicles. Of course, it would not be reasonable to expect perfect peace and tranquillity in those harsh times, but it is pleasing to turn from the endless wars and slaughters of the Persian chronicles to the inscription on the old *baoli* at Palam (near Delhi), indicative of the prosperity of the Hindu and of the love for justice of the reigning monarch, Balban,[8] or to read in Jain chronicles as to how well their religious leaders were treated by Muhammad Tughluq or the temple grants made by Aurangzeb and Tipu Sultan. Even the Sikh accounts of the relations of *gurus* with the Mughal emperors show the Mughals in a more

humane light than the 'rhapsodies' of the court chronicles trying to prove that even the easy-going Jahangir was waging an endless holy war for the extirpation of the infidels !

Some use has been made of the material from the Hindu sources, especially in so far as it has a bearing on political history. It is, however, yet to be recognised that this material and even the vast literature relating to the Hindu *bhagats* and the Hindu religious history can occasionally throw useful light on the cultural and religious history of Muslim India. The dangers inherent in the process are obvious. Even Muslim Sufi literature is full of forgeries and pious frauds. The position is worse with the *Bhakti* literature, the product of a society, which did not have a well-developed historical tradition. Muslims and Hindus were, however, not living in completely water-tight compartments during the Muslim period, and the Hindu religious literature occasionally yields items of information of considerable value to the historian of Muslim society. This is particularly the case with regard to Muslim Bengal, of which the cultural and even political history is more difficult to reconstruct, and for which very limited contemporary information is available from Muslim sources. In this situation a student of history has to tap all possible sources and the search in the Hindu biographical literature is not always unrewarding. For example, it is from Vaishnava sources that we learn that in the fifteenth century there were celebrated teachers of Persian and Arabic at Satgaon (like Sayyid Fakhr-ud-din) and that Vaishnava leaders, Rupa and Sanatana were proficient in Persian and originally occupied important posts at the Muslim court of Gaur.[9] Similarly the Sikh *Adi Granth* compiled by Guru Anged in the sixteenth century contains a wealth of material on linguistic and literary history of the period, and contains amongst other things some more authentic composition of Shaikh Farid and Kabir.

Some illuminating books have appeared from the pen of modern Hindu historians, particularly those who knew Persian and had direct access to the original sources. Tripathi's *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, is a masterly study of the Sultanate. Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, although incomplete is another classic of Indian history. Similarly Saran's *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, Topa's, *Society and Kingship in Medieval India*, Khosla's *Mughal Kingship and Nobility* and

studies of Jahangir and Shah Jahan by Beni Prasad and Banarsi Prasad Saksena, greatly add to our knowledge and understanding. Amongst shorter histories, Tara Chand's *History of the Indian People*, and Panikkar's brilliant *Survey of Indian History*, are eminently objective and fair. It is, however, doubtful whether this high level of objectivity and understanding will be maintained in future. Apart from the bitterness created by recent political controversies, where are the successors of those Kayasths and Kashmiri Brahmans, who knew Persian, like a mother-tongue, and had a complete mastery of the original source-material ? Future generations, increasingly ignorant of Persian, will have to depend more and more on Elliot and Dowson, and their studies will be limited and coloured by the material, which its editors have selected and arranged for them.

Nor is there much hope at present that the modern Muslim historian, with better access to the Persian originals, will be able to fill the gap. Books based on Elliot and Dowson and written with similar objectives have been so markedly unfair to the Muslim rulers of India and have led to sucha revulsion of feelings that a defensive reaction has set in and the modern Muslim historians, particularly those writing in Urdu, have often adopted an attitude which would have shocked Khafi Khan and the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. The current trend is to consider all Muslim monarchs as infallible, particularly in the proportion in which they were maligned by the Anglo-Indian historians. Shibli, with his brilliant essays on Aurangzeb, led the way in this direction. There is a fair case for redressing the balance unfairly upset. At any rate, there is every need for collecting as much data as possible, and viewing events in their proper perspective and interpreting them with understanding, and intelligence. It is also reasonable to hold that a proper history of Muslim India, or of any people, can only be written or even grasped, with that degree of positive understanding, to say nothing of complete elimination of all conscious or unconscious hostility which, for example, Trevelyan displays in the writing of British history or Allan Nevins in his account of the U. S. A. The purpose and method of Sir Henry Elliot or Vincent Smith have no place in scientific historiography, but many Muslim historians, especially those writing in Urdu, are inclined to swing the pendulum to the other extreme. The tendency, for example, to consider

Mahmud of Ghazna and Aurangzeb as infallible is being carried to pathetic limits. Both were very great men, but it is not possible to hold that either their policies were perfect, without ignoring vital facts and doing violence to truth.

Romanticism is not history. What makes it dangerous is that historical phenomena have a tendency to reappear in a slightly altered garb. History often repeats itself, and if we learn to see the past happenings through coloured glasses, we also miss the true shapes of things around us. Let us take, for example, Aurangzeb's fiscal policy of remitting all taxes not authorised by the *Shari'a,* or the basic question of the place of ecclesiastical ideas in the ordering of government. These questions are live issues in Pakistan today, and if no lessons are learnt from the true facts of history, and old attitudes are repeated, the consequence must follow a similar pattern.

Another major handicap of Urdu historians has been their reluctance to utilise the material coming from contemporary Western sources—the accounts of Jesuit Fathers, European travellers and Factory officials. These Western writers were often ignorant of the local language and usage, and "howlers" contained in their books are numerous and well-known. The language used by many—especially the Jesuit Fathers—about Islam and its founder is so offensive that their books are not pleasant reading for a Muslim. Patience and direction are needed in the use of this material, and its limitations have been pointed out, among others, by Sarkar, Tara Chand and Saran, but it is a serious loss to ignore it completely. Much of this material is based on bazar rumours or comes from an obviously prejudiced source, but its judicious and careful study can help in filling many important gaps left by the court chronicles, and indeed a true, complete and comprehensive history of the later part of the Mughal period cannot be written without a judicious use of this material.

In Pakistan the promotion of historical studies is faced with peculiar problems. In West Pakistan a good knowledge of Persian is not scarce, but apart from the dearth of the trained historian of the requisite stature, where are the libraries and the original source-material ?

The outlook for Indo-Muslim historiography is bleak indeed but there are a few glimmers of hope. For one thing, one may hope that the most blatant manifestations of the Elliot tradition

are a thing of the past. It will die hard, especially as so much later work has been built upon the foundation provided by Sir Henry Elliot, and even now the students, who do not know Persian have to operate within this framework. To some extent, the tradition may even represent a basic Western approach towards Islam and Muslims, and not merely an Imperial policy. It has to be remembered that the failure to understand and properly assess the Muslim performance in the Indo-Pak. subcontinent is paralleled by the more general European inability to make a just appraisal of Islam.[d] Even in the sphere of political historiography, the failure of Western scholarship to properly assess events in Muslim countries has been, at least in some cases, very marked. We would only quote from Lord Eversely, the well-known author of *The Turkish Empire*. He writes in the Preface of his book:

> "I will only add that I commenced my studies under the impressions derived in part from the common tradition in Western Europe—dating probably from the time of Crusades—that the Turkish invasions and conquests in Europe were impelled by religious zeal and fervour and by the desire to spread Islam. I have ended them with the conviction that there was no missionary zeal whether for Islam in the Turkish armies and their leaders."

The existence of precisely the same type of impressions and beliefs about Muslim Turkey—now discovered to be false even by Western scholars—as have been created by the Anglo-Indian historians regarding Muslim India would show how widespread has been the failure of Western "scholarship" to make a proper appraisal of Islam and Muslims and Eversely's remarks indicate how deep-rooted are the causes of this misunderstanding.

With this background it is difficult to be optimistic. The tradition of Elliot and Smith may survive, and only take subtler forms, but its political basis has disappeared, and let us have faith in human fairness and the forces of progress, and at any rate not miss such encouraging signs as are visible on the horizon.

For one thing, it is being generally recognised that the past study of Muslim India has been in very narrow ruts and that this was due, at any rate, partly to what Dr. Hardy calls "contempo-

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(*d*) Those who are interested in knowing how wide of truth Europe has been in assessing Islam and its founder may see Bosworth Smith's *Muhammad and Muhammadanism*, pp. 63-69 and more recent studies of Hitti and Daniel.

rary political interest or political pride"[10] animating many British historians since Elliot's day. One may hope that a realisation of the deficiencies of the past would lead to some improvement in the future.

It has also to be recognised that whatever the shortcomings of the modern Indo-Muslim historiography, an immense amount of work has been done in determining the main course of political events, in locating the source-material of various types and in training a large body of Indian and Pakistani students and scholars in historical method. The preparatory work, for which gratitude is due to Sir Henry Elliot and a large number of British historians and teachers, should prove of great value to the future student, and his task should not be so difficult.

Latest developments indicate that there has already been some broadening of interest. Much of this was originally in Urdu and was the work of Indian Muslim and Pakistani scholars—especially in the field of religious and literary history. When the present writer published the first edition of his *Ab-i-Kausar* and *Mauj-i-Kausar* in 1940, the religious history was, broadly speaking, a virgin field. This is no longer the position, and although the sifting and systemisation has yet to take place, enough new material has been brought up during the last quarter of a century as to provide adequate basis for a new discipline. Valuable new material is being published (*e.g.* by institutions like Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore and the Sindhi Adabi Board) regarding the regions now constituting Pakistan. At Muslim University, 'Aligarh, which apart from Shibli Academy A'zamgarh is likely to form the principal centre of work in India, the drift is from political to cultural history.

It even appears that the new world will assist in redressing the balance of the old. The American Universities have not, in the past, seriously interested themselves in the history of Indian Islam, and without the wealth of manuscript material available in the British Museum, India Office and some Indian libraries, are not very well-equipped for the task. They are, however, untrammelled by the factors limiting the range of historical studies elsewhere and it is not without significance that although the British Universities are only now beginning to enlarge their scope of studies, a course in the history of Muslim civilisation in India was started at the Columbia University of New York as early as

1953-54.

Another encouraging development is the increasing collaboration between Western and Eastern scholars. Here again the American Universities have led the way, but in Great Britain also a beginning is being made and one may hope that this collaboration of the Eastern and the Western scholars will result in taking the history of Muslim India out of the narrow ruts into which it has fallen since the days of Sir Henry Elliot.

Book I

THE SULTANATE PERIOD

CHAPTER I

THE ARABS AND THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUBCONTINENT.

CHRONOLOGY

	Birth of the Holy Prophet.	570
	Hijrah.	622
	Death of the Holy Prophet.	632
	Arab Conquest of Debul, Nirun & Brahmanabad.	712
	Brahmanabad Settlement.	713
	Arab Conquest of Multan.	713
	The Abbasids replace the Umayyads.	750
	Delegation of Indo-Pakistani scholars at Baghdad.	771
Circa	Arabs in Malabar.	825
	Sind and Multan virtually independent of Baghdad.	871

The Background.

Contacts between the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the Arabian peninsula date from ancient times. The coasts of Sind and Southern Arabia are so near, that growth of close commercial relations between the two was inevitable. Since time immemorial, spices and other articles of "the Indies" have been in great demand in Egypt and the countries of Southern Europe. The transit trade between these areas was mostly in the hands of the Arabs, who used to carry Indian merchandise from the Indian ports to Yemen in Southern Arabia, from where the goods were carried by land to the Syrian ports to be shipped again to Egypt and Europe. This trade continued after the Arabs had embraced Islam and the first major conflict between the peoples of the Indian subcontinent and Muslim Arabia arose out of developments connected with the Arab sailors plying in the Indian Ocean. They operated as far as Ceylon and even farther, and when some of them died in that island, the local ruler thought it expedient to send their widows and orphans to Arabia, with gifts and letters of goodwill for Hajjaj (661-714), the powerful viceroy of the eastern provinces of the Umayyad empire. Unfavourable winds drove the vessels

carrying the gifts and the survivors close to the shores on Debul (an inland port near modern Karachi). Here pirates attacked them, plundered the gifts and took the Muslim women and children as captives. Hajjaj, on learning of this, protested to Dahir, the ruler of Sind (669-712), and demanded the release of the prisoners and restoration of the booty, but he received an evasive reply. This enraged Hajjaj, famous in Arab history as much for his severity as for his administrative ability, and he persuaded the unwilling *Khalifa* to authorise punitive measures against Dahir.

Conflict between the Arabs and the ruler of Sind started on account of this 'incident', but it is doubtful if drastic action would have been taken but for the fact that under the redoubtable Hajjaj, the Arabs were starting on the second phase of their expansion in the eastern direction. In the period of their early brilliant victories in Iraq, Syria, Iran and Egypt, some adventurous Arabs had led "probing expeditions" to the Indian coast, but a vast sea separated it from the Arab mainland, and Caliph Umar and his successors firmly discouraged such ventures. Even the overland reconaissance of the border of Sind did not reveal alluring prospects. The Arabs, therefore, lost interest in the subcontinent, except for occasional frontier raids between Makran which was included in Sind, and Sistan which was then under the Muslims. The situation changed when in 694 Hajjaj entered on his long tenure (694-714) of the viceroyalty of Iraq, Iran and other eastern territories. He is one of the most controversial figures in Muslim history, and though he is condemned for his cruelty and persecution of the Banu Hashim, even his critics have to admit his great administrative ability. He strengthened the administration, inspired his officers with a new zeal, and initiated a strong line in dealing with his non-Muslim neighbours. Some of his Arab enemies had escaped and taken service with the ruler of Sind, and this might have been an additional reason for his anxiety to deal firmly with Dahir.

The first two expeditions sent against Dahir ended in failure.

Conquest of Sind.

Next, Hajjaj sent a picked body of soldiers under the command of his son-in-law, Muhammad bin Qasim. The Arab general with 6,000 horsemen, a camel corps of equal strength and a baggage train of 3,000 camels marched against Debul by way of Shiraz and through

Makran. He received reinforcements on the way and in the autumn of 711 appeared before Debul. Hajjaj, who had made very thorough preparations, sent by sea the siege artillery, including a huge balista, affectionately called al-'Arus, "the Bride," which was so big as to be worked by 500 men. Debul was protected by strong stone fortifications and the garrison offered a stiff resistance, but ultimately the fort was captured and the Muslim flag was hoisted for the first time on the soil of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Dahir made light of the fall of Debul as a mere commercial town, and made plans to give battle before the strong fortress of Brahmanabad. The Arab general after accepting the surrender of Nirun (near modern Hyderabad) and Sehwan moved in 712 to the place where Dahir had mustered his army on the other side of the Indus. A decisive encounter did not occur for several months, owing to the difficulties confronting the Arabs —the bigger forces assembled by Dahir, an epidemic of scurvy among the Arab troops and the sickness among the horses. Hajjaj sent reinforcements, but perhaps even more valuable, was the assistance he rendered in dealing with the scurvy. He sent a large supply of vinegar, which was transported in a manner that illustrates the resourcefulness of the early Arabs. Cotton was soaked in thick concentrated vinegar and dried. This operation was repeated until the cotton could hold no more liquid and was sent to Sind, where the vinegar was extracted by soaking the cotton in water. With this supply of vinegar, scurvy was brought under control and in the extreme heat of June, 712, the Arabs crossed the river and faced Dahir's army. The battle was fought with great vigour on both sides, but the superior Arab generalship and the skill of the Arab archers gave them the victory. Dahir lost his life on the battlefield, and with his death the Hindu army lost heart and fled from the field. Muhammad bin Qasim captured Brahmanabad, married Rani Ladi, widow of Dahir, and became the master of lower Sind.

The Arab general spent time in organising the administration of the conquered area, and on October 9, started for Aror (near modern Rohri), which was the capital of Dahir and was now held by one of his sons. After a brief siege, the town surrendered and soon Muhammad bin Qasim proceeded to complete the conquest of upper Sind. He next turned towards Multan.

The city was well-fortified, and resisted capture for two months, but a deserter brought information about a stream which supplied water to the city, and by diverting it the Arabs were able to force the garrison to surrender (713). After the occupation of Multan, Muhammad bin Qasim "carried his arms to the borders of the kingdom of Kashmir. Threatened by the Arab advance, the Raja of Kashmir sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor asking for help." He received no aid but the Arab general's own dismal fate stopped further Arab advance. Muhammad bin Qasim was now master of the whole of Sind and part of the Punjab, up to the confines of Kashmir in the north and the borders of Rajputana in the east, but a tragic end awaited him. Hajjaj died in 714, and next year Walid also died, to be succeeded by Sulaiman, a bitter enemy of Hajjaj's family. The policy of extremism, partisanship and violence which Hajjaj had followed now brought its nemesis. Death saved him from the new Caliph's wrath, but his family had to pay the penalty. Sulaiman appointed a new governor, recalled Muhammad bin Qasim, and handed him to an officer, who had the young conqueror of Sind tortured to death in an Iraq prison.

Causes of Arab Success.

The comparative ease with which the Arabs defeated the Indian forces and occupied a large territory was due to the quality of their troops, the ability of the military commander and the superiority of Arab military technique. The conciliatory policy which Muhammad bin Qasim adopted towards all those who submitted to the Arabs also facilitated his task, and the Arab conquest was noteworthy more for voluntary surrenders than for bloody battles. At Nirun, the Buddhist priests had welcomed the general, and at Sehwan the populace revolted against the Hindu governor and submitted to Muhammad bin Qasim.

The popular dissatisfaction with the former rulers also contributed to the success of the Arabs. A large bulk of the population of Sind and Multan was Buddhist, but in 622, Ghach, a Brahman minister of the Buddhist king, had usurped the throne, and the rule of his dynasty was naturally not popular with large sections of the people. Even the chiefs and officials were quick to change over to the Arabs. As Professor Majumdar remarks, "To the inexplicable want of strategy on the part of Dahir and the treachery of the Buddhists of the south, we must

add the base betrayal of the chief officials and grandees of Sind to account for its ignominious end. All important chiefs and officials seem to have deserted his cause. This is partly accounted for by the superstitious idea prevailing among the people that according to the Hindu Sastras (sacred books) the country was destined to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans, and it was, therefore, useless to fight. But the attitude of chiefs was perhaps also due to personal feelings against the son of the usurper who had driven out the old royal family."[1]

Dahir's hold over southern Sind, largely Buddhist, was also very feeble, as this area had come under his rule only a short time before the Arab invasion. Chach (622-666) had tried to buttress his position by a policy of ruthless suppression of the dissident groups. He inflicted great humiliation on the Jats and the Meds, who were "forbidden to carry arms, wear silk garments, or ride on horseback with saddles and they were commanded to walk about bare-headed and bare-footed and accompanied by dogs."[2] Muslims who were fighting his son easily won the sympathies of the oppressed classes and perhaps, the most important cause of the Arab success was the support of the Jats and the Meds. At an early stage, they started enlisting under Muhammad bin Qasim's banner, "which independent of its moral effect in dividing national sympathies, and relaxing the unanimity of defence against foreign aggression, must have been of incalculable benefit to him, in his disproportionate excess of cavalry, which could be of little service in a country intersected by rivers, swamps and canals".

Personality and methods of Muhammad bin Qasim.

Muhammad bin Qasim was only seventeen years of age when he was appointed to a hazardous military command in a distant and little known territory. Apparently he was selected because of his kinship with the all-powerful Hajjaj, but he had already been a successful governor of Shiraz and the way he carried out his assignment in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent fully justified the choice. His great achievement was, of course, as a military commander and the way in which he and his troops overwhelmed bigger forces. Preparations for the expedition were made by Hajjaj with his usual thoroughness, down to the provision of needles and thread, but there were many unforeseen and unforeseeable contingencies which the young commander had to

face and tackle with his own resources. His strategy was faultless and he combined great courage and resourcefulness with moderation and statesmanship of a high order. We do not have a full account of his personality and methods of work, but enough is on record to show that he was a methodical, disciplined, shrewd and humane individual, displaying a political sagacity and military skill far above his years. He had a warm, humane personality ready to enjoy the humour of new and odd situations and to exchange jokes with his companions. With all this, he was a disciplined soldier as is evident from the manner in which he carried out Hajjaj's directions, and later quietly and without demur submitted to the orders of the new Caliph in his last supreme act of self-renunciation.

Muhammad bin Qasim was the leader of a punitive expedition. At Debul where he had to blot out the memories of the defeat and massacre of the Arab forces sent earlier against Dahir, and later at Multan where he was stubbornly resisted, he was harsh and ruthless, but such occasions were exceptional. Normally he was humane and considerate, and though no subordinate of Hajjaj could afford to show any weakness, Muhammad bin Qasim achieved his objectives more by negotiation and the grant of liberal terms than by sanguine warfare.

The administrative structure built up by Muhammad bin Qasim has been described elsewhere. Essentially, it was on the pattern followed by early Muslims in other conquered countries like Egypt. Muhammad bin Qasim's personal contribution lay in his quick grasp of the situation and the manner in which he handled it. He made systematic efforts to seek out the officers of the old regime, showered honours and favours on them, and made them his collaborators in the task of administration. First amongst them was Moka, claimant to the chieftainship of Bait, a fortress on the banks of the Indus. He was captured and brought before Muhammad bin Qasim, who treated him with utmost kindness and consideration. His territory was restored to him "and a hundred thousand *dirhams* were given as a reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a peacock, a chair and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him. All his Takars [Thakurs] were favoured with robes and saddled horses."[3] *Chach Nama* records that "the first umbrella of Rangi or chiefship" was thus obtained by Moka. After this treatment Moka naturally became a faithful ally. Even more impor-

tant was the submission of Sisakar, the minister of Raja Dahir. He offered to surrender if his life was spared. Muhammad bin Qasim readily promised this, and also conferred "the office of Wazir" on him. Sisakar brought the Muslim women, whose capture by the pirates had brought Hajjaj's wrath upon Dahir, and became the principal adviser of the Arabs. "Muhammad Kasim told him all his secrets, always took his advice, and consulted him on all the civil affairs of the government, his political measures and the means of prolonging his success."[4] When the Arabs reached northern Sind, they needed somebody well-acquainted with the conditions of that area. About this time a messenger from Kaksa, a nephew of Dahir, arrived at the Arab camp. Muhammad bin Qasim received him cordially and tickled his vanity by saying that the princes of Dahir's family were all "wise, learned, trustworthy and honest."[5] He offered to make Kaksa his counsellor and this offer was accepted. "The minister Kaksa was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. When he came to transact business, Muhammad bin Qasim used to make him sit before the throne and then consult him, and Kaksa took precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders. He collected the revenue of the country and the treasury was placed under his seal. He assisted Muhammad bin Qasim in all his undertakings, and was addressed by the title of *Mubarak Mushir* (prosperous counsellor)."[6] Trust begets trust and the generosity shown by Muhammad bin Qasim to leading Indian administrators was rewarded by their loyal and enthusiastic co-operation. Guided by their advice and by his own noble impulses, he followed a policy which was greatly appreciated by the local population. His benevolent and sympathetic regime was so popular that the historian Biladhuri, dealing with the sad end of the Arab general, says, "The people of Hind wept for Muhammad bin Qasim and preserved his likeness at Kiraj."[7]

Arab Administration.

The Arab administration in Sind, as already observed, followed the general pattern adopted by the Arabs in other newly conquered countries. The normal rule was to employ local talent to the fullest and make the minimum changes in local practices. The Arabs established themselves in large towns which also became military cantonments. Hazrat Umar (634—644), acknowledged as "the chief creator" of the Arab system of administration, and

regarded by a non-Muslim scholar as "the greatest and most far-sighted statesman amongst the Arabs"[8] had laid down the working principle that the Arabs should not acquire landed property in the conquered territories. Under the system evolved by him the general of the army conquering a new territory became its governor, but "most of the subordinate officers were allowed to retain their posts." Such evidence as is available about Sind shows that these injunctions were observed. The Arabs provided the military garrisons, while the civil administration was left largely in the hands of the local chiefs, only a few of whom had accepted Islam.

The Umayyads who succeeded the *Khulafa-i-Rashidin* and who moved the Arab capital from Madina to Damascus, made a few changes in the system of government, under the influence of the Byzantine civilisation to which they became heirs. They produced some gifted administrators, but under them the administration was not so elaborate and highly departmentalised as it became under the Abbasids who drew upon the experience of the Sassanid emperors. The pattern of the Arab administration in Sind also remained simple and free from over-centralisation and complicated departmentalisation.

The Umayyads were worldly in their outlook and practical in their approach. They represented the old tribal aristocracy of the Arabs, and in their handling of the conquered territories the virtues of the Arab aristocracy are visible. Besides the normal features of Arab administration evolved in the days of Hazrat Umar and the Umayyad Caliph, 'Abdul Malik, the arrangements in Sind were influenced by the advice of Hajjaj to whom many problems were referred. His political sagacity and the realistic approach to politics is evident in the guidance which he gave to his nephew on numerous occasions. *Chach Nama* gives an interesting account of the general principles which Hajjaj emphasised in a letter to Muhammad bin Qasim. "You must know that there are four ways of acquiring a kingdom :—firstly, courtesy, conciliation, gentleness, and alliances ; secondly, expenditure of money and generous gifts ; thirdly, sound judgment in the opposition of the enemies, and in understanding their behaviour ; fourthly, the use of overawing force, power and strength and majesty in checking and expelling the enemy."[9]

The Brahmanabad Settlement.

Under the administrative arrangements which after his victory over Dahir, Muhammad bin Qasim made with the non-Muslims and which are often referred to as the Brahmanabad Settlement, the basic principle was to treat them as "the People of the Book," and to confer on them the status of the *zimmis* (the Protected). In some respects the arrangements were even more liberal than those granted to the People of the Book by the later schools of Islamic law. For example, according to the later opinion the *zimmis* could not repair their places of worship, though the old ones were allowed to exist. The question of repairing a damaged temple came up before Muhammad bin Qasim who referred the matter to Hajjaj. The latter consulted the *ulama* of Damascus, and sent the reply granting the permission asked for and, in fact, laid down that so long as the non-Muslims paid their dues to the state they were free to live in whatever manner they liked. Hajjaj wrote : "It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanabad had petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can properly be required from them. They have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden and prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like."[10]

The Arab conqueror even maintained the privileged position of the Brahmans, not only in religious matters, but also in the administrative sphere. "Muhammad bin Qasim maintained their dignity and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence. Each of them was entrusted with an office, for Qasim was confident that they would not be inclined to dishonesty. Like Rai Chach, he also appointed each one to a duty. He ordered all the Brahmans to be brought before him, and reminded them that they had held great offices in the time of Dahir, and that they must be well-acquainted with the city and the suburbs. If they knew any excellent character worthy of his consideration and kindness they should bring him to notice so that favours and rewards might be bestowed on him. As he had entire confidence in their honesty and virtue, he had entrusted them with these offices, and all the affairs of the country would be

placed under their charge. These offices were granted to them and their descendants, and would never be resumed or transferred."[11] Even the 3% share of Government revenue, which the Brahmans had been getting during the ascendency of the Brahman rulers of Sind was conceded to them.

Apart from his general religious tolerance and patronage of non-Muslim priests, Muhammad bin Qasim generally maintained the old system of taxation. According to the *Chach Nama*, Sisakar the minister of Dahir who had been employed by the Arabs used to say to Muhammad bin Qasim "that the regulations and ordinances which the just Amir had introduced would confirm his authority in all the countries of Hind. They would enable him to punish and overcome all his enemies ; for he comforts all the subjects and *malguzars*, takes the revenue according to the old laws and regulations, never burthens any one with new and additional exactions, and instructs all his functionaries and officers."[12]

Even the arrangements which the Arab general had made for the collection of government dues were calculated to cause minimum dislocation and discomfort to the ryot. He for the collection of government dues ensured protection against oppression. According to *Chach Nama*, "He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes from the cities and the villages, so that there might be the feeling of strength and protection."[13] To these officials, many of whom were Brahmans, Muhammad bin Qasim issued a directive, "Deal honestly between the people and the Sultan,[a] and if distribution is required make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay."[14] Orders were also issued to pay compensation to those whose property had been destroyed during hostilities. For payment of *jizya*, three grades were fixed. "The first grade was of great men, and each of them was to pay silver, equal to 48 *Dirhims* in weight, the second grade 24 *Dirhims*, and the lowest grade 12 *Dirhims*." Muslims were exempt from this tax, but they

(*a*) There seems to be an insertion of later nomenclature and usage—possibly an interpolation—in this paragraph of the persian translation of *Chach Nama*. The term "Sultan" could not have been in use in the days of Muhammad bin Qasim, and even the prescribed scale of *jizya* belongs to a later period. For general authenticity of *Chach Nama*, however, see E & D Vol. 1, p. 135, and *The Indus Delta Country* (M. R. Haig), p. 41, Ft. Note.

had to pay *zakat* and *sadaqah*.

Some Western writers have observed that in granting the rights of the *zimmis* to the Hindus and the Buddhists of Sind, Muhammad bin Qasim deviated from the provisions of Islamic law. Historically this is not correct. When the Arab conqueror made his administrative arrangements (in 93 A. H.), Islamic law had not been codified, and the four schools of Islamic Law—Maliki, Hanafi, Shafi'i and Hanbali—had not come into existence. Muhammad bin Qasim and Hajjaj were guided by the Quran, Sunna and the practice of the early Caliphs, and their arrangements were approved by the *ulama* of Damascus. The fact that the provisions of Islamic Law, as codified later, were not as liberal as these early arrangements, was presumably due to the influence of other legal systems,[b] and the position accorded to the Muslims and other minorities in Christian and other societies.

Later Arab Rule in Sind and Multan.

Chach Nama[c], the main source of information regarding the Arab conquest and administration ends its account with the recall of Muhammad bin Qasim and for subsequent developments one has to depend on stray remarks in the general histories of the Caliphate. In 717, Umar II (717-720) wrote to the non-Muslim princes of Sind, inviting them to embrace Islam, and amongst those who responded to the invitation was Jaisinha, son of Dahir. He, however, later recanted and rebelled against Arab authority, losing his life in the conflict. Junaid, who was sent as Governor in 724, was not only able to deal with the rebellion of Jaisinha and his companions, but also undertook many expeditions outside Sind. He is said to have

(*b*) Dr. Joseph Schacht told the present writer that the regulations regarding non-Muslims in Islamic law closely followed the regulations governing the position of the Jews in the Roman Empire.

(*c*) This is a remarkable book, practically the only memento of the Arab rule in Sind. The Arabic original was written shortly after the Muslim conquest, but is now lost. The Persian version, undertaken in 1216 has, however, survived. From the Arabic title *Minhaj-ud-din wal mulk* (The Path of Religion and Empire), it appears that the author intended the book to be a work of history as well as of statecraft. The translator emphasises this dual role of the book at the end of his translation :—"It is based on the foundation of laws of government and on the strength of constitutional administration. It contains eloquent discourses on religious and state matters, and treats of territorial and national peculiarities." The Persian version has been edited by Dr. Daudpota. It has been translated into Urdu by Dr. Nabi Bakhsh Baloch with an excellent introduction and copious notes.

been victorious in Rajputana, Kathiawar and north Gujarat, and sent expeditions as far as Ujjain and Malwa[d]. An echo of his victories is found in the history of Kashmir, whose ruler was so troubled by the Arab pressure from the south and danger from the Turkish tribes and the Tibetans in the north, that he "had to invoke the help of the Chinese emperor and to place himself under his protection." Later, however, Junaid suffered defeats, and was recalled in 740. After him, the position of the Arabs deteriorated, and their posts in Marwar and other places had to be evacuated. In Sind, also, there was a vigorous attempt to expel the Arabs and they had to withdraw from the areas to the south of the Indus. Junaid's successor died within a year of his appointment, and difficult situation had to be faced by the next governor, Hakam, who was ably assisted by a son of Muhammad bin Qasim who later acted as governor on Hakam's death. The first step that Hakam took was to rescue the Arab troops stranded in the midst of a hostile population. Near the old city of Brahmanabad and at a site, nearly 40 miles north-east of modern Hyderabad he established a stronghold, where all the forces which had been withdrawn were collected. This was called Mahfuza (the Abode of Safety). When this operation was completed, he reorganised the army and opened an offensive. Before long, Hakam was able to restore Arab domination in Sind and opposite the town of Mahfuza he established a new town, Mansura (the Abode of Victory), which became the new Arab capital.

In 750, the Abbasids overthrew the Umayyads and sent their own officers to Sind. The Abbasid governor Hisham, who came to Sind in 757, carried out successful raids against Gujarat and Kashmir, but no permanent additions to Arab dominion were made. Later, through Arab preoccupations at home, their control over Sind became slack. The process of disintegration was accelerated by tribal conflicts amongst local Arabs, who became divided into *Yemeni* and *Hijazi* groups. At one time the Arab governor revolted against Khalifa al-Mamun (813-833) but the rebellion was put down. Therefore Musa, son of Yahya the Barmakid, the

(*d*) Indian rulers realised the danger from the brilliant successes of Muhammad bin Qasim and Junaid. "The extent to which the Indians realised the nature of this danger appears from the fact that sometime between A. D. 713 and 741 a king of Central India sent an ambassador to the Chinese emperor with a view to make a common cause against the growing menace of Islamic power." (Majumdar, *The Arab Invasion of Sind*, p. 50.)

famous wazir of Harun Rashid, was placed in charge of the affairs of Sind. On his death in 836, he nominated his son Amran as his successor and the Caliph recognised the appointment. This beginning of hereditary succession to the governorship meant a weakening of the hold of Baghdad. Amran was an energetic ruler and firmly dealt with the disturbances of the Jats and the Meds, but the internecine quarrels of the Arabs again flared up and he lost his life after a brief reign. In 854, the Hibbari family became hereditary rulers of Sind, with Mansura as their capital. In course of time, Multan became independent, and the Hindus re-established themselves in Rohri.

The severance of contacts with Baghdad made Sind and Multan a happy hunting ground for the emissaries of the rivals of the Abbasids, the Fatimid rulers of Cairo. Their first *da'i* (missionary) came to Sind in 883, and started secret propaganda in favour of the Fatimid caliph. After the ground had been prepared, military aid was obtained from Cairo, and Multan was captured in 977 by a *coup d' etat*. Isma'ili doctrines were now adopted as the official religion, and the *khutba* was read in the name of the Fatimids. The Isma'ilis destroyed the old historic temple of Multan, which Muhammad bin Qasim had spared and left in charge of the Hindus, and built a mosque on its site. Mansura remained with the Hibbari family, at least till 985, but at a later date, this also became a small Isma'ili stronghold. The Isma'ilis suffered a setback with the rise of Mahmud of Ghazni, who in 1005 compelled the ruler of Multan to recant from Isma'ili beliefs and some 20 years later conquered Mansura on return from Somnath. The Isma'ili creed regained its former position when the Ghaznavids became weak, but in 1175 Sultan Muhammad Ghuri captured Multan, appointed an orthodox Sunni as governor, and the area was incorporated in the Sunni dominion first of Ghazni, and later of Delhi.

Indo-Arab Intellectual contacts.

During the Umayyad and the early Abbasid period, not only were the Arabs at the height of their political power but were also very active in the intellectual field, and made every effort to acquire knowledge from all sources. Sind became the link through which the fruits of Indian learning were transmitted to the Arabs, and by them made available to the civilised world. So long as the seat of the Caliphate was at Damascus, most of the scientific

books translated into Arabic were from Greek and Syriac, but when the Abbasid Caliphate was established at Baghdad, greater attention was paid to the books in Iranian and Indian languages. Indo-Arab intellectual collaboration was at its height during two distinct periods. It began during the reign of Mansur (753-774). "As Sind was under the actual rule of Khalifa Mansur, there came embassies from that part of India to Baghdad, and among them were scholars"[15] who brought important books with them. The second fruitful period was the reign of Harun-ur-Rashid (780-808) when the famous Barmakid family, which provided *wazirs* to the Abbasid caliphs for half a century, was at the zenith of its power. Arab bibliographers specially mention Harun's *wazir*, Yahya the Barmakid, and his son Musa and grandson Amran who both governed Sind for some time, for their interest in India and Indian sciences. The Barmakids sent scholars to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to study medicine and pharmacology. "Besides, they engaged Hindu scholars to come to Baghdad, made them chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology and other subjects"[16].

The earliest Indo-Arab intellectual contact recorded in history began in 771, when a Hindu scholar of astronomy and mathematics reached Baghdad with a deputation from Sind, and took with him a Sanskrit work (*Siddhanta* by Brahmagupta)[e] which he translated into Arabic with the help of an Arab mathematician. The titles of three other astronomical works translated from Sanskrit have been preserved by Arab bibliographers, but *Siddhanta*, which came to be known in Arabic as *Sindhind*, had the greatest influence on the development of Arab astronomy. In mathematics the most important contribution of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to Arabic learning was the introduction of what are known in the West as "Arabic numerals," and what Arabs themselves call the "Indian numerals" *(ar Ruqum-ul-Hindiyya)*. The Indian system of medicine received even greater attention, and the titles of at least fifteen works in Sanskrit which were translated into Arabic have been preserved.

(*e*) Brahmagupta (Circa 628) the astronomer and mathematician lived and worked in Ujjain. He wrote an astronomical manual called the *Brahma Siddhanta* in twenty-one chapters. This work formed the basis of the work *Sindhind.*

These included books by Sushruta and Charak, the foremost authorities in Hindu medicine. One of the translated books was on veterinary science, and another dealt with snakes and their poisons. None of these translations are now known to exist, except a rendering of Shanaq's book on poisons. It was originally translated into Persian in 815 for Khalid al-Barmaki, the Abbasid *wazir*, and ten years later was translated into Arabic. Indian doctors enjoyed great prestige at Baghdad. Their names, like the titles of their works, have been mutilated beyond recognition in the Arab bibliographies, but their number was very large. One of them, Manka, was specially sent for from India when Harun-ur-Rashid fell ill and could not be cured by the doctors at Baghdad. Manka's treatment was successful and not only was he richly rewarded by the grateful *Khalifa*, but was entrusted with the translation of medical books from Sanskrit. Another Indian physician was called in when a cousin of the Caliph suffered from a paralytic stroke and was given up for lost by the Greek court physician. Many Indian medicines, some of them in their original names like *atrifal*, which is the Hindi *tri-phal* (a combination of three fruits), found their way into Arab pharmacopoeia.

Astrology and palmistry also received considerable attention at Baghdad, and the titles of a large number of books translated from Sanskrit on these subjects have been preserved. Other subjects on which books were translated were logic, alchemy, magic, ethics, statecraft and art of war, but the books which gained greatest popularity were linked with literature. Some of the stories of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* are attributed to an Indian origin, though evidence on this point is not conclusive. Arabic translations of *Panchtantra*, popularly known as the story of Kalila and Dimna, have become famous in various Arabic and Persian versions. The games of chess and *chausar* were also introduced from India, and transmitted by the Arabs to other parts of the world.

In spheres other than science and learning also, Sind had its contribution to make. Some Western scholars think that several elements in Islamic Sufism are of Indian origin. This view is largely speculative but the links of Sind with Islamic Sufism are definite.(*f*) The great early Sufi, Bayazid of Bistam had a Sindhi

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(*f*) For a recent discussion of this subject, see R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu*

as his spiritual teacher. He once said, "I learnt the science of annihilation (*'ilm-i-fana*) and *Tauhid* (unitarianism) from Abu 'Ali (of Sind) and Abu 'Ali learnt the lessons of Islamic unitarianism from me".[17] Referring to this, Professor Nicholson says, "The Sufi conception of the Passing-away (*fana*) of individual in 'Universal Being' is certainly, I think, of Indian origin. Its first great exponent was the Persian mystic, Bayazid of Bustam who may have received it from his teacher Abu 'Ali of Sind."[18] The close association of Sind with Sufism is maintained to this day, and one of the most marked features of Sind is the dominant place which Sufism occupies in her literature and religious life.

The above account of the Indian impact on Arab cultural life is based on contemporary Arab sources, but it is far from complete. No title of any Sanskrit book on music translated at Baghdad is available, but it is known that the music of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent had its impact on Arab music, and was appreciated in the Abbasid capital. The famous Arab author, Jahiz (-869) wrote in his account of the people of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent: "Their music is pleasing. One of their musical instruments is known as Kankalah[g] (?), which is played with a string stretched on a pumpkin". An Arab author from Andalusia (Moorish Spain) refers to an Arabic version of an Indian book on music dealing with tunes and melodies.[19]

Professor Halim of Dacca University, who has made a special study of Indo-Muslim music, is of the opinion that the Arab and the Indian systems of music influenced each other. The geographer Mas'udi refers to the musical instruments of the Arabs, the Persians, Nabataeans, and "of the people of Sind and Hind" in his *Muruj-uz-Zahab* indicating that the Arabs were not uninfluenced by Indian music. Professor Halim quotes Lane as saying that most of the technical terms for Arab music "are borrowed from the Persian and the Indian influences", and adds, "Furthermore, Indian music itself has incorporated certain Perso-Arab airs, such as *Yeman* and *Hijj* from Hijaz and *Zanuglah* corrupted into *Jangla*. Again Arab music is similar to the system of the Greeks and the Indians, being based on melody and not on harmony. Like the

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and Muslim Mysticism, pp. 93-100. Some scholars, however, contest the views of Nicholson and Zachner.

(*g*) This may be 'Kingari', "name of a musical instrument made of two gourds, used in Hindustan" (Steingass, 1056).

Indian and the Greek systems, Arab music believes in its being in consonance with nature and expressive of varied feelings, such as pleasure, sadness, fury, slumber, ecstasy and is also capable of producing wonderful effects. Consequently, the airs are sung, as in Greek and Indian systems, at fixed hours of the day and night".[20]

Social and cultural conditions

No connected history of Sind and Multan, after the recall of Muhammad bin Qasim, is available but the works of Arab travellers and geographers enable us to fill the gap. In particular, Mas'udi who visited what is now West Pakistan in 915-16 A. D., has left a "brilliant account" of the conditions in the valley of the Indus, from Waihind in the north to Debul in the south. According to him, and to Ibn Haukul who visited the area some years later, the principal Arab colonies were at Mansura, Multan, Debul, and Nirun where large Friday mosques were built. Non-Muslims formed the bulk of the population, and were in a preponderating majority at Debul and Alor. The relations between the Arabs and the non-Muslim population were very good. Unlike the historians of the Sultanate period, the Arab travellers refer to the non-Muslims as *zimmis* and not as *kafirs*. Soon after the conquest of Sind and Multan, cow-slaughter was banned in the area. This might have been due to a desire to preserve the cattle-wealth, but regard for Hindu sentiments may also have been partly responsible for this step. The Hindu chiefs, also, showed a sympathetic interest in Islam, and in 886, a Hindu raja of Mehrog (?), a place said to be between Kashmir and the Punjab, obtained from Mansura an Arab linguist, who translated the Holy Quran into the local language at his request.[21] The Arab and the local population became so closely integrated that the Sindhi troops fought on behalf of the *Khalifa* in distant countries even as far as the Byzantine frontier.[22]

The Arab rulers adopted local practices to a much greater extent than did the Ghaznavids later at Lahore, or the Turks and the Afghans at Delhi. According to Mas'udi, the ruler of Mansura had eighty war elephants and occasionally rode in a chariot drawn by elephants. Like the Hindu rajas, he wore ear-rings as well as a necklace, and wore his hair long. The Arabs of Mansura were generally dressed like the people of Iraq but the dress of the ruler was similar to that of the Hindu rajas.[23]

After Muhammad bin Qasim, there were no large-scale Arab immigrations and Arab influence was gradually diluted, but Sind and Multan remained in close contaet with the Arab countries, particularly Iraq and Egypt. At the time of Mas'udi's visit, Arabic and Sindhi were spoken in Sind but Iranian influences were also effective, particularly after the rise of the Dailamites when the use of Persian became more prevalent, especially in Multan.

Arab rule produced men of note in Sind and Multan, and some of them achieved fame and distinction in Damascus and Baghdad. One of them, Abu Ma'shar Sindhi (787 A. D.) was an authority on *Hadis* and the life of the Holy Prophet, and was so eminent that when he died in Baghdad, the reigning Caliph led the prayers at his funeral. A number of other scholars and poets connected with Sind are also mentioned in Arabic anthologies. Some of them were from the immigrant families but many were of Sindhi origin and included descendants of slaves captured during the Arab conquest or the later wars and taken to Damascus or Baghdad. They included Imam Auza'i (707-773 A. D.), who figures in the history of *fiqh*, and at one time, had a large number of followers in Syria and Andalusia. The most notable Arabic poet of Sindhi origin was Abul 'Ata Sindhi, who was taken to Syria as a captive during his childhood, and earned his manumission with a *qasida*. In spite of his command of literary Arabic, his pronunciation of Arabic words bore such traces of his origin that he had to engage a *ravi* to recite his verses. He wrote forceful *qasidas* in praise of the Umayyad rulers, and poignant elegies on their downfall. Imam Abu Hanifa, the great founder of the Hanafi school of Islamic law was born in Iraq, but his family is stated to have migrated there from Sind.

Life in the Arab dominion of Sind and Multan was simple, but agriculture and commerce were highly developed. Mas'udi mentions a large number of hamlets in the principalities of Multan and Mansura, and apparently "the whole country was well-cultivated, and covered with trees and fields". There was active commerce between Sind and other parts of the Muslim world. "Caravans were often passing and repassing that country and Khurasan, most commonly by the route of Kabul and Bamian. She also had communications with Zabulistan and Sijistan by way of Ghazni and Kandhar". Sindhi Hindus, who were excellent accountants and traders, had a major share in this commerce, and

Alor is mentioned as a great commercial centre. The prosperity of the area may be judged by the fact that Sind and Multan contributed eleven and a half million *dirhims* to Abbasid revenue, while the total revenue from the Kabul area in cash and cattle, was less than two and a quarter million *dirhims*.[24]

Significance of the Arab Rule in Sind.

Time, man, and natural calamities have dealt harshly with the traces of Arab rule in Sind. The area has been subject to earthquakes, but more important causes of damage were floods and the changes in the course of the Indus. The cumulative result is that not one of the Arab cities has survived, and the very location of their sites has become a subject of controversy.

It is not, therefore, surprising that historians attach little importance to Arab rule in Sind, but though the visible traces of Arab ascendency have been obliterated, its invisible effects were many and far-reaching. Most of them, of course, relate to the former province of Sind, which has been called "the Hijaz of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent." The script adopted for the Sindhi language is Arabic—not the Perso-Arabic script used for other Muslim languages of the subcontinent—and it contains a large proportion of Arabic words, mutilated or intact. Several leading Sindhi families have been of Arab origin, and many more, although indigenous, have changed their geneological tables to claim Arab ancestry. Until recently the social pattern in Sind was largely tribal, the place of the Arab Shaikh being taken by the Sindhi *Wadera* (the word itself is a literal translation of the Arabic counterpart). Such Arab virtues as hospitality have always distinguished Sind, and the standard of Arabic scholarship has also remained high. Even the landscape, before the recent construction of two barrages in upper and lower Sind, contained much to remind one of Arabia—the desert, the pastoral scene, many large groves of date-palm trees, and the strings of camels.

In two important spheres the impact of the Arabs was felt far beyond Sind and Multan. In the political field, the arrangements made by Muhammad bin Qasim with the non-Muslims provided the basis for later Muslim policy in the subcontinent.

By the time Muslim rule was established at Lahore and Delhi, Islamic law had been codified, and contained stringent provisions regarding idol-worshippers (*e.g.* the Hindus). The fact that those provisions were not followed and the Hindus were treated as "the

People of the Book", must have been partly due to the circumstances that they had been given this status by Muhammad bin Qasim, and for centuries this liberal practice had been built up in Sind and Multan.

The intellectual and cultural contacts of the Abbasids with the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent which gave to the world the so-called "Arabic numerals", chess, stories of Kalila and Dimna etc. were also facilitated by the Arab occupation of Sind. They came to an end when the political hold of Baghdad over this territory slackened. After dealing with the most fruitful period of Indo-Arab intellectual collaboration, Sachau says, "Soon afterwards when Sind was no longer politically dependent upon Baghdad, all this intercourse ceased entirely. Arabic literature turned off into other channels. There is no more mention of the presence of Hindu scholars in Baghdad, nor of the translations of Sanskrit".[25]

Arab Coastal Settlements.

The Arab conquest was confined to the southern part of what is now West Pakistan, but peaceful contacts between the Arabs and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were far more extensive. Arab sailors and traders plied their trade in the coastal area of the subcontinent, and soon after the rise of Islam we find colonies of Muslim Arabs at a number of major ports like Cambay, Chaul, Honawar etc. Muslims had reached Ceylon even earlier, and the Arab invasion of Sind was a measure of reprisal for plunder and imprisonment of Muslim widows and orphans returning from Ceylon. Hajjaj, who organised the expedition to Sind was also responsible, though indirectly, for the establishment of a large colony of Muslim Arabs in the south. When he became the viceroy of Iraq, many members of Banu Hashim, of whom he was a sworn enemy, migrated from his jurisdiction, and sought refuge on the southern coast of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. They form the nucleus of the important Nawayat community which is found on the Konkan coast of Bombay and in Tinnevelly district of Madras.

Before the introduction of the steamship, the small sea-going boats had to keep close to the shore and small colonies of Arab sailors and traders were to be found at all important ports along the shores of the Indian Ocean and in the Bay of Bengal. Probably there was a substantial Arab colony at Chittagong in East

Pakistan as may be inferred from the existence of an unusually large number of Arabic words in the local dialect, the Arab influence on pronunciation and even the fact that more Bengali manuscripts written in Arabic script are found in the areas around Chittagong than in any other part of Bengal. The earliest recorded reference to a visit of the Arabs to this region, according to Arakanese sources, relates to the reign of a local ruler, who ascended the throne in 788 A.D., and describes the shipwreck of several Arab boats near Ramu, situated in the Cox Bazar area, to the south of Chittagong and the settlement of the survivors in the interior. Later, Muslim influence increased in Arakan and by the thirteenth century the coast from "Assam to Malaya was dotted with the curious looking mosques known as Budder makans".[26] This influence is held responsible for women living in greater seclusion in Arakan than in other parts of Burma.

The most important Arab coastal settlements were in Malabar[(h)] where Muslims now form a substantial part of the population and where a local ruler adopted Islam in the early part of the ninth century. The Arab colonies did not disturb the general tenor of life in the Indian subcontinent but they made the local inhabitants familiar with the new religion of the Arabs. Some scholars are of opinion that the powerful Hindu religious movement initiated in the ninth century by Shankracharya who himself was born in Malabar, may have been facilitated by the religious ferment caused by the entry of Islam into that area.

Muslim colonies on the coast are also of interest as they provided the base from which missionaries, traders and sailors went to the Far East and spread Islam in Malaya and Indonesia. The movement to the East was not only a result of the Arab share in the "spice trade" of South-east Asia but was a continuation of the traditional Indian relations with the countries farther east. South-east Asia has since ancient times been greatly influenced by Indian religion, literature and art and with the spread of Islam to the key points of contact, Muslim influence replaced that of Brahmanism and Buddhism. Bali remains Hindu to this day,

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(*h*) For further details regarding Arabs in Malabar, see Tara Chand pp. 32-36. For information relating to Bengal, see sub-section Arab Settlement in Bengal in M.A. Rahim, *Social and Cultural History of Bengal,* Vol, I, pp. 37-47. He states that Chittagong, the name of the principal port of EastPakistan, is derived from Shat-ul-Ganga, the name given to the place by the Arabs.

but Malaya, Java and Sumatra are predominantly Muslim and largely owe their present religious and literary traditions to the influences emanating from the Muslim colonies on the coast-line of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The emigrants who brought about this transformation in South-east Asia included Arab and Persian sailors and traders, but the role of the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent particularly from Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandal and Bengal, was not less important.[27]

The full story of how Islam spread in South-east Asia has not yet been fully pieced together, and links of the area with Muslim Bengal are only now being discovered. The latest study of the subject is *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, written by Professor S. Q. Fatimi and published by Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, Ltd., Singapore (1963). He has shown that according to early accounts Malik as-Salih, the first known Muslim ruler in the area (who died in 1297 or 1307) came from Bengal and was originally known as Merah Silan, and that in the early sixteenth century Bengali Muslims were the most influential group in Pasai. "In fact upto that time Bengalis appear to be the leading group among foreign merchants and colonisers in the whole of Malaysia."[28]

Fatimi has summed up the entire position as under :—

"It is evident from the story of Malik as-Salih, which we have attempted to piece together from fragments found hither and thither, that the privilege of being the pioneers in propagating Islam to the peoples of this part of the world is not the monopoly of any one Muslim community. Though the bulk of Muslim traders and Sufi preachers came from Bengal during the thirteenth, and the three successive centuries, and most probably Merah Silan himself was a Thakur (according to the contemporary Chinese evidence) and "of Bengali stock" (according to Tome Pires), yet the names that the Sultan adopted for himself and his sons show strong Arab influence; Ibn Battuta found prominent Persian influence at the Court of his son, Malik az-Zahir; the school of law that prevailed at least subsequently in his own and the neighbouring Muslim States, shows the combined influence of southern coastal India and maritime Arabian cities; and finally the gravestones—not his own, admittedly, but those which were subsequently brought from Cambay—have engraved on them the evidence of the Gujerati influence."[29]

CHAPTER II.

YAMINI DYNASTY OF GHAZNI AND LAHORE

CHRONOLOGY

Muslim conquest of Kabul.	870
Foundation of Ghazni.	"
Rise of Bukhara as a great political and cultural centre.	874-999
Subuktigin, ruler of Ghazni.	977-997
Subuktigin annexes territory between Lamghan and Peshawar.	986-87
Death of Subuktigin. Accession of Mahmud.	997-998
The Battle of Waihind.	1008
Annexation of Lahore.	1020
Sack of Somnath.	1026
Death of Mahmud.	1030
Death of al-Biruni.	1048
Death of Data Ganj Bakhsh.	1072
Death of Mas'ud Sa'd Salman.	1121-22

Islam in Central Asia.

The Arab conquest of Sind and South-Western Punjab was complete by 714, but for nearly three centuries after that there was no further extension of Muslim dominion. The second phase of Muslim expansion began with the establishment of a Turkish Muslim dynasty in Ghazni, and followed the north-western routes traditional for the invasion of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

In 642, the Arabs had defeated Yazdgird, the Sassanid ruler and become masters of Iran. After this, operating from Fars by way of Kirman, they set about conquering the eastern provinces of the Iranian empire. They followed two main lines, the northern through Nishapur to Herat, Merv and Balkh, and the southern by way of Sistan to the Helmand and Bast. They progressed rapidly under Qutaiba bin Muslim who conquered Transoxiana as far as Khwarizm and Samarqand (711-12), and within a century of the death of the Founder of Islam, the Arabs were masters of Khurasan, Balkh and Mawara-un-Nahr (Transoxiana). They did not subjugate Kabul or any part of the Sulaiman Mountain area, but operating through Sistan, exerted constant pressure on the non-

Muslim rulers of Kabul and are even stated to have raided areas as far as Bannu and some other areas on the north-west frontier.[a] There are also indications of considerable traffic of a peaceful nature, between the Muslim and non-Muslim areas. Arab geographers give detailed accounts of the north-western areas of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, which would not have been possible if the Muslim and non-Muslim areas had been separated by an iron curtain. According to the author of *Hudud-ul-'Alam*, written in 982, some Muslims were even settled in Hindu cities such as Waihind.

The Arab occupation of Transoxiana paved the way for the Muslim conquest of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It established a link between the Turkish homelands and the Muslims, and from then onwards the Turks were to play an important role in the Muslim world, and were the main force behind the conquest of the subcontinent.

The first inroad into the heart of the area which is now Afghanistan, was made by Yaqub ibn Lais, the Saffarid, who became the ruler of Sijistan in 861. He captured Kabul nine years later, and (according to Caroe) founded Ghazni about the same time. Kabul was, however, lost by Yaqub's successor to the Hindu Shahis. In the meanwhile the Samanids (874-999) established themselves at Bukhara (874) and gradually brought the greater part of the area to the east of Baghdad under their sway. In the beginning of the tenth century, the Saffarids (868-903) gave way to the Samanids, who established a great political and cultural centre at Bukhara. They were Persian in origin, and patronised the Persian language. Rudaki (d. 940), the Chaucer of Persian poetry, flourished at the Samanid court, and Persian replaced Arabic as the official language. Under Samanids, the Turkish slaves gained great political and military importance. One of these, Alptigin, rebelled against his Samanid masters and established himself at Ghazni in 962.

Subuktigin and the rise of Ghazni. (977—997 A D.)

Towards the end of the tenth century, the north-western part of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was under the Hindu rulers known as the Hindu Shahis, whose capital was at Waihind (modern Hund in Mardan District)[b] near modern Peshawar and whose

(*a*) For details, see Caroe, *The Pathans*, pp. 95-97.

(*b*) For the location of the Hindu Shahi capital, see Caroe, p. 98.

rule extended to Kabul in the west and the river Bias in the east. In 977, Subuktigin, a Turkish slave upon whom Alptigin had bestowed the hand of his daughter, became master of Ghazni, and started expanding the kingdom by annexing adjacent areas in Khurasan, Sistan and Lamghan. He was busy consolidating his empire, when in 979, alarmed at the rising power of the new Turkish principality, Jaipal, the Hindu raja of Waihind, took the offensive and advanced towards Subuktigin's capital. The two armies met between Lamghan (modern Jalalabad) and Ghazni. Jaipal was defeated, and had to agree to pay a large indemnity to the Turkish ruler. He defaulted and tried to avenge his defeat, but was again decisively defeated, and Subuktigin followed up his success by forcing him to cede the territory between Lamghan and Peshawar. Later Muslim historians often represent Subuktigin as "champion of faith, whose chief occupation was the propagation of Islam with fire and sword among the indolators of India," but as pointed out by Sir Wolseley Haig, he never crossed the Indus, and the only two expeditions, in which he took the initiative "were undertaken rather as measures of reprisal and for the purpose of securing his dominions than with any intention of propagating his faith."[1]

Subuktigin, however, paved the way for the more active efforts of his son, Mahmud. Not only did he occupy the key city of Peshawar, but he built roads leading to the Indian frontiers, on which his son marched during his numerous expeditions.

Even more important than Subuktigin's military success in the east was the development of Ghazni, the base of operations against the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It was a small town, but it was so located "with its face towards India" that it was a suitable springboard for winter campaigns into the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It reached its zenith in the succeeding reign, when it became the centre of political power, organised administration and literary culture second in importance only to Baghdad in Muslim Asia. Even under Subuktigin it had surpassed Bukhara in importance, and had begun to attract a large number of Turks, who were to form the spearhead of the attack against the subcontinent.

Not only did the political and military importance of Ghazni greatly increase in the days of Subuktigin, but the area was in the throes of a religious movement, which must have influenced the

policies of its rulers. A separate history of the Karamiyya sect[(c)] has not been written, but there are enough references in the contemporary political history (*e.g., Tarikh-i-Yamini*) to indicate its nature and influence. It was a revivalist movement, bitterly opposed to the Isma'ilis and their doctrine of allegorical interpretation of the Quran. It was also active against the non-Muslims, and Abu Bakr Ishaq bin Mahammad Shah who was the leader of the sect in the time of Subuktigin, is said to have converted 5,000 Jews, Christians, fire-worshippers etc., to Islam. Subuktigin held Abu Bakr Ishaq in great esteem, and according to one account he himself had joined this sect.[2] Abu Bakr Ishaq died in 993. After him, his son constantly urged Mahmud to take action against the Isma'ilis. The extremist and peculiar views of the Karamiyya sect such as the belief regarding the physical nature of Divinity ultimately estranged Mahmud, but the sect remained a powerful factor against the Isma'ilis and Mu'tazilites. It is not impossible that its influence was a factor not only in the expeditions which Mahmud led against the Isma'ilis of Multan and Mansura, but also against the non-Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Karamiyya doctrines continued their sway for some centuries.[(d)] Sultan Muhammad Ghuri and his brother, like other people of Ghur, originally belonged to this sect, but when the two brothers established themselves at Ghazni where Hanafi and Shafi'i schools had gained ascendency, they abandoned Karamiyya doctrines.[3]

Sultan Mahmud.

Subuktigin died in August 997, and was, after a brief struggle for the throne, succeeded by his brilliant and ambitious son, Mahmud of Ghazni. He had taken part in all his father's campaigns against Jaipal and was as cognisant of the weakness of the Indian army as of the riches of the Indian rajas. On ascending the throne, he launched a series of invasions against the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

Mahmud's early expeditions were directed against the neigh-

(*c*) A full account of the sect is contained in the supplementary notes added by Prof. Sa'id Nafisi to *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi*, Volume II (Published by the University of Tehran, 1326 A.H.), pp. 915—965. Also see C. E. Bosworth, *The Gaznavids*, pp. 185-89.

(*d*) Prof. Sa'id Nafisi thinks that the sect lost its importance during the upheaval caused by the Mongol invasion. It is more likely that it was superseded and its adherents absorbed by the Hanbali and Ash'irite schools of thought, which continued the struggle against the Isma'ilis and the Mu'tazilites.

bouring territory of the Punjab. His first important battle was fought against Jaipal, in the vicinity of Peshawar (Nov. 28, 1001). Jaipal was defeated and captured with his kinsmen. He obtained his release on the promise of paying a ransom, but his subjects refused to acknowledge him as king after his repeated defeats and captivity. He thereupon named his son, Anandpal, as his successor and immolated himself in the flames according to Rajput custom. Three years later, Mahmud defeated the raja of Bhatiya (modern Bhera) who had been on friendly terms with his father and was expected to aid him against Jaipal, but had not fulfilled these expectations. While returning from Bhatiya, Mahmud lost much of his baggage in crossing the rivers of western Punjab, and was attacked by Abul Fath Da'ud, the Isma'ili ruler of Multan. In 1005, Mahmud returned to punish Da'ud. His passage was obstructed by Anandpal, but Mahmud defeated him. Da'ud shut himself up in the fort of Multan and obtained pardon on payment of ransom and the promise to abjure Isma'ili doctrines. Mahmud appointed Sukhpal, a grandson of Jaipal, who had accepted Islam and was now known as Nawasa Shah, as governor of Waihind (Ohind) and returned to Ghazni. This first attempt to establish a centre of Muslim authority east of the Indus through a scion of the old ruling family did not succeed. Nawasa Shah apostatised, started expelling Muslim officers, and proposed to rule either as an independent king or the vassal of his uncle, Anandpal. Mahmud returned in 1008 to deal with the situation, and found Anandpal fully prepared. He had obtained help from the Hindu rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmer. It appears that by now Hindu India was alive to its peril. Not only did the rulers of northern and central India send their contingents, but, according to Firishta, there was great enthusiasm even among the masses. Hindu women sold their ornaments to help the war effort, and sent their savings to the army. The battle was fought at a place between Peshawar and Waihind (Ohind). In view of the odds confronting him, Mahmud took special precautions, and his army was giving way under the charge of the warlike Khokhars when a fortunate accident decided the day in his favour. Anandpal's elephant took fright and fled with its rider, converting what looked like a Hindu victory into a defeat. The army of the Rajputs, believing the

Raja's flight to be intentional, broke up and dispersed, hotly pursued by the Muslims.

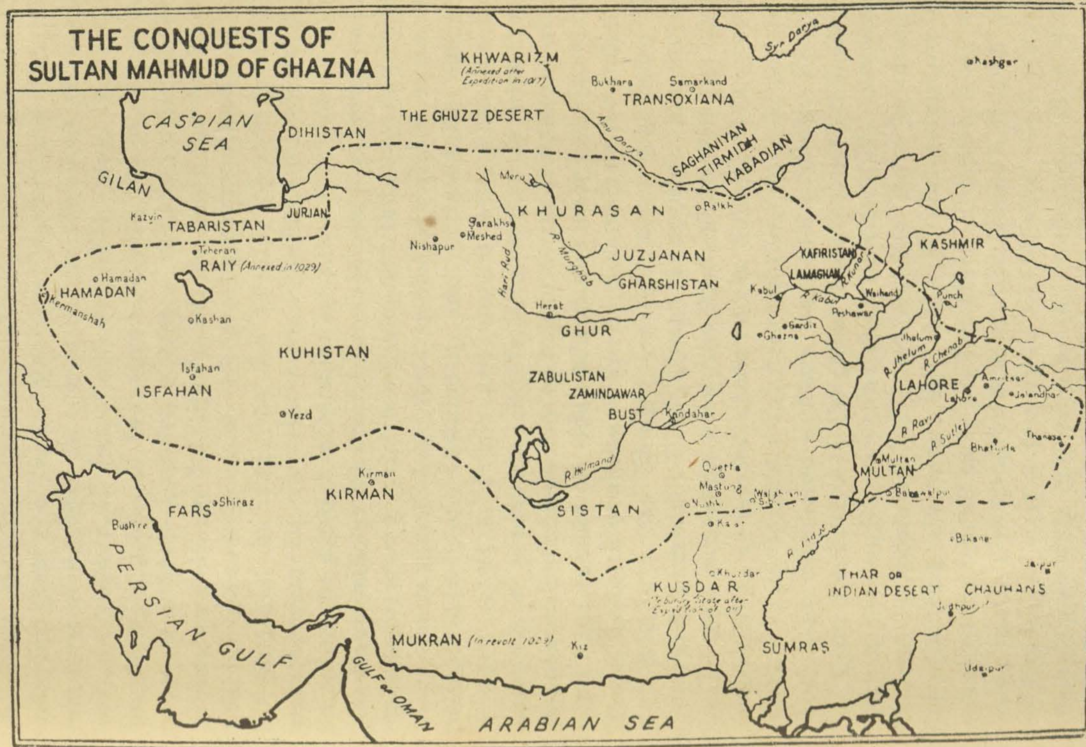
The defeat of the great Hindu confederacy was a turning-point in Mahmud's career. So far his campaigns had been confined to the neighbourhood of the Indus. The break-up of the Hindu army emboldened him, and now he marched against the more distant Nagarkot (Kangra), where there was no resistance. Nagarkot contained an ancient temple, which like other Hindu temples of the period, was a great repository of jewels and other wealth donated by rich votaries. Mahmud returned laden with rich booty, and henceforward the ancient Hindu religious centres with their hoards accumulated over centuries were to exercise a powerful fascination over him. His future expeditions were even farther afield. Tarain (1010), Thanesar (1014), distant Kanauj (1018) and Kalinjar (1022) were the future scenes of Mahmud's exploits in which he was uniformly successful. He did not try to establish his rule at any of these places but in 1020 left a governor at Lahore, which now became incorporated in the Ghaznavid empire.

The most dramatic of Mahmud's campaigns was against Somnath, the wealthy religious centre on the shores of the Indian Ocean. The dash to this distant goal, through an unknown and unfriendly area, across the deserts of Rajputana and marshes of Cutch, was a remarkable feat of courage, planning, resourcefulness and tenacity of purpose. In spite of the hardships which Mahmud and his army had to suffer on the return journey, the expedition was completely successful in its object. Mahmud returned laden with vast riches, till then unknown and unheard of in Ghazni.

Mahmud, who set out on the expedition to Somnath on 17 October, 1024, did not return to his capital till the spring of 1026. Except for a brief punitive expedition in the autumn of the same year against the Jats of Sind who had harrassed him during his return from Somnath, Mahmud did not return to India. Henceforth affairs in Central Asia occupied him till his death.

In death as in life, Mahmud displayed his indomitable will. During his long illness, he refused to lie in bed like a sick man. "He sat day and night propped up with pillows, and breathed his last in this posture" on 30 April, 1030.

Mahmud, as Gibbon remarks, was "undoubtedly one of the


THE CONQUESTS OF
SULTAN MAHMUD OF GHAZNA
KHWARIZM
(Annexed after Expedition in 1017)
Bukhara
Samarkand
TRANSOXIANA
Syr Darya
Kashgar
CASPIAN SEA
DIHISTAN
THE GHUZZ DESERT
Amu Darya
SAGHANIYAN
TIRMIDH
KABADIAN
GILAN
Merv
KHURASAN
Balkh
Kazvin
TABARISTAN
JURJAN
Sarakhs
Meshed
Nishapur
Teheran
RAIY (Annexed in 1029)
R. Murghab
Hari Rud
JUZJANAN
GHARSHISTAN
KAFIRISTAN
LAMAGHAN
KASHMIR
Hamadan
HAMADAN
Kermanshah
Kabul
R. Kabul
R. Kunar
Waihand
Peshawar
Punch
Herat
GHUR
Kashan
Gardiz
Ghazna
Jhelum
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
KUHISTAN
Isfahan
ISFAHAN
ZABULISTAN
ZAMINDAWAR
LAHORE
Lahore
Amritsar
Jalandhar
Yezd
BUST
Kandahar
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
Thanesar
Bhatinda
R. Helmand
Quetta
Multan
MULTAN
Kirman
KIRMAN
Mastung
FARS
Shiraz
SISTAN
Bushire
Bikaner
PERSIAN GULF
R. Indus
Jaipur
Khuzdar
KUSDAR
THAR OR
INDIAN DESERT
CHAUHANS
Jodhpur
MUKRAN (in revolt 1029)
Kiz
SUMRAS
Udaipur
GULF of OMAN
ARABIAN SEA

greatest kings of the world." He was a brave and resourceful general, who during thirty years of ceaseless warfare never suffered defeat. He was a cultured monarch, and by his munificence attracted great poets and scholars to his court, and made Ghazni the rival of Baghdad in regard to the splendour of its edifices and the number of men of culture and learning. He lacked the constructive genius of Muhammad Ghuri, and in spite of having overrun a great part of northern India established Muslim dominion only up to Lahore, but he made the work of later Muslim conquerors easier. He gave support to the Sunni *Khalifa* of Baghdad by defeating his Isma'ili opponents at Multan and Mansura. His victories in the Indo-Pak subcontinent certainly raised the prestige of Muslim arms, but it is difficult to accept the claim made by his court historians that his expeditions to this subcontinent were undertaken solely for the glory of Islam. Not only did Mahmud wage wars against the Hindu rajas, but he fought even more tenaciously and purposefully against the Muslim rulers in Persia and Central Asia, where he tried to establish a permanent empire. The extent to which religion motivated his actions may be judged by the fact that he maintained a large number of Hindu officers and troops, who were certainly not expected to abandon the religion of their forefathers.

Bosworth has brought together some significant details regarding Mahmud's Hindu troops. It appears that they served under their own commander, the *Sipahsalar-i-Hinduyan*, and were employed as systematic check on the Sultan's own people, the Turks. "They formed a counterweight to the Turks and seem to have been considered in many ways more reliable than them" (p. 110). The author of the *Qabus Nama* praises the racial diversity of Mahmud's army whereby "he constantly overawed the Hindus by means of the Turks and the Turks by means of the Hindus, with the result that both nations submitted to him through the fear of each for the other" (p. 107). They seem to have had a free hand in dealing with Sultan's Muslim enemies. In 1003, *i. e.*, within two years of Mahmud's first victory over Jaipal, they were employed in the suppression of a revolt in Sistan, in which they "behaved extremely savagely, sacking the Friday mosque of Zarang and massacring the Muslims in it, and killing the Christians in their church" (p. 89). An early historian of Sistan complains bitterly of the slaughter and violence

meted out to the Muslims and Christians of Zarang by Mahmud' pagan Indian troops (p. 110).

AL-BIRUNI (Circa 973-1038)

Abu Rayhan al-Biruni's stay in what is now West Pakistan could not have been very long, but as his most famous work concerns the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and formed an important source of information to writers like Abul Fazl, it may not be out of place to briefly refer to him. He was born in about 973 in Khwarizm (modern Khiva) and soon distinguished himself in astronomy, mathematics, logic and history. Sometime before 1017 Mahmud was able to get him at Ghazni, but evidence of close contact between the Sultan and al-Biruni is lacking. He was evidently in greater favour with the next ruler, Mas'ud, to whom he dedicated *Qanun-Mas'udi.* His other works include the *Chronology of Ancient Nations,* an introduction to astrology, a treatise on Materia Medica, astronomical tables, a summary of Ptolemy's *Almagest,* and several translations from Greek and Sanskrit.[4] He must have written some books in Sanskrit as at one place he writes of "being occupied in composing for the Hindus a translation of the books of Euclid and of the Almagest, and dictating to them a treatise on the construction of the astrolabe, being simply guided herein by the desire of spreading science".[5] The work, however, which is of special interest to a student of civilisation in the Indo-Pak subcontinent is his famous *Kitab-ul-Hind* which is a masterly survey of the religion, sciences and social customs of the Hindus, and which was completed shortly after Mahmud's death. About this work, Sachau writes: "If in our day a man began studying Sanskrit and Hindu learning with all the help afforded by modern literature and sciences, many a year would pass before he would be able to do justice to the antiquity of India to such an extent and with such a degree of accuracy as Al-biruni has done in his Indica." Pannikar calls al-Biruni "the most observant scholar who studied Indian things", and there is little doubt that as a study of an alien civilisation, not only does his book represent the peak of Muslim scholarship, but remains unsurpassed till today, as a masterpiece of erudite learning, penetrating observation and cool unbiased appraisal. In the preface to his book al-Biruni discusses the principles which should guide a scholar in treating of societies and religious systems other than

his own[e]. He criticised the tendency to misrepresent other societies or to depend on "second hand information which one has copied from the others, a farrago of materials never sifted by the sieve of critical examination." The principle which he adopted was to adhere to the accounts of the Hindus as given in their own authentic works. He says about his own work: "This book is not a polemical one. I shall not produce the arguments of our antagonists in order to refute such of them as I believe to be in the wrong. My book is nothing but a simple historic record of facts. I shall place before the reader the theories of the Hindus exactly as they are, and I shall mention in connection with them similar theories of the Greeks in order to show the relationship existing between them."[6]

Al-Biruni considered the Hindus excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and sound astrologers. He fully appreciated their mental achievements, and when he came across anything noble in their sciences or practical life, he did not fail to praise it. Writing about the large-sized Hindu tanks at holy bathing-places he says: "In this they have attained a very high degree of art, so that our people (*i.e.* the Muslims) when they see them wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them."[7]

Al-Biruni was eminently fair and even sympathetic to the Hindus, but he fearlessly analysed their weaknesses, intellectual and others. A long section of Chapter XVI of his book deals with "strange manners and customs of Hindus" and contains such intimate details that Sachau, the translator of the book, had to give many passages in Latin rather than in plain English. His translation of al-Biruni's sarcastic remarks "regarding the horrid practices of Rasayana, *i.e.* the art of making gold, of making old people young etc." also contains a toned down version of the original. Al-Biruni had no patience with humbug. The first chapter of the *Kitab-ul-Hind,* dealing with the Hindus in general is also a penetrating analysis of the intellectual weaknesses of the Hindu society. One of the passages deserves to be quoted at length. "We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but

(*e*) Observance of these principles, uncommon even at present, was of course rare in the Middle Ages. In *Dabistan-i-Mazakib*, however, we find an approach similar to that of al-Biruni.

theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner."[8]

In dealing with the Muslims, al-Biruni displays similar objectivity and detachment. He repeatedly refers to the matters in which Muslims could justly claim superiority over the Hindus of his day. He contrasted the democratic equality of the Muslim society with the Hindu caste system, and the cleanliness and decency of Muslims with many filthy customs current among the Hindus[9] but he pointed out Muslim weaknesses also. While appreciative of Mahmud in many respects, al-Biruni did not hesitate to point out the complications created for the students of Hindu sciences by Mahmud's military expeditions. "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places, which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places."[10]

Mahmud's Successors.

On Mahmud's death, there was a struggle for the throne in which his eldest son Mas'ud was successful (1031 A.D.). Affairs at Lahore were soon to receive Mas'ud's attention. Being dissatisfied with the Ghaznavid governor of the place, he recalled him and later sent Ahmad Niyaltgin, his father's treasurer, in his place. The instructions issued to the officers at Lahore at the time of this administrative reorganisation are interesting. "They were not to undertake without permission expeditions beyond the limits of the Punjab, but were to accompany Ahmad on any expedition which he might undertake; they were not to drink, play polo, or mix in social intercourse with the Hindu officers at Lahore, and they were to refrain from wounding the susceptibilities of these officers and their troops by inopportune display of religious bigotry."[11] Ahmad Niyaltgin soon got into difficulties with Abul Hasan,

"The Shirazi Qazi", who had been sent to collect the revenue and inquire into the affairs of the earlier administration. In 1034, Ahmad returned from a very successful raid against Benares, but failed to remit the spoils of victory to Ghazni. This gave an opportunity to the Qazi who sent reports to Mas'ud that the governor was utilising the plunder of Benares to raise a powerful army and was on the point of revolt. Mas'ud decided upon punitive action against the governor, and the command of this responsible and hazardous expedition was entrusted to Tilak, one of his Hindu generals. Ahmad Niyaltigin was defeated, and his head was sent to Ghazni. In 1037, Mas'ud came to India and in fulfilment of a vow, taken during an illness, attacked and captured the fortress of Hansi, hitherto considered impregnable by the Hindus. During his absence, the Saljuq Turks invaded the western and northern territory of the Ghaznavid empire and occupied Nishapur. Mas'ud returned to deal with them, but was defeated and fled towards Lahore. When the royal party reached Marigala pass between Rawalpindi and Attock, the Turkish and Hindu guards mutinied, and the Sultan's brother was placed upon the throne. Mas'ud's son Maudud, however, defeated his uncle and in 1042 occupied the throne. During his reign Mahipal, the raja of Delhi, made a determined attempt to oust the Ghaznavids from the Punjab. He recaptured Hansi, Thanesar and Kangra and besieged Lahore, but was unable to take the town. In Lahore there is an old graveyard, known as *Ganj-i-Shahidan* (The Repository of Martyrs), and according to local tradition, the Muslims who lost their lives while defending Lahore are buried there. In 1048 Maudud appointed two of his sons to the government of Lahore and Peshawar, and sent Bu 'Ali Hasan, the *kotwal* of Ghazni to deal with the Hindu resurgence. These measures were successful, but Maudud died shortly thereafter (December, 1049).

The next important ruler was Sultan Ibrahim, whose long and peaceful reign of forty years (1059-1099) constitutes the golden period of Ghaznavid Punjab. Ibrahim had ensured the stability of his northern and western frontiers by entering into a treaty with the Saljuqs and his son Mas'ud II married the daughter of Sultan Malik Shah. Secure at home, Ibrahim could pay attention to India, and in 1079 crossed the southern border of the Punjab, and captured Ajodhan, now known as Pakpattan.

His military commander at Lahore, the brilliant Abul Najm Zarir Shaibani was constantly on the offensive, and carried successful raids against Benares, Thanesar and Kanauj, but the main achievement of Ibrahim's reign was Lahore's rise as a great cultural centre under the viceroyalty of Shirzad, his grandson. Ibrahim was succeeded to the throne by his son Mas'ud III, who also ruled peacefully for sixteen years (1099—1115). Shirzad succeeded him, but he was deposed in the following year, and after the brief rule of Arsalan, Bahram came to the throne.

Conflict with Ghur and destruction of Ghazni.

In 1118 Bahram ascended the throne of Ghazni and had a long troubled reign of 33 years. He was a patron of letters. Amongst the poets who wrote penegyrics in his praise were Hakim Sanai, (the author of the famous mystical masnavi *Hadiqa)* and Hasan Ghaznavi, but he got into serious trouble with the chiefs of Ghur, which proved fatal to his dynasty. Ghur is the hilly area between Herat and Kabul, and was conquered in the days of Mahmud, but owing to its inaccessibility many areas remained virtually independent. There was repeated fighting between the Ghaznavids and the chiefs of Ghur who gradually grew powerful, while the reigning dynasty was weakened by protracted fighting with the Saljuqs. During Bahram's reign Qutb-ud-din Muhammad, a Ghuri chief took the title of Malik-ul-Jabal (the King of the Mountains). Bahram gave him his daughter in marriage, but later, suspecting trouble had him poisoned. To avenge his death, his brother Saif-ud-din collected a large body of men at Firuz Koh, the capital of Ghur and set out for Ghazni. He defeated Bahram and forced him to flee to India but in 1149 Bahram returned suddenly to Ghazni, surprised Saif-ud-din and re-occupied his capital. Saif-ud-din, who had surrendered on the promise of his life being spared was put to death under revolting circumstances. This aroused the ire of his brother, 'Ala-ud-din Husain, known in history as Jahan Suz, or the World-Burner, who took a terrible vengeance. He captured Ghazni in 1151 and set fire to the splendid capital, which was reduced to ashes. The remains of the Ghaznavid kings other than Mas'ud I and Ibrahim, were dug up and burnt and their tombs destroyed. The same process of destruction was repeated in the provinces. Bahram, who re-occupied what remained of Ghazni when 'Ala-ud-din Husain was defeated and temporarily imprisoned by Sultan Sanjar Saljuqi,

died in 1152 and was followed by Khusrau Shah. During his reign a horde of the Ghuzz tribe of Turkmans occupied Ghazni and Khusrau escaped to the Punjab, now the sole possession left to the Ghaznavids. He died in 1160 and was succeeded by Khusrau Malik in whose days the power of the Ghurids was revived. By then the hardy mountaineers had become more cultured and civilised and started their conquests on a more systematic basis. Their capital, Firuz Koh[f] attracted men like Nizami 'Aruzi, the author of *Chahar Maqala* "one of the most interesting and remarkable prose works in Persian." After the death of 'Ala-ud-din Jahan Suz, his son succeeded him, but ultimately the authority at Ghur fell into the hands of his two nephews, whom 'Ala-ud-din had kept imprisoned, but who were released by his son. In 1173 'Ala-ud-din's nephews drove out the Turkmans from Ghazni and the younger brother Mu'iz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam, (better known in the Indo-Pak subcontinent as Muhammad Ghuri) was stationed there as the lieutenant of the elder brother Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad, who governed the extensive Ghurid dominion from Firuz Koh. From his base at Ghazni Muhammad Ghuri undertook the conquest of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. In 1186 he captured Khusrau Malik, annexed Lahore, and brought to end the rule of the Yamini dynasty.

Hindu-Muslim relations during the Ghaznavid period.

Mahmud invaded the subcontinent several times and sacked many rich Hindu temples. His successors attempted to repeat his performance whenever an opportunity offered itself. This could not have endeared them to the Hindu rajas or even the people at large but there is plenty of evidence to show that even during the Ghaznavid period there were peaceful contacts between the Hindus and the Muslims. They were interrupted during military operations, but as soon as they were over and peace restored, "caravans travelled in full security between Khurasan and

(*f*) This area is now known as Hazarajat. In the twelfth century, it "was probably inhabited by an eastern Iranian people conveniently known to both Afghans and Turks as Tajiks". (Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 122). Firuz Koh has been located in the Herat Province of Afghanistan. It is 65 Kilometres northwest of Chist, the birth place of Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti of Ajmer. A magnificent minaret, which is believed to have inspired Qutb Minar of Delhi, has been recently discovered, close to the river *Hari Rud*, and not far from what is believed to be the site of Firuz Koh.

Hind."[12] When Mas'ud I captured Benares in 1033, he found Muslim merchants prisoners in the fort. According to Ibn-ul-Athir, there were Muslims in the Benares area "since the days of Mahmud bin Subuktigin who continued faithful to the law of Islam, and constant in prayer and good works."[13] There is a persistent local tradition in certain old centres in the heart of Uttar Pradesh that Muslim families had settled there long before the conquest of the area by Muhammad Ghuri. The *Benares District Gazetteer*, for example, states that in the city of Benares there are Muslim *mohallas*, which are anterior in date to the conquest of Benares by the Muslims. Similar traditions are current about Maner in Bihar.[14]

The only area of which anything like a history for the Hindu period is available, is Kashmir, and there we get plenty of information about the peaceful presence of the Muslims amongst the Hindus. "Muslim traders and soldiers of fortune began to enter Kashmir from an early date. Kalhana records that Lalitaditya's son and successor Vajraditya sold many men to the *mlecchas*, and introduced into the country practices which befitted the *mlecchas*. Later, Harsa[g] employed Turkish soldiers and under Muslim influence adopted elaborate fashions in dress and ornaments. During the reign of Bhiksacara (1120-21), Muslim soldiers were again employed and sent to attack Sussala in Lahore. From the accounts of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, it appears that already by the end of the thirteenth century there was a colony of Muslims in Kashmir, for he says that the people of the valley do not kill animals, but that if they want to eat meat, they get the Saracens, who dwell among them, to play the butcher. These Saracens must have been either emigrants from Turkistan or Hindus converted to Islam by the pietist missionaries from India and Central Asia."[15]

Apart from this peaceful co-existence, the position of the Hindu generals, soldiers and scholars at the Ghaznavid court was very significant. Even Mahmud, the iconoclast, had a contingent of Hindu officers and soldiers. He richly rewarded at least one Sanskrit poet (at Kalinjar) and even issued coins with Sanskrit inscriptions. He had Hindu *pandits* at his court. The status of the Hindus seems to have greatly improved in the days of his

(*g*) This is Harsha the ruler of Kashmir (1089—1101), and should not be confused with the famous Harsha of Kanauj.

successor, Mas'ud. Only fifty days after the death of Mahmud, his son despatched Sewand Rai, a Hindu chief with a numerous body of Hindu cavalry in pursuit of the nobles who had espoused the cause of his brother. Sewand Rai died in the ensuing battle but his selection for this important assignment indicates his position of trust and eminence. Five years later, Tilak, another Hindu general acquired a dominant position. He was the son of a barber but had a good personality and an eloquent tongue. He wrote an excellent hand both in Hindi and Persian. He became "one of the great confidants" of Khwaja Ahmad Hasan Maimandi, the influential wazir of Sultan Mahmud and his successor. The Khwaja made Tilak his secretary and interpreter between him and the Hindus. When in 1033, news was received from Lahore of the rebellion of Ahmad Niyaltigin, Tilak was sent to deal with him. The extreme measures which, according to the historian Baihaqi, were taken by the Hindu general against the Muslim partisans of Ahmad, show his confidence and sense of security. "When Tilak arrived at Lahore, he took several Musulmans prisoners, who were the friends of Ahmad, and ordered their right hands to be cut off; that the men who were with Ahmad were so terrified at this punishment and display of power, that they sued for mercy and deserted him."[16] Tilak, "in full confidence and power," pursued Ahmad with a large body of men, chiefly Hindu, till the erstwhile governer was killed in an encounter, and his head taken to Ghazni by the victorious Tilak.

The role of Hindus in Mas'ud's army may be estimated by the fact that at the battle of Kirman, they formed fully one half of the cavalry, there being 2,000 Hindus, 1,000 Turks, and 1,000 Kurds and Arabs. They fared very badly in this battle, and later, six of their officers committed suicide in accordance with the Rajput practice. The Hindu contingent was equally ineffective at Merv some time later.[h] These repeated disasters must have led to the reduction of the Hindu element in the army of Ghazni, but the contemporary evidence clearly shows that the position of the Hindus under the Ghaznavids was very much better than it became in the early days of the Sultanate of Delhi.

(h) This is based on C.H.I. Vol III, p. 31. Bosworth, however, says that the "Indian troops were of a good quality", and their "poor showing" at Kirman in 1034 "seems to have been an isolated occurrence" (*The Ghaznavids*, p. 110).

Lahore, "The Smaller Ghazni"

Of more lasting importance than the vicissitudes of the house of Mahmud is the cultural heritage of Ghazni, particularly in relation to that part of the Ghaznavid empire which now constitutes West Pakistan. The court chroniclers of Ghazni have not paid the subject proper attention, but there are indications in contemporary literature to show that the Muslim government at Lahore was vigorous and the city had become a great cultural centre. Ghazni was at this time the most important Muslim cultural centre east of Baghdad, and the Turkish and Persian officers who were posted at Lahore tried to make the city a miniature Ghazni. Usually a distinguished royal prince was appointed the *Na'ib* (viceroy) of the Punjab, and maintained an elaborate court. Conflicts with the neighbouring Hindu rajas necessitated that only trusted generals and experienced administrators should be posted at Lahore, and generally the regional capital had many distinguished residents. The long and peaceful reigns of Ibrahim and his successor (1059-1115) provided the background for the first golden era of Ghaznavid rule at Lahore. The cultural growth of the city owed much to Abu Nasr Farsi, the distinguished secretary of Shirzad who was viceroy of Lahore for many years. He established a *khanqah* (hospice) at Lahore which attracted scholars from far and near. "In large numbers seekers after knowledge from all parts of India, and from territories of Kashghar, Transoxiana, Iraq, Bukhara, Samarqand, Khurasan, Ghazni, Herat etc., benefited by the same. Consequently a new settlement grew up in the neighbourhood of Lahore."[17] Equally distinguished in another sphere was Zarir Shaibani, the local commander-in-chief, whose successful expeditions "revived the glories of Mahmud's exploits." He and other distinguished officers and administrators maintained a quasi independent government in the Punjab, and the court at Lahore was adorned by poets not much inferior to those living in Ghazni.

The first Persian poet of the area, to whom a reference is found in literary histories, was Mas'ud Razi who was a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud and his son Mas'ud. In 1039, Razi recited a poem in the court of Mas'ud in which he appealed to the king to deal with the growing menace of the Saljuqs. "The ants have become snakes" and "may become dragons, if neglected." The king resented this overt reference to his weakness, and exiled the poet to the Punjab.[18] Next year the king relented and appointed

him in charge of the affairs at Jhelum, but did not permit his return to Ghazni. Mas'ud Razi died in 1077. With the exception of a few verses, his work has perished, but the *diwan* of his distinguished son Abul Farj Runi, who spent most of his time at Lahore, has survived, and has been published in Iran.

The most notable poet of the period, who was closely associated with Lahore was Mas'ud Sa'd Salman. His father held high office under the viceroy of Lahore, and Mas'ud was born in (*circa*) 1048 and educated in Lahore. He was a great favourite of Prince Saif-ud-daula Mahmud, son of Sultan Ibrahim (1059-1099) when the prince was the viceroy of Hindustan, and composed many *qasidas* eulogising the victories of his patron. When the prince fell out of royal favour, the poet lost his *jagir*, and later remained imprisoned for 10 years on account of his suspected share in Saif-ud-daula's treasonable proceedings. He was released shortly before Sultan Ibrahim's death in 1099 and was given responsible posts, including the governorship of Jullundur. When his patron Abu Nasr Farsi incurred royal displeasure, Mas'ud was again thrown into prison. He was ultimately released in about 1007, became the royal librarian, and after a respite of some 15 years which enabled him to arrange his voluminous *diwan*, died in 1121-22. Mas'ud wrote poetry in Persian, Arabic and (old) Hindi, but no specimen of his verses in the last two languages is extant. His Persian works, published in Iran, cover nearly eight hundred pages, and a modern Iranian critic has included him among the ten greatest poets of the Persian language.[19] His most moving poems are his *Habsiyat*, the poems composed in captivity, in which he gives expression to a nostalgic longing for Lahore. Mas'ud and his contemporaries represent the first phase of Persian poetry. This was the early virile age, which produced the great national epic of Iran, and Mas'ud's poetry is marked more by rugged simplicity and vigour, than the more refined lyricism of the later date.

Amongst the prose writers of this period, the most famous was the saint 'Ali Hujwiri, popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh of Lahore, who died in 1071. He wrote both in prose and verse, but his *diwan* was lost during his lifetime, and the few verses that are quoted in his prose works are not of a high order. His fame as an author rests on *Kashf-ul-Mahjub*, which is the oldest extant work on Sufism in Persian, and has been translated into English

by Professor Nicholson of Cambridge University. The value of *Kashf-ul-Mahjub* lies not only in the authentic information which it gives about the earlier and contemporary mystic orders, but in being a systematic and sound exposition of *tasawwuf*, and it has been regarded as a standard text-book in Sufi circles.

A later scholar who distinguished himself in the study of *hadis*, Arabic philology, and even practical diplomacy was Imam Hasan al-Saghani. He was born at Lahore in 1181, and received his early education under his father, himself a scholar of distinction. By the age of twenty-five he had so distinguished himself in Islamic law that Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak wished to appoint him the Qazi of Lahore.[20] Al-Saghani, however, declined and left for higher studies for Ghazni, and later for Hijaz. He ultimately settled down at Baghdad, where he was held in great respect. He was twice sent as an ambassador to Delhi by the Abbasid *Khalifa* and died at Baghdad in 1252. He wrote a large number of standard books on lexicography, *hadis* and *fiqh*, and his *Masharaq-ul-Anwar* was for long the principal text-book of *hadis* in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It gained popularity in other countries also, and is stated to have been the subject matter of 2,500 summaries and commentaries.

The cultural importance of Lahore did not decline on account of the vicissitudes which Mahmud's dynasty suffered in Ghazni. Indeed, when in 1151 Ghazni was reduced to ashes and the Ghaznavid kings had to flee from there, Lahore became the headquarter of the dynasty. Along with the Ghaznavid ruler, many important poets, writers and philosophers migrated to Lahore. Khusrau Malik, the last Ghaznavid ruler, did not distinguish himself on the battlefield, but his court contained many distinguished men of letters, and since throughout his reign and even earlier the administrative capital of the dynasty was Lahore, these poets and writers must have been the residents of this place. Unluckily, their works have perished, except for a few poems recorded by 'Aufi. When in 1186 Sultan Muhammad Ghuri captured Lahore, and Khusrau Malik was imprisoned, the local population transferred their allegiance to him. Lahore retained its importance for some years longer, and Sultan Qutb-ud-din Aibak lived throughout his reign at the old Ghaznavid stronghold in preference to Delhi. Later, when Iltutmish made Delhi his capital, Lahore lost its central position and did not recover

its importance till the days of Akbar.

Heritage of Ghazni.

Arab rule in Sind and Multan brought Islam to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent on an extensive and organised basis. It resulted in the adoption of Arabic script for the Sindhi language, set a liberal pattern for dealing with the Hindus and facilitated fruitful intellectual contacts between Baghdad and the subcontinent. The Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore and Multan had even more far-reaching results. To this period belong Mas'ud Sa'd Salman, the poet, and Data Ganj Bakhsh, the Sufi saint, two towering figures of Indo-Muslim literary and religious history. The invisible and indirect consequences of Ghaznavid rule were even more profound. Persian, which was adopted as the court language and was the vehicle of literary and cultural expression during the Ghaznavid period, continued to hold this position throughout the Muslim rule. The form of Persian which remained current in Muslim India was that in vogue in Afghanistan and Central Asia and not the pure Persian of Isfahan and Shiraz. Partly on account of the linguistic affinity and partly on account of the fact that the waves of the immigrants who established Muslim culture in the Indo-Pak subcontinent during the Ghaznavid and subsequent periods, came through Ghazni and Bukhara, the entire cultural pattern of Muslim India was dominated by the Central Asian tradition. This continued till the days of the Mughals who themselves were Turks from Central Asia, but in whose days closer contacts were established with Iran and Arabia, and the cultural pattern became more diversified. Even then, out of several strands which provided the warp and woof of Muslim civilisation in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, the most dominant during the period of Muslim rule was the influence of Central Asia. After the establishment of Muslim Delhi, the administrative system was modelled on that of Ghazni. The ultimate prototype of the governments set up on the eastern frontiers of the Abbasid caliphate was the administrative structure at Baghdad, but they had developed marked characteristics of their own. The Samanids of Bukhara built up a centralised system of government (as opposed to the local autonomy of the older city-states of Transoxiana), had an elaborate administrative structure consisting of nine *diwans* (departments of government) reminiscient in their multiplicity and nomenclature of the system of government, and following the example of Baghdad made their

court a centre of culture and gracious living. In spirit the government at Bukhara was what Rosenthall and Bosworth have called "a power-state." In religion Bukhara stood for strong Sunni orthodoxy in opposition to the Shi'a Buwayhids and Isma'ilis. Ghazni inherited these traditions and administrative structure, and in due course they were transplanted to Delhi. Muslim political institutions, military and administrative organisation, ethics and jurisprudence, in fact the entire pattern of Muslim life bear the impress of Ghazni and Bukhara. It was the *Hidaya* of a Central Asian lawyer, which became the standard legal text-book in Muslim India, and the same tradition in other spheres. Central Asian cultural predominance became firmly entrenched, when a large number of Muslim scholars, writers and dervishes from Central Asia took refuge in Muslim India, to escape the atrocities of the Mongols.

CHAPTER III

SHIHAB-UD-DIN GHURI AND THE CONQUEST OF NORTHERN INDIA.

CHRONOLOGY

	Muhammad Ghuri's Conquest of Multan and Uch.	1175
	Defeated by Raja of Gujarat.	1178
	Conquest of Lahore.	1186
	First Battle of Tarain.	1191
	Second Battle of Tarain.	1192
	Conquest of Delhi by Aibak.	1193
Circa	Conquest of Bengal by Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji.	1200
	Muhammad Ghuri ascends the throne.	1203
	Assassination of Muhammad Ghuri.	1206

Muslim Conquest of Northern India.

After the death of Mahmud in 1030, there were occasional incursions into Hindu territory from the Ghaznavid base at Lahore, but no major territorial changes took place and Hindu India enjoyed a respite from foreign invasion for a century and a half. This, however, did not lead to national consolidation, and a number of principalities grew up in different parts of the subcontinent. In the north the most important were the kingdoms of Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj, Bundhelkhand, Gujarat, Malwa and Bengal. On occasions, they would come together for common purposes, but normally there was no cohesion between them, and it was possible for a leader of determination to subdue them one after the other.

Shihab-ud-din Ghuri[a] who exploited this situation did not confine himself like Mahmud, to military raids and glory, but laid

(*a*) The name of the Ghuri king was Muhammad. As a prince and the deputy of his royal brother, his title was Shihab-ud-din. After ascending the throne in 1203, he took the title of Mu'iz-ud-din, but as most of his conquests in the Indo-Pak subcontinent were effected before this, he is often referred to as Shihab-ud-din Ghuri or simply as Muhammad Ghuri.

the firm foundation of Muslim empire in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. To do so he had to bring under his control the Muslim kingdoms on the frontier, and in 1175, soon after the conquest of Ghazni he occupied Multan and Uch. At that time the most frequented route from Ghazni into India was not the well-known Khyber pass, or the Bolan pass in the south, but the Gomal, which led to present Dera Isma'il Khan and to upper Sind Sagar Doab. Shihab-ud-din followed this route, and for some years left Peshawar and Lahore undisturbed. After occupying upper Sind in 1178, he turned to Anhilwara or Patan, the capital of Gujarat, possibly attracted by its riches which could provide an economic basis for his military schemes. He was, however, defeated and had to change his strategy. He now turned to the Khyber and the Punjab. Peshawar was taken in 1179, Sialkot fell in 1185, and Lahore was finally occupied in 1186. In the winter of 1190-91, Ghuri conquered the Hindu fort of Tabarhind (Bhatinda)[aa] and placed it in charge of a governor. He was returning to Ghazni when he received information from the governor that Prithvi Raj, the Raja of Ajmer and Delhi, was on his way to Bhatinda, and immediate help was needed. Part of the Muslim army had already dispersed, but in view of the danger to which Bhatinda was exposed, Shihab-ud-din returned and met the forces of Prithvi Raj at Tarain (modern Taraori), near Karnal. The Rajputs attacked with such vigour that the Muslim forces were broken up, and both wings of the Muslim army were driven from the field. The centre, however, stood firm under Shihab-ud-din, who in a determined charge against the Hindu centre in person attacked Govind Rai, the Raja's brother and the commander-in-chief of the Indian army. The Muslim commander struck Govind Rai with a lance, and shattered his front teeth but the Hindu general drove his javelin through his arm. Shihab-ud-din, faint from pain and loss of blood, was about to fall from his horse when a young Khalji, with great presence of mind sprang upon his horse, steadied him and carried him back to the place where the Muslim army had halted. Here a litter was hastily prepared for the prince and the army returned to Ghazni in comparative order.

This was the first major defeat suffered by Muslims in northern India, and it deeply hurt Muhammad Ghuri. On his re-

(*aa*) This is according to C.H.I. According to another view the reference is to the fort of Sirhind.

turn to the capital, he meted out exemplary punishment to the army chiefs who had fled from the battlefield. The prince imposed a severe penance on himself, and did not wear fine clothes or engage in any festivities for one year, but concentrated all his energies on preparations for a 'second round'.

In 1192, the two armies met again on the battlefield of Tarain. The Indian armies far exceeded Muhammad Ghuri's forces in number, but his brilliant generalship and superior tactics gave him a decisive victory. The Indian commander-in-chief fell on the battlefield. Prithvi Raj was captured in the course of flight and the Indian army was completely routed. This victory made Shihab-ud-din master of Delhi and Ajmer. He left Qutb-ud-din Aibak to consolidate the new conquests at Kuhram (in East Punjab), but, in conformity with Muhammad bin Qasim's policy of appointing local governors,—a policy which Mahmud had also unsuccessfully tried to adopt,—a son of Prithvi Raj was appointed governor of Ajmer on his undertaking to pay tribute. Prithvi Raj himself was taken to Ajmer, where, after some time, being found guilty of treason, he was executed. A few of his coins with the Sanskrit superscription 'Hammira' (*i.e.* Amir) on the obverse have been found, which suggest his having initially accepted Muslim suzerainty.

Conquest of Bengal.

Shihab-ud-din who returned to Ghazni after the battle of Tarain, was back again two years later to deal with the powerful Raja of Kanauj and Benares. This required elaborate preparations and the ensuing battle was severely contested, but the Muslims were victorious and added a great kingdom to their dominions. Meanwhile, early in 1193, Qutb-ud-din Aibak had occupied Delhi, the future seat of Muslim power in India. Hazabr-ud-din Hasan Adib, an adventurous officer had conquered Badaun in the heart of the Gangetic Plain, even before Muhammad Ghuri had taken Sirhind and Malik Husam-ud-din Ughulbak, another leader of the vanguard of Islam had established himself in Oudh.

These brilliant victories, indicative of the spirit and resourcefulness of early Muslim officers, were soon eclipsed by the exploits of Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khalji. He had been assigned certain villages in Oudh, and from his advanced base between the Ganges and the Son, carried on raids into Bihar and Tirhut. His success attracted to him a large number of

adventurous soldiers and with them he invaded and conquered southern parts of Bihar, probably in 1199. Later, he presented himself before Aibak, who conferred on him his recent conquests as fief. This encouraged Ikhtiyar-ud-din who now planned to extend the Muslim dominion to the most eastern parts of the sub-continent. In 1201, he left Bihar with a large body of horse and marched so rapidly against Nadiya, the capital of Bengal, that when he arrived at the city, only eighteen of his companions had been able to keep pace with him. Nadiya was partly deserted at this time, and the Muslim commander and his eighteen companions were able to pass through the city gates unchallenged, as they did not disturb anybody and were taken to be horse-dealers from the north. They reached the Raja's palace situated on the banks of the Ganges and cut down the guards. Raja Lakshmansena, the ruler of Bengal, was in the palace, but escaped through a postern gate by boat. Muslims were able to hold their own until the rest of the army arrived, when they took complete control of the capital and laid the foundation of Muslim rule in the north-western part of Bengal. The Raja moved to Vikrampur (near modern Dacca), where his family continued to rule for another three generations.

After his victory over the Raja of Kanauj, Muhammad Ghuri, who succeeded his brother on the throne in 1203, remained pre-occupied with the affairs of Central Asia. In 1205, he suffered a defeat at the hands of the Qara Khitai Turks and rumours spread that he had been killed. The Khokhars and some other tribes in the Salt Range of the Punjab rose in rebellion under the leadership of a renegade raja. The rebels defeated the deputy governor of Multan, plundered Lahore, and by stopping communications between that city and Ghazni prevented the remittance of revenue from the Punjab. The situation became so serious that it required the Sultan's personal attention, and in October, 1205, he left Ghazni for India. The battle with the Khokhars was severely contested, but after the arrival of Aibak with the army of Hindustan, the rebellion was completely crushed, and in February, 1206, Ghuri arrived at Lahore. He permitted his troops to return to their homes in order to make preparations for his projected operations in Central Asia, and was returning to Ghazni with a small contingent when on March 15, 1206, he was assassinated at Damiyak, probably by an Isma'ili heretic.

The death of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri within fourteen years of the victory at Tarain was a great blow to the rising Muslim power in India, but it came after his main task had been accomplished. At the time of his death, practically the whole of northern India was under Muslim rule, and in Aibak, Iltutmish, Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, and Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji, he was leaving a group of capable officers who could complete his task. The Sultan was without a son but when a courtier sympathised with him on this, he smiled and said that the large number of slaves whom he had brought up and trained were like sons to him. This was not wishful thinking, for the Sultan's well-trained slaves who rose to high positions and later established the Slave Dynasty, proved worthy heirs.

Muhammad Ghuri's Character.

Muhammad Ghuri was not such a brilliant general as Mahmud, but surpassed him in singleness of purpose, strength of character and constructive ability. The reverses on the battlefield did not deflect him from his objective, and with his persistence and resourcefulness, he turned initial failures into fruitful victories. He was the founder of the Muslim empire in India, but he was free from fanaticism, and was not guided by hatred or prejudices against non-Muslims. He had the support of the Hindu rajas in several battles. In his war against Muslim kingdoms on the frontier, the Hindu Raja of Jammu sided with him and according to Hindu writers, the Raja of Kanauj was his ally in the second battle of Tarain. After his victories, the Sultan treated the old Hindu families with consideration. After defeating Prithvi Raj, he entrusted the government of Ajmer to his son, and only after the latter's treasonable conduct was Ajmer occupied and its administration entrusted to a Muslim governor. An interesting example of Ghuri's moderation, practical outlook and regard for local usage (and the transitional stages through which Muslim sovereignty passed before its ultimate consolidation) may be seen in his Indian coinage, which is in Hindi script and in some cases bears the names of both the Sultan and Prithvi Raj.

'Aufi records an interesting anecdote, which not only throws light on Muhammad Ghuri's equity and good sense but shows that peaceful commercial relations existed between Ghazni and Hindu India. When Ghuri was defeated in 1178 by the ruler of Gujarat and returned crest-fallen to Ghazni, he was told that

there was a rich merchant at the captial of Gujarat, who sent large consignments of merchandise to his agents and that at that time there was property belonging to him in Ghazni of the value of a million rupees. It was suggested that if the king were to confiscate this property for his own use, he would be able to raise an army and replenish the exhausted treasury. Ghuri replied that if he were to conquer Gujarat, he might appropriate the merchant's wealth but to seize it in Ghazni would be contrary to the dictates of justice.[1]

The Sultan's other remarkable quality was his deep sense of personal loyalty. He achieved his victories in India, when his brother occupied the throne at the Ghuri capital Firuz Koh, and he was only his *Na'ib* at Ghazni. Nobody acquainted with the course of Oriental history would have been surprised if he had asserted his independence, but he remained content with the position of a deputy. The richest items in the booty after every battle were reserved for the elder brother in Firuz Koh, who never set foot in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, but heads the list of the Muslim kings of Delhi inscribed on the Qutb Minar. On his brother's death in February 1203, Muhammad Ghuri became the sole ruler of the Ghuri empire, but he entrusted vast territories to the sons of his brother.

Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji & the conquest of Bihar and Bengal.

The example of deep devotion and loyalty set by Muhammad Ghuri was followed by his officers and generals with regard to him. They referred to him with almost filial devotion or the enthusiastic regard of a disciple for a *pir*. They attributed their victories to the Sultan's blessing, and their setbacks to its loss. Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji after his brilliant success in the eastern parts of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, set about consolidating his position. His restless ambition and daring, however, took him into perilous paths. After the conquest of Bihar and Bengal, he first annexed parts of Assam and later attempted an invasion of Tibet. Owing to little known and perilous communications, the hostility of the hill tribes and other basic difficulties, the campaign was a disastrous failure, but even though unsuccessful, it gives some measure of the men who helped in establishing Muslim rule in India. An early British officer posted in the regions traversed by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar wrote :—

"When we reflect that this expedition was made before the invention of the firearms, and the invaders had therefore no advantage over the people of the country in regard to their weapons, while the country is in no part favourable for cavalry, we cannot but feel our respect for the skill, energy and enterprise of the early Muhammadan conquerors of India considerably elevated."[2]

After losing the greater part of his army, Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar returned heart-broken to Devkot, his headquarters in northern Bengal, and soon died of grief. Minhaj-us-Siraj, who visited Bengal shortly after this, records that in those dark moments, the Khalji chief would wonder why good luck had deserted him, and used to say that "something must have happened to Sultan Ghuri and that was why fortune had abandoned him." This was not incorrect as shortly before this disaster, Muhammad Ghuri had met his end in the other corner of the subcontinent.[b]

Causes of Muslim success.

The most important factor responsible for the phenomenal Muslim success in India was the quality of their men. Some indication of this has been given in the preceding paragraphs. The second factor, partly depending on the first, was the quality of Muslim leadership. The general impression that the Muslim victories were easy and uninterrupted is not correct, as may be seen from the career of Muhammad Ghuri himself. They suffered reverses and later, there was a powerful Hindu counter-offensive in many areas. Muslim commanders were not only able to wipe out the effects of

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(*b*) Referring to "the mosques, *madrassas*, and *khanqahs*" set up by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar in north Bengal, Dr. Qanungo says : "These have all perished, and even his last resting place in Devkot or Bihar none of his countrymen remembers" (*History of Bengal*, Volume II, p. 14).

We cannot write here about "the mosques, *madrassas* and *khanqahs*" which were established in the area around Devkot, but it is possible to quote from the Settlement Report about his countrymen's rememberance of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar's "last resting place." Mr. F. P. Bell, I.C.S., Settlement Officer, Dinajpur, writes in his Settlement Report published in 1940, "Two officers of our staff reported that there was a supposed grave of Bakhtiyar Khalji at Narayanpur, west of Punarabk from Gangarampur". The busy officer, however, dismissed the matter, with the remark "that the grave of such a celebrity" could not have been neglected by antiquarians for so many years. Little did he realise how badly Muslim monuments of Bengal have been neglected !

various set-backs, but a study of crucial battles, like that of Tarain, shows that the Muslim victories against heavy odds were due to the superior generalship of the Muslim commanders and the fact that they were able to exploit their limited resources to the fullest possible advantage by adopting the most suitable tactics, like the feigned withdrawal of Muhammad Ghuri at the second battle of Tarain and the shock of a sudden surprise at Nadiya by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji.

Another factor which materially contributed to Muslim success was their superior horsemanship, and in fact the victories of Muslims over large Hindu hordes may be considered as the victory of the nimble-footed horse over the stately, but slow-moving elephant.

Other factors also contributed to Muslim success. The Muslims were always on the offensive and had the advantage of greater initiative and strategic flexibility. They were fighting hundreds of miles away from their homes, and had to fight desperately as they had no easy means of escape. Religious zeal must have also acted as a spur for their fighting qualities. The fighting men among Muslims were not confined to one class, like the Rajputs in India, and Muslim armies had picked and zealous soldiers from all classes and even different ethnic groups, such as the Turks, Tajiks, Khaljis, and the Afghans.

The factors outlined above were responsible for the speedy conquest of Northern India. The consolidation of Muslim rule, however, owed not a little to another event which was a tragedy for the Muslim countries of Central and Western Asia, but proved a blessing to Muslim India. This was the Mongol invasion, which drove a large number of refugees, amongst whom were princes, chiefs, soldiers, scholars and saints, to Muslim India. Thus, a vast reservoir of man-power became available to the new government at Delhi. These immigrants having suffered so much, did not spare themselves in making India a 'Citadel of Islam'.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY SLAVE KINGS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DELHI SULTANATE.

CHRONOLOGY

Qutb-ud-din Aibak.	1206-1210
Accession of Iltutmish.	1211
Defeat of Yildiz (of Ghazni).	1216
Chingiz Khan on the Indus.	1221
Defeat of Hisam-ud-din Iwaz (Bengal).	1225
Defeat of Qabacha (Sind).	1228
Patents from the Abbasid Khalifa.	1229
Death of Iltutmish.	1236
Death of Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din Ajmeri.	1236
Sultana Raziya.	1236-1240
Capture of Lahore by Mongols.	1241
Accession of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.	1246

Qutb-ud-din Aibak (1206-1210 A.D.)

The first independent Muslim king in the Indo-Pak subcontinent was originally a slave, and the rulers who succeeded him for nearly ninety years were either slaves or descendants of slaves. Qutb-ud-din Aibak had in his early life been sold to the Qazi of Nishapur, who impressed by his ability gave him high education. After the Qazi's death, he was sold to Shihab-ud-din Ghuri under whom he served with distinction, and in course of time was made the viceroy of his Indian possessions. On June 24, 1206, three months after Muhammad Ghuri's death he was crowned at Lahore. The contemporary ruler of Ghur conferred on him the title of the Sultan, sent him the royal insignia and standard, but his formal manumission was not obtained till 1208.[a] Owing to the disturbed situation in Ghazni and Ghur, he never moved east of Lahore, which remained his capital throughout his reign.

(a) Under Islamic law an un-manumitted slave cannot be accepted as ruler, and the fact that Qutb-ud-din Aibak was accepted as such has been a source of perplexity to later jurists, and some writers have even doubted whether he should be treated as an independent king.

The main work of Aibak had been accomplished as the deputy of Sultan Muhammad Ghuri. After his accession to the throne he made no new conquests, but consolidated the Muslim dominion by following a policy of conciliation and open-handed generosity, which earned him the title of *Lakhbakhsh*, or "the Giver of Lakhs". Aibak commenced the building of two magnificent mosques at Delhi and Ajmer. He was a patron of letters, and both Hasan Nizami and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir have dedicated their histories to him.

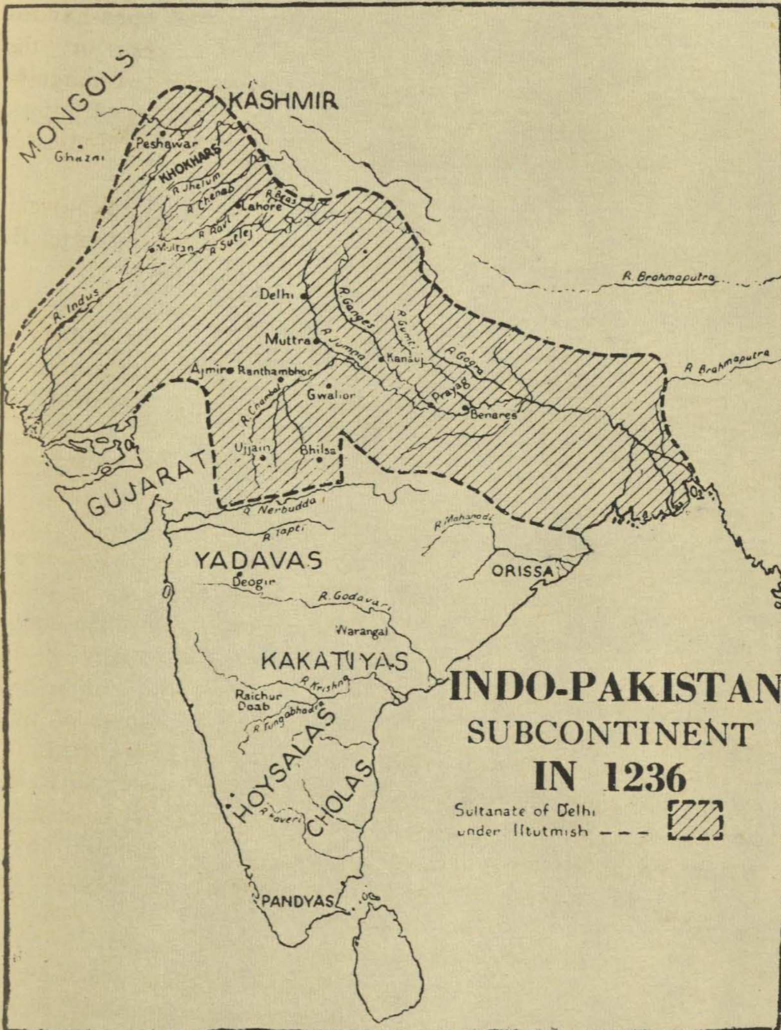
Unluckily his career was cut short by early death in November 1210, from the effects of an accident on the polo ground. He is buried not far from the Anarkali Bazar of Lahore.

On Aibak's death, his son, Aram Shah occupied the throne at Lahore, but he lacked ability and the nobles at Delhi elected Shams-ud-din Iltutmish, the competent governor of Badaun and son-in-law of Aibak as the ruler of Muslim India.

Shams-ud-din Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.)

Iltutmish was faced with a very difficult task. Not only was the Muslim rule in India far from consolidated, but the powerful *muqtis* in Bengal, Sind, and Multan challenged his claim. Yildiz, the ruler of Ghazni, laid claim as Muhammad Ghuri's successor, to suzerainty over all the latter's Indian conquests. On the other hand, the Hindu chiefs had by now recovered from the stunning effects of Muslim victories, and were winning back many of the strongholds originally conquered by the Muslims. Kalinjar had been recovered by them as early as 1206, and in course of time Jalor, Ranthambhor, Gwalior, and even Badaun, where Iltutmish held his last post before accession to the throne, were lost to the Muslims. In Oudh and the Doab the situation was most disturbed, and Minhaj-us-Siraj speaks of a Hindu chief named Baytu (Prithu) "beneath whose sword about a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmans had attained martyrdom."

Iltutmish, a wise and patient statesman, trained in the traditions of Muhammad Ghuri and Aibak, took his own time in dealing with these problems but eventually overcame all of them. He first consolidated his authority in the areas of Delhi, Badaun, Oudh and Benares, and then dealt with his Muslim opponents one by one. In 1216, he defeated and captured Yildiz, who, after his expulsion from Ghazni by the Khwarizmshahis, had occupied Lahore. In 1225, he turned his attention to Bengal and forced the



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local ruler to abandon the use of the royal title, acknowledge the authority of Delhi and pay regular tribute. After this, he dealt with Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, the powerful and popular ruler of Sind and western Punjab. On February 9, 1228, Iltutmish arrived at Uch, the capital of Qabacha and opened the siege. Uch surrendered on May 4, and a few days later Qabacha, who had moved to the island fortress of Bhakkar (situated between modern Sukkur and Rohri), found a watery grave in the Indus.

Iltutmish's reign coincided with the Mongol invasion of the Muslim lands. In 1221 Prince Jalal-ud-din of Khwarizm (modern Khiva), fleeing before the terrible Chingiz Khan, reached Lahore with 10,000 troops, and sent an envoy to Iltutmish, asking for asylum in his dominion. Iltutmish who did not wish to attract Chingiz Khan's wrath put off Jalal-ud-din, who, after nearly three years' stay in the Punjab in the course of which he entered into an alliance with the Khokhar Raja of the Salt Range, harried the dominions of Qabacha, and left for Persia.

Iltutmish was a pious ruler. He had a great regard for the Chishti saint Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, who came to Delhi from Ush, near Baghdad, and died on December 7, 1235. The Qutb Minar was built in 1231-32 in his honour and according to Sir Wolseley Haig "has no reference, as is commonly believed to Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the master and patron of Iltutmish."[1]

In 1234 an attempt was made by Isma'ili fanatics to assassinate the Sultan in order to establish their own faith as the state religion. Iltutmish used to attend the great mosque for Friday prayers like an ordinary Muslim and without any guards. One Friday, while the congregation was at prayers, a large body of armed Isma'ilis entered the mosque, drew their swords and cut their way through the congregation to the Sultan. Before they could attain their object, the alarm was given, the Sultan effected his escape, and the insurgents were successfuly dealt with by the neighbouring population.

Organisation of early Muslim Government.

Iltutmish can well contest with Balban the distinction of being the greatest of the Slave kings. They were opposites of each other in temperament and administrative policy, and though to judge by later history Balban's metamorphosis of the royal position

became firmly ingrained in the fabric of Muslim government, yet Iltutmish's work was historically of great importance. Aibak could do nothing except to maintain the position as it existed during Muhammad Ghuri's days, and Iltutmish was, for practical purposes, the first independent Muslim ruler of India. He had not only to deal with the opposition of powerful Muslim rivals, and the Hindu counter-offensive, but he had also to build up the fabric of a new administration, and organise different departments of the central government at Delhi. He was a cool, skilful organiser, and dealt with the problems of administration in the same statesmanlike manner in which he handled the threats to the security and integrity of the realm. In this his task was greatly facilitated by the model of government organisation which had been established at Ghazni and the copious literature which had appeared on statecraft and the art of government in Muslim countries. By now some of the classics of Muslim political theory, like the Arabic *Ahkam-us-Sultania*, the Persian *Qabus Nama* (1082) and the *Siyasat Nama* (1092), had already been written, in addition to other similar works which have perished. Iltutmish eagerly sought for them, and Barani quotes Balban as speaking of two works on statecraft—*Adab-us-Salatin* and *Ma'asir-us-Salatin*—which were brought from Baghdad in Iltutmish's reign. He also received the assistance of those well-versed in principles of Muslim political theory and governmental organisation, and *Adab-ul-Muluk*, the first Indo-Muslim classic on the art of government and warfare was written for Iltutmish. With this background, Iltutmish was able to lay the basis of a well co-ordinated structure of government. During his lifetime, the organisation of the central government was completed, and various departments of state came into existence.

Apart from the model and technical guidance outlined above, the pattern of the new government established at Delhi was determined by Iltutmish's own temperament and the realities of the Indian situation. Much of the territorial expansion of Muslim India had been the work of individual commanders and resourceful adventurers. They or their successors, or others who had risen to prominence in Muhammad Ghuri's or Iltutmish's service, were now in occupation of large tracts. Their privileges were not severely curtailed, and the system of administration which came into

existence was a loosely knit decentralised form of government. Iltutmish's own temperament contributed to this. He made no attempt to weaken the position of his nobles, and indeed, felt like one of them. He used to admit openly that God Almighty had raised him above his peers who were a thousand times better than him. Barani quotes him as saying: "When they stand before me in the durbar I feel abashed at their grandeur and greatness, and desire that I should descend from the throne and kiss their hands and feet."[2]

It was typical of Iltutmish's mild temperament that he did not adopt a hostile policy towards the Sufis. He valued and respected them as a source of spiritual and moral strength. The high education which Iltutmish gave to his daughter Raziya, and the fact that in his heart of hearts he preferred her as his successor to the throne, would show that he was free from the prejudices of his Turkish nobles and was considerably ahead of his times. He tried to maintain a balance between the Turks who provided the all-powerful generals and governors, and the Persian-speaking Tajiks, who provided "penmen" and dominated the imperial secretariat. After his death the balance was upset, but by then the basic task of organising the new Muslim government had been accomplished.

Iltutmish had also to deal with the crucial question of the position of the Hindus. By then the Muslim law had been codified, and the freedom of action, which Muhammad bin Qasim enjoyed, had disappeared. Three out of the four schools of Islamic Law favoured the extermination of all idolators, but the practice, initiated by Muhammad bin Qasim and maintained by the Ghaznavids, of treating the idolatorous Hindus at least as privileged *zimmis* proved more powerful. When the *ulama* urged Iltutmish to give effect to the opinion of the majority of the founders of Islamic schools of law, he convened a conference and called upon his *Wazir*, Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi, to explain the position. The *Wazir* ably brought out the peculiarities of the local contemporary situation and argued, on the grounds of expediency, for shelving the question.[3] This move was successful, the *status quo* was accepted and the question was never raised again in this form.

Iltutmish had to deal with extremists and idealists like Nur-ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi, but his cool statesmanlike approach disarmed them. He also took other steps to strengthen the fabric of

the new government. To give it a legal basis in the eyes of the orthodox, he is said to have sought from the Abbasid Khalifa of Baghdad, confirmation of his royal title. On February 19, 1229, the *Khalifa's* envoy arrived with a robe of honour, and delivered to Iltutmish a patent which conveyed the Khalifa's recognition of his title as the Sultan of India. The *Khalifa's* recognition was largely formal, and this seems to be one of the two occasions when a ruler of Delhi troubled himself about obtaining foreign recognition, but in the initial stages of Muslim rule this step was useful. It confirmed the sovereignty of Delhi against the claims of Ghazni, gave it a legal basis in the eyes of the orthodox, and also silenced those local rivals who challenged the Sultan's authority.

After this investiture, Iltutmish attended to the coinage, an important symbol of sovereignty. The name of the *Khalifa* was inscribed on the coins issued from the royal mint and the Sultan was described therein as "Helper of the Commander of the Faithful." So far the Muslim rulers had issued small bullion coins of the native form inscribed with their names in *Nagari* and sometimes in Arabic characters, and bearing symbols familiar to the Hindu population, the Bull of Shiva and the Chauhan horseman. Iltutmish now introduced a purely Arabic coinage, discarded Hindu symbols and adopted as a standard coin, the silver *tanka*, the ancestor of the modern rupee.

Delhi had been founded in the tenth century. Before Muslim occupation it was not a large city, and ranked in importance below Ajmer even in the Chauhan kingdom. It could not meet the requirements of the large population attracted by the seat of the new government, and Iltutmish had to provide proper amenities and adorn the new capital. He built or completed the Qutb Minar, greatly extended Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, giving it a distinctly Islamic look and constructed a large water-reservoir (Hauz-i-Shamsi) to meet the requirements of the citizens of Delhi. The educational needs of the people were also looked after, and the Madrasa-i-Nasiri of which historian Minhaj-us-Siraj was the head at one time, was built in his reign.[4]

Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi.

Iltutmish's own outlook, temperament and political philosophy were reflected in his administration, but he was fortunate in receiving competent assistance and guidance from some able and far-sighted people,

Principal amongst Iltutmish's co-workers was his *Wazir*, Nizam-ul-mulk Kamal-ud-din Muhammad Junaidi, who seems to have been a man of culture, a distinguished patron of learning and a statesman of strong views. 'Aufi dedicated his famous *Jawami'-ul-Hikayat* to him and in a number of verses and poems interspersed in the book, has praised Junaidi's wisdom,[(b)] statesmanship, skill in warfare, and generosity. The contemporary poet Reza has also written many poems, praising these qualities of Nizam-ul-mulk and has even mentioned his caligraphy and excellent literary style. Junaidi's strength of character may be seen from the fact that when on Iltutmish's death, his worthless son Rukn-ud-din Firuz began to squander public money and misbehave, the *Wazir* risked his office and refused to side with Firuz. He also refused to take the oath of allegiance to Raziya who had ascended the throne without consultation with the provincial chiefs and the *Wazir*. The most fruitful part of Junaidi's career was under Iltutmish, when he was in charge of the entire government, both civil and military departments, and even the functions which were later entrusted to the Sadr-i-Jahan. Barani's account of the conference[5] which was convened to determine the treatment of the Hindus shows that in such major political issues, Nizam-ul-mulk's opinion counted for much. He advocated a liberal, tolerant and humane line of action, and though he based his viewpoint on the grounds of expediency, he achieved the practical end he and the Sultan had in view. The prominent role which he played in dealing with this difficult and crucial question would suggest that he had an equally important part in the formulation of other decisions and actions of Iltutmish's government.

The Mongol invasion and its consequences

An important development of the period, which directly affected only the border areas, but had far-reaching indirect consequences for the new empire, was the rise of the Mongols under Chingiz and Hulagu and their "dance of death" in Central and Western Asia. It was the biggest blow which the Muslim world ever suffered and is the great dividing line in its history. A

(*b*) 'Isami also praises Nizam-ul-mulk's "wisdom" and "integrity" in *Futuh-us-Salatin*, and mentions that it was Nizam-ul-mulk who purchased Balban as a slave and presented him to Iltutmish.

modern Western writer calls it "the supreme catastrophe of Islam," a blow from which the Muslim civilisation "has never recovered." A contemporary, author, "the sober and careful historian, Ibn-ul-Athir" called it "the death-blow of Islam and the Muslims." It began in 1219 (*i.e.* barely 25 years after the foundation of the Muslim empire of Delhi) with Chingiz Khan's invasion of Transoxiana, and resulted in the destruction of numberless cities, the desolation of large cultivated areas, the ruin of libraries and *madrasas*, and the endless slaughter of men, women and children. It culminated in the sack of Baghdad and the end of the Abbasid Caliphate at the hands of Hulagu Khan in 1258.

An account of the Mongol invasion is outside the scope of this book, but it may be useful to quote from Professor E.G. Browne, to give some idea of the catastrophe which afflicted greater part of Asia, and but for the vigilance and resourcefulness of the Delhi Sultans might have involved the Indian subcontinent. He says, "In its suddenness, its devastating destruction, its appalling ferocity, its passionless and purposeless cruelty, its irresistible though short-lived violence, this outburst of savage nomads hitherto hardly known by name even to their neighbours, resembles rather some brute cataclysm of the blind forces of nature than a phenomenon of human history. The details of massacre, outrage, spoliation, and destruction wrought by these hateful hordes of barbarians, who, in the space of a few years, swept the world from Japan to Germany, would, as d'Ohsson observes, be incredible were they not confirmed from so many different quarters."[6]

The new government early experienced the impact of this gigantic military movement, when Jalal-ud-din, the ruler of Khwarizm, whose father had first attracted the wrath of Chingiz Khan, crossed the border and sought aid from Iltutmish. The latter refused to be embroiled in a dispute with the Mongol chief, gave evasive replies, and the danger of the Indian subcontinent being involved in the first onrush of the Mongol invasion was averted. Still, waves of the Mongol hordes continued to reach the subcontinent, and during the chaos following Iltutmish's death they destroyed Lahore (1241). They remained entrenched for several years, and nearly for half a century, the principal preoccupation of the Delhi Government was to defend the subcontinent from the fate

which Central and Westren Asia had suffered. Thanks to Balban's well-planned and efficient measures and 'Ala-ud-din Khalji's military prowess, this danger was averted, but the indirect consequences of the Mongol irruption and their activities beyond the border, were not small. Partly the danger in the north was responsible for Balban's ruthless policy of internal consolidation and centralisation. The Mongol atrocities in the Muslim countries and the threat to their newly-won empire also steeled Muslim hearts in the subcontinent and inspired them to great efforts. Even more important was the large influx of the refugees from Central Asia, Khurasan, Iran, Iraq and modern Afghanistan, who found a haven of refuge in the newly conquered territories. The arrival of soldiers, scholars, saints and citizens from the Muslim countries provided the man-power which was needed for the consolidation of Muslim rule and the firm planting of Islamic religion in the Indian subcontinent. These developments continued during the greater part of the thirteenth century, but they began during Iltutmish's reign, and both Minhaj-us-Siraj and 'Isami refer to the large number of distinguished refugees at his court.

Early Sufis.

We shall deal elsewhere with the religious work of the Sufi saints but their impact on administrative and public life was also considerable, and deserves to be mentioned here.

By the time the Muslim empire was established at Delhi, the Sufi fraternities had come into being and the Sufi influence was far more powerful than in earlier days under the Arabs in Sind or the Ghaznavids at Lahore. The two great fraternities which established themselves very early in Muslim India were the Suhrawardia and the Chishtia. The Suhrawardi order was founded by Shaikh Abul Najib Suhrawardi (1097-1162) and was introduced into Muslim India by Shaikh Baha-ud-din Zakariya (1182-1267/8) of Multan, who was initiated by Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi (1145-1234), the famous author on Sufism and virtually co-founder of the Suhrawardi *silsila*. With Multan as its centre the *silsila* became dominant in the areas which now constitute West Pakistan. Hazrat Baha-ud-din and his successors at Multan were universally respected, and at the time of Mongol invasion of Multan, they became the spokesmen for the common people. They introduced an hereditary system of succession and

were able to build up large properties. Their interest in cultural and intellectual life of the state was, however, minor.

The Chishtia *silsila* was introduced in the subcontinent by Hazrat Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din, who was born in Sijistan and after extensive travels and spiritual training at the hands of many leading Sufis came to the Indo-Pak subcontinent in 1192. After spending some time at Lahore and Multan, he settled down at Ajmer, which was the capital of Prithvi Raj and died there in 1236. As he established in the Indian subcontinent the first Sufi *silsila*, he is often referred to as Hind-ul-Wali (the Saint of India) or Sultan-ul-Hind, [the (spiritual) Sultan of Hindustan]. At his hands many Hindus accepted Islam, and the local Hindu accounts are also full of his praise. Rai Bahadur Harbirlas Sarda in his book on Ajmer says, "Khwaja Muin-ud-Din lived a life of piety. He is said to have passed the days together in devotion and meditation. His diet was simple and spare, and his dress consisted of a simple tunic which when torn in many places was patched by himself. He never preached aggression, was a man of peace and goodwill towards all God's creatures."[7] Even after his death a large number of Hindus used to visit his tomb and make offerings. According to *Siyar-ul-'Arifin*, written by Jamali, the teacher of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) : "A large number of prominent Hindus of that area became Muslims at his hands, and those who did not adopt Islam sent large offerings. This practice is maintained by those Hindus even now. They would assemble every year, bow their heads before that lofty Dargah, pay large sums to its caretakers and perform various services." Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din Ajmeri had important disciples at Ajmer and Nagor in Rajputana and at Nandurbar in Khandesh but his chief disciple Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki lived at Delhi.

Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bhakhtiyar Kaki was held in great esteem by Iltutmish and his influence on the cultural life of the capital was considerable. His close associate was Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagori, who was originally the *qazi* of Nagor, and later became a *dervish* and after a prolonged stay in Baghdad joined Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki at Delhi Both of them were fond of *sama'* (music) and their influence was initially responsible for its introduction at Delhi in spite of the objections of the *ulama*. Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagori is the

author of several prose works including *'Ishqia,* a highly rhapsodical and emotional work. His experience and knowledge of law enabled him to deal with the criticism of the *ulama* who not only condemned *sama'* but also criticised what they called lack of orthodoxy and discipline amongst the Sufis. The earlier *tazkiras* record two major occasions when there were public disputes between the Sufis and the *ulama,* but the popular esteem in which Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki was held, the legal arguments of Qazi Hamid-ud-din Nagori and Iltutmish's own attitude, favoured the Sufis. The early unsettled conditions and the absence of a general spread of knowledge of Islamic law must have also facilitated their task. The result was that the general atmosphere in Iltutmish's days was not only liberal but somewhat lax. Khwaja Qutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki died in 1237. His great successor was Baba Farid (d. 1266), who decided to abandon the capital with its conflicts and diversions, and settle down in the distant Ajodhan in the uninhabited wilds of West Punjab and for a long time Delhi remained without a major Sufi saint.

Early Successors of Iltutmish.

Iltutmish died on April 29, 1236. His eldest son had died during his lifetime and in his last days Iltutmish was faced with a difficult problem. His other sons were incompetent and he had an able daughter but the Turkish nobles were opposed to the accession of a woman to the throne. Iltutmish tried various experiments to deal with the situation. When he set out for Gwalior in 1231, he left Raziya in charge of the capital, and was so satisfied with her handling of the affairs during his long absence, that on his return he thought of issuing a proclamation appointing her as his heir. Her name was included along with that of the king in a series of coins, but for one reason or another, Iltutmish did not take the final step of naming her as his successor. He entrusted the viceroyalty of Lahore to his eldest surviving son, Rukn-ud-din Firuz, to see how he fared. Before he could decide the question of succession, Iltutmish fell seriously ill and the matter was still unsettled when he died. Firuz ascended the throne with the support of the army leaders, but he started squandering public funds and misusing power in such a way that the provincial governors revolted. Firuz left the capital to deal with the rebels when one of the most gruesome tragedies of early Muslim rule took place.

Firuz's misbehaviour, and high-handedness of his mother Shah Turkan, had so offended the thinking people that even the *Wazir* Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi left the king to join his opponents. Nizam-ul-mulk was a Tajik, and probably other Tajik notables were also not favourably inclined towards Firuz. This attitude so enraged the Turkish soldiers accompanying the king, that they joined hands and in the neighbourhood of Karnal, massacred all the Tajik notables who were in the royal camp..."they martyred Taj-ul-Mulk, the Dabir (Secretary), the son of the Mushrif-i-Mamalik, Baha-ud-Din Hasan (Husain ?)-i- Ash'ari, Karim-ud-Din Zahid, Zia-ul-Mulk, the son of Nizam-ul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi, Nizam-ud-Din Shafurqani, Khwaja Rashid-ud-Din Maikani, Amir Fakhr-ud-Din, the Dabir, and a number of other Tajik officials."[8]

Massacre of Tajik Notables.

Tajiks[(c)] are Persian-speaking Turks, who had migrated from Turkish homelands earlier and differed from the Turks in several national characteristics. The contribution of the Tajiks in the building up of the early Muslim state at Delhi was very substantial. They are traditionally good penmen, and not only monopolised the higher posts in the Delhi secretariat, but also dominated literary and intellectual life. The *Wazir* himself was a Tajik. So was Minhaj-us-Siraj, the historian and the future *Qazi-i-Mumalik*. In the list of casualties preserved by him, Taj-ul-mulk Reza was the first Persian poet of importance at Delhi. Zia-ul-mulk was the son of the *Wazir*, Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi. Baha-ul-mulk Ash'ari was the brother of 'Ain-ul-Ash'ari, the great *Wazir* of Qabacha, and himself a distinguished noble. The other *Dabir* Amir Fakhr-ud-din may, if his name has been slightly mutilated, very well be the famous Fakhr-i-Mudir (or Mudabbir).

It is painful to think that practically all the leading literary lights of Iltutmish's reign were extinguished on one dark day. The tragedy irreparably damaged the influence of the Tajiks and also impoverished the intellectual life of the new state.

Raziya Sultana.

When Rukn-ud-din Firuz's supporters were destroying the flower of the imperial secretariat, his sister, Raziya made a bold bid for the throne. Clad in red, she

(c) The term 'Tajik' was originally used for the Arabs, particularly the Arab conquerors of Central Asia. Later, it was loosely used for the Persian-speaking people of eastern Iran, Ghur and the adjacent territories, irrespective of their ethnic origins.

appeared before the people gathered for Friday prayer in the principal mosque at Delhi and appealed to them in the name of Iltutmish to give her a chance to show her worth. This dramatic gesture evoked ready response and the people of Delhi who had not so far taken the oath of allegiance to Firuz, accepted her claim. Firuz, on his return, was imprisoned and subsequently put to death, but Raziya's accession, which had been effected without consent of the provincial governors and even the *Wazir*, was doomed from the beginning. The powerful nobles felt ignored and considered her accession irregular. Raziya tried to create dissensions amongst her opponents, and was temporarily successful, but the elevation of an Abyssinian to the major post of *Amir-i-Akhur* (Master of the Horse) and possibly some other appointments (like that of Hindu Khan, presumably a Hindu convert, to the governorship of Sind) gave serious offence to the Turkish nobles and they rose in rebellion against her. Raziya's discarding of the veil and her severity swung public opinion against her. Her retinue murdered the Abyssinian *Amir-i-Akhur*, and imprisoned her while she was camping at Bhatinda to deal with the rebels. Her efforts to weather the storm by marrying Altuniya, the rebel governor of Bhatinda did not succeed. Her brother, Bahram who had been proclaimed king at Delhi during her absence entrusted young Balban with the task of dealing with Raziya and her husband's troops, and Balban carried out the mission with the competence which was, in course of time, to carry him to the throne of Delhi. Raziya and Altuniya were defeated and deserted by their troops, and in the course of their lonely flight were murdered by the Hindus (October 14, 1240).

During Raziya's reign the Isma'ilis made another bid for power. On Friday, March 5, 1237, nearly a thousand of them, incited by the harangues of a zealous preacher, Nur Turk, entered the great mosque of Delhi from two directions and fell upon the congregation. Many fell under their swords, but the Turkish nobles assembled their troops, who, aided by the congregation, overpowered and slaughtered the insurgents.

Struggle between the Throne and the Nobility.

Raziya's end highlighted a development, which though visible even in the success of nobles in sponsoring the claims of Iltutmish against those of Qutb-ud-din Aibak's son, had become more marked since the death of Iltutmish. This was the question of the

right and power of the nobility to determine the choice of the king and place limitations on his power and sphere of activity. In England, within the same century, there was a somewhat analogous struggle between the English monarch and the barons, which ended in the grant of the Magna Carta by the feeble King John, confirming the rights of the barons which through an orderly evolution over centuries, were broadened and extended to the general public.

After Raziya was defeated and imprisoned, her half-brother Mu'izz-ud-din Bahram was proclaimed king, but "on the stipulation of deputyship being conferred on Malik Ikhtiyar-ud-din Aetkin",[9] who "by virtue of his deputyship took the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands and in conjunction with the *Wazir* (Muhazzab-ud-din) and Muhammad Iwaz, the Mustaufi, assumed control over the disposal of state affairs."[10] This was "an experiment with immense possibilities for constitutional progress,"[11] and did not basically differ from the contemporary attempt made by the English barons, but the arrangement at Delhi did not work. The basic responsibility for the failure was that of the Deputy, nominated by the nobles, who started assuming royal prerogatives, and took steps which could not but alarm the new monarch. He married the king's sister, assumed the triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant at the entrance of his residence. These developments, according to Minhaj, "began to press heavily upon the noble mind" of the youthful monarch who secretly encouraged violent measures to deal with the situation, and within three months of the assumption of office, the *Na'ib* was assassinated in the royal presence at a gathering arranged to hear a religious discourse. The *Wazir* was also attacked and wounded by the assassins but managed to escape.

This was, however, not the end of the struggle between the nobles and the king. Now, Badr-ud-din Sunqar, the *Amir-i-Hajib*, and a patron of young Balban, assumed the direction of state affairs but he suffered not only from the hostility of the king, but also from the lack of cooperation from the *Wazir*. He called a meeting of the principal nobles at the residence of the *Mushrif-i-Mumalik*, where Qazi-i-Mumalik Jalal-ud-din Kashani, *sadrs* and nobles of the realm and other *amirs* and important personages were present. They discussed amongst themselves the recent events and sent the *Mushrif-i-Mumalik* to the *Wazir* to invite him to join

them. The *Wazir* sent back the messenger, with a promise to follow him, but conveyed the news of what was happening to the king. Bahram immediately mounted his horse and reached the place, where the meeting was being held. He took away Sunqar with him, but so strong was the power of the nobles that the only punishment that was inflicted on the leader of the conspiracy at this time was to post him to Badaun, which was given to him as his fief. Qazi Jalal-ud-din was, however, relieved of the office of the Chief Qazi (which was a few weeks later conferred on Minhaj), and some of his collaborators left the capital fearing unpleasant developments.

The *Wazir* now became all-powerful, but the attack on him had shown Bahram's real sentiments towards him, and he soon joined hands with the nobles to depose Bahram, who was dethroned on May 10, 1242. The principal senior noble, 'Izz-ud-din Kishlu Khan, now made a bid for the throne, but his associates repudiated him, and assembling at the tomb of Iltutmish chose the latter's grandson, 'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud, as the king. Qutb-ud-din Husain of Ghur was named Deputy, but the real power remained with the *Wazir*. The Turkish amirs, who were the soldier-administrators of the realm and governed large tracts did not like the concentration of power in the hands of somebody selected from "the writer" class (*ahl-i-qalam, i.e.,* "people of the pen"). The *Wazir* also grossly abused his position, and "took all functions out of the hands of the Turkish Amirs" so that they joined hands and had him assassinated. The submissive Najm-ud-din Abu Bakr now became *Wazir*, and Balban was appointed to the key post of *Amir-i-Hajib*. 'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud continued to rule for more than four years with tolerable success, but later when he tried to curb the power of the nobles, he alienated the most powerful of them. He was deposed on June 10, 1246, and after receiving many assurances, the nobles, among whom Balban played a dominant role, enthroned Iltutmish's youngest son, Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.

CHAPTER V

THE ERA OF BALBAN (1246-87 A.D.)

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud.	1246
Rebellion of 'Imad-ul-mulk Raihan.	1253-5
Sack of Baghdad; end of Abbasid Caliphate.	1258
Accession of Balban.	1265
Suppression of Bengal Rebellion.	1280
Death of Prince Muhammad Khan.	March 9, 1285
Death of Balban.	1287

Era of Balban (1246-87).

The Sultanate of Delhi suffered grievously from the civil war which raged practically unabated for the ten years following the death of Iltutmish. The Mongols who had been hovering on the frontier grew bolder, and in 1241 sacked Lahore. They harried Multan, Sind, and the central Punjab, and were in virtual control of this area for a number of years. In the east, Bengal and Bihar became independent. To the south of Delhi, the Hindus began to reassert themselves, and the Muslims lost many important strongholds which had been captured in the days of Aibak and Iltutmish. Gwalior and Ranthambhor were abandoned during Raziya's reign. Now, even in areas nearer to the capital, like Katehr (modern Rohilkhand) and Doab, Hindu resistance was intensified. "The half-subdued countryside offered enough manoeuvering space for the local tribes, who in the absence of organized military leadership took to a form of guerilla warfare."

Not less important than these material losses were the fissures and weaknesses displayed by the administrative structure built up by Iltutmish. The lines on which he had organised the new government required for their success a man of great ability, wisdom and resourcefulness, but as he had feared, there was nobody equal to the task in his family. A mad scramble for power followed his death, in which the Tajiks were pitted against the Turks and the nobility was at loggerheads with the king, to say nothing of the

warring ambitions of the individual nobles. The man who emerged supreme out of this crisis and who not only dealt successfully with the problems of internal disorder, the Mongol menace and Hindu resurgence, but also made far-reaching changes in the system of government, was yet another slave who had risen to prominence by his ability and strength of character. Balban ascended the throne in 1265, but he exercised so much authority during Nasir-ud-din's reign (1246-65) that all this period and his own reign may well be designated as the "Era of Balban" (1246-87).

Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (1246-1265).

With the accession of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud in 1246, the period of acute conflict between the monarchy and the nobles came to an end. He reigned rather than ruled, leaving real power to his most prominent noble, Balban. Writing about Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, Barani says, "During the twenty years of his reign Balban was Deputy of the State, and bore the title of Ulugh Khan. He, keeping Nasir-ud-din as a puppet (*namuna*), carried on the government, and even while he was only a *Khan* used many of the insignia of royalty."[a] In 1253-54 the non-Turkish elements in the empire, headed by 'Imad-ud-din Raihan, a newly converted Indian Muslim, aided by the Queen-mother, made a bid to oust Balban from the control of affairs. This attempt was only temporarily successful, and soon the Turkish governors of the provinces rallied around Balban. Terms were accordingly arranged between the king and Balban, now also his father-in-law, and later to be appointed the Deputy of the realm. Balban maintained his ascendency till Mahmud's death in 1265, when he succeeded him to the throne.

During Mahmud's reign, Balban took measures for suppressing disorder and lawlessness, but they remained inconclusive. Another disturbing feature of the times was the foothold which the Mongols had secured in the areas which now constitute West Pakistan. They sacked Lahore in 1241, and soon the governors of Lahore, Multan and Uch were looking for protection more to the Mongol chiefs than to the then Sultan of Delhi. Disgruntled nobles like Kishlu Khan, the erst-while governor of Uch and Multan, even tried to persuade Hulagu to sanction a full-scale invasion of the Sultanate. Thanks, however, to the precautions taken by Balban, these dangers did not materialise.

(a) Vide E. & D., Vol. III, p. 98.

Ghiyas-ud-din Balban (1265-1287).

Ghiyas-ud-din Balban belonged to a noble family of Ilbari Turks of Central Asia but in the disturbed conditions following the Mongol irruption, was carried away and sold as a slave in Baghdad. From here he was taken to Gujarat, and in 1232 reached Delhi, where he was purchased by Iltutmish. Finding him to be a youth of promise, the Sultan appointed him as his personal attendant (*khasadar*). He continued to hold this post till he became the Chief Huntsman (*Amir-i-Shikar*) during the days of Raziya. He first came into prominence in 1240 when, according to 'Isami, he was entrusted with the task of dealing with Raziya and her supporters. He carried out his assignment successfully, and soon became *Amir-i-Akhur* (Master of the Horse). He got Rewari as his *iqta'* (fief) and proved an excellent administrator. In the time of 'Ala-ud-din Mas'ud he was appointed *Amir-i-Hajib* (1244), and in 1246, when Nasir-ud-din Mahmud was placed on the throne, Balban became the most influential noble of the realm, and maintained this position till he ascended the throne.

New pattern of Government.

Balban's work as a ruler involved not only the defence of the country against foreign aggression and internal dangers but called for a reorganisation of the administration to make it more effective.

Iltutmish had organised the administration in the newly conquered territories, as a loose decentralised system, in which the fief-holders enjoyed wide powers, and high nobles were treated practically as the peers of the king. Balban changed all this. He had his own theory of kingship which did not differ much from the Iranian theory,[(b)] but which was introduced in Muslim India for the first time with a thoroughness, characteristic of Balban. Iltutmish was a pious Muslim, disdaining show and unenthusiastic about asserting royal superiority over the nobility. In fact, Barani says that Sultan Shams-ud-din used to say repeatedly before the public that he was grateful to God for having raised him above his companions and comrades who

(*b*) Balban's fondness for Persian ways took many forms. He was a Turk and could not claim Persian origin, but he claimed descent from Afrasiyab, the Turanian hero of the Persian epic, *Shah Nama*. After he became king and put forward his theory of monarchy, he gave Persian names to his grandsons—Kaikhusro, Kaiqubad, Kaikaus, Kaimurs. He introduced *zamin-bos*.

were a thousand times superior to him. He would say that when they stood before him in courtly respect and followed him, he felt embarrassed and desired that he should come down from the throne and kiss their hands and feet.[1] The disturbed conditions which followed his death, and were really due to a struggle between the king and the nobility, showed the dangers inherent in this attitude. Nasir-ud-din Mahmud did not change this position and lived an unassuming life, leaving real power with the Deputy. The attitude of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Balban was, however, completely different. Influenced by the Persian theory of royalty, and taking a lesson from the anarchy which prevailed after the death of Iltutmish, he proceeded to raise the royal status far above that of the nobles. He used to say that next to Prophethood, the highest office was that of Kingship. According to him, the ruler who did not maintain the dignity of his office and safeguard its status, would fail to perform his functions properly, and his subjects would resort to insubordination and fall a prey to crime, immorality and other abuses.

To strengthen the royal position, Balban, as soon as he ascended the throne, concentrated his attention on strengthening the army and providing a material basis for maintaining the new royal status. Aibak and Iltutmish had relied largely on the contingents of the fief-holders and under them the office of the *Ariz* was a subordinate branch of the Central Secretariat under the over-all control of the *Wazir*. Balban reorganised the war office, raised the status of *Ariz-i-Mumalik*[(c)] and dealt directly with him. Most of all he reorganised and strengthened the royal army. He increased its size, placed the troops under hand-picked commanders who were brave, dignified and with clean records, and raised their emoluments. He kept the army in good trim by taking it regularly on long, arduous expeditions and periodic large-scale hunting parties. He built up "an instrument and source of Government", which was not only adequate for external and internal enemies, but made the position of the king immeasurably stronger than that of the nobles and fief-holders.

(c) It is usual to translate *Ariz-i-Mumalik* as muster-master, but obviously this does not properly indicate his functions and importance. After the changes introduced by Balban, *Ariz* was an important minister. European travellers referred to *Mir Bakhshi*, his counterpart during the Mughal period, as 'Captain-General' or 'Lieutenant-General'.

In order to enhance the royal status Balban took other steps. He attached great importance to the observance of an impressive and imposing court etiquette. When the royal cavalcade moved, hundreds of well-built and impressive-looking heralds, dressed in brilliant uniforms, preceded it and it was altogether such an impressive show that according to the historian Barani, people came from long distances to witness the procession. At the royal court there was such an atmosphere of awe and majesty that occasionally the ambassadors, who came to present their credentials, and the Hindu *rajas* who came to pay tribute, became nervous and stumbled on the steps.[2]

Balban was very meticulous about the royal dignity, even in private life, and imposed a rigorous discipline on himself. No valet of the Sultan ever saw him without a cap or socks or shoes, and throughout his long period of kingship he never laughed aloud before others, nor had anybody the courage to laugh aloud in his presence.[3]

A major problem with which Balban was faced was the all-powerful military oligarchy which had dominated the politics of the Sultanate since the death of Iltutmish. This aristocratic corps commonly known as the *Chihilgan* or "the Forty" had at one time, played a constructive role, but in the days of Iltutmish's weak successors, it had become a major threat to the state. Balban was originally one of the Forty but he now set about breaking their power by all possible means, including the use of poison and the assassin's dagger.

As a natural consequence of this policy the provincial governors lost much of their power and privileges. The instructions which Balban gave to his son Bughra Khan, while entrusting to him the government of Bengal, and which he had had formally written down by Shams Dabir, the chief secretary, clearly laid down the relationship which was to exist between the central government at Delhi and the governors of the provinces. Even more effective were the practical steps he took to control the provincial chiefs. In all provinces, he appointed *barids* (Intelligence Officers), who were to faithfully report the important doings of the local chiefs. On the basis of these reports, Balban meted out exemplary punishments to the provincial governors for any lapse or misbehaviour.

Iltutmish honoured the Sufis. Formal-minded Balban's

highest honours were reserved for the *ulama* and the Muslim lawyers, whom he visited after Friday prayers, with his entire retinue. He, however, claimed complete freedom for the head of the state in framing rules and regulations.

Balban transformed Iltutmish's loosely-knit, decentralised, para-democratic organisation into a highly centralised government under the complete control of an autocratic king. Henceforward, subject to occasional variations, this was to be the normal pattern of the Muslim government in India.

Balban's Achievements.

Balban insisted on the rights of kingship but he was equally conscious of its responsibilities. He acknowledged that it was the bounden duty of a ruler to provide peace and tranquillity within his dominion. The early Muslim rulers, in spite of their best efforts, had not always been able to ensure this. The Jats, the Mewatis and the Khokhars were a constant menace to the peaceful subjects of the Sultanate. Muslim rulers had broken the power of the organised Hindu armies but warlike, restless tribes had taken to robbery and dacoity. Every year there would be some major disturbance of the peace, and even the city of Delhi was not immune from plundering operations. Robbers infested the jungles around Delhi and not only robbed travellers, but carried their depredations right upto the walls of the city. According to near-contemporary accounts, the gates of the city had to be shut immediately after the afternoon prayers, and it was dangerous to leave the city at night to visit the tombs of holy personages in the neighbourhood. Balban spent the first year after his accession to the throne in enforcing law and order in the city and its suburbs. The jungle was cleared, the Mewati robbers who had made it a base for their operations were destroyed, a fort was built to guard the city's south-western approaches against them, and police posts were established around Delhi. Balban dealt equally firmly with the people of the Doab, who had closed the road between Bengal and the capital. He spent nearly a year in the districts of Patiali, Bhojpur, and Kampil, extirpated the highway robbers, built forts at suitable centres, garrisoned them with Afghan soldiers who received lands in the area for their maintenance, and granted large areas to powerful nobles so that they could bring the land under cultivation and clear the jungles. Balban was ruthless in dealing

with brigands, but as Haig remarks, his "measures secured the tranquillity of the roads between Delhi and Bengal for a century."[4]

Similar steps were taken against the Rajputs of Katehr who were "overrunning and plundering that province in such a way that the governors of Budaon and Amroha were unable to take the field against them." The punishment which Balban inflicted on the rebels was severe—Balban obviously wanted to make an example of them—but the measure served its purpose. This trans-Gangetic tract had been only partially subdued and the warlike families who had settled there were a perpetual source of trouble. Balban ordered a frightful slaughter of the insurgents, had their houses and hiding places burnt, cleared the country of the forests, built roads and introduced orderly civil government. The people of Katehr never raised their heads again, and districts of Badaun, Amroha and Sambhal were "rendered safe and permanently freed from trouble."

Balban's next steps were taken to safeguard the realm against the Mongols. He built up a powerful army and forced the *muqtis* (fief-holders) to keep their troops well-equipped and in fine mettle. He made no effort to extend his dominion or to reconquer areas like Malwa, which the Muslims had lost after early conquest. When these measures were suggested to Balban, he replied that he could not leave the capital and expose Delhi to the fate of Baghdad. A stern realist, he abandoned the expansionist policy of his predecessors, and concentrated on the consolidation of Muslim power in India. Hulagu Khan, who with his sack of Baghdad had wiped out in 1258 the great centre of Abbasid culture, was still alive and the Mongols constituted a standing threat to the subcontinent. In 1270, Balban had restored the city of Lahore which was practically deserted after its sack by the Mongols in 1241, and re-established a provincial government in the upper Punjab. This facilitated the defence of the north-west, but other vigorous military measures were needed to deal with the Mongol menace. Balban not only built up a strong army and kept it in good fighting condition, but erected a chain of fortifications in the north-west. The command of this strategetic area was entrusted by Balban at first to Sher Khan Sunqar, his most distinguished general, and on his death to his able son, Prince Muhammad Khan, entitled Qa'an Malik, who was not only a brave soldier, but also a patron of literature, and who maintained

a distinguished court at Multan.

Balban's preparations kept Hulagu Khan in check. The only major military operation which he had to undertake was against Tughril, the rebellious governor of Bengal. In 1280, after Tughril had defeated two successive expeditions sent against him, Balban went to Bengal in person. On hearing of the arrival of Balban's army, Tughril left his capital with picked troops, and sought safety in the forests of Orissa. "Balban swore that he would not rest or return to Delhi or even hear the name of Delhi mentioned until he had siezed Tughril." Search parties were sent all over to trace the fugitive. Luckily, by a chance, one of these parties came to know about Tughril's hiding place and in the encounter which followed, Tughril was surprised and killed, and his head was brought to the king, as a proof that his vow had been honoured.

Even after this, Balban took his time in reorganising administration in Bengal[d] which he left in charge of his son, Bughra Khan, and returned to Delhi with the rebels and other deserters who had joined Tughril. He proposed to deal ruthlessly with them and had set up a double row of stakes outside the Badaun gate of Delhi for their public execution, but the *Qazi* of the army was able to persuade the king to pardon the common soldiers and to sentence the officers to imprisonment. Balban is often accused of ferocious cruelty in dealing with the rebels and miscreants, and there is no doubt that he was so, but extreme severity to the rebels was the common practice of his day, and his own views on the deterrent influence of severe punishment elevated it to a public duty.

Balban's Character.

Balban was ruthless in the imposition of penalties, but he reserved them for offences against the state or the public. He meted out strict, impartial justice and dealt firmly with miscreants, regardless of their position. The fief-holder of Badaun had a servant beaten to death. When Balban visited Badaun, the servant's widow complained to him. Balban ordered that the fief-holder should suffer the same fate which his servant had suffered, and he also made an example of the official news-writer, who had not communicated this incident to the king. There were many similar instances during his rule and he used to say that he would not only deal firmly with

(*d*) For administrative arrangement made by Balban and the contributions made by his family to the history of Bengal, see chapter IX.

recalcitrant nobles, but if his children misbehaved they would receive similar punishment. Strict enforcement of impartial justice was, according to Balban, one of the principal duties of a king, and he did his best, according to his lights, to carry out this responsibility. The result was that owing to the fear of reports reaching the sultan, "none among the provincial governors or other officers and their relatives and servants dared injure anybody without cause or offence, and if by chance any provincial governor or ruler were guilty of cruelty, he would try to satisfy the sufferer in whatever way the latter demanded, and would not leave him with a grievance."[5]

About religion Balban had a special point of view. He performed his religious duties with particular care. He fasted during *Ramazan,* prayed five times a day, used to get up at midnight for the *Tahajjad* prayers, and showed great respect to the *ulama.*[6] When he came to the throne he gave up drinking and ordered his courtiers to do the same. In spite of his strong views regarding the dignity and status of a king, after Friday prayers he called along with his retinue on the leading preachers and theologians. He was equally particular about the strict observance of religion by the members of his family. Bughra Khan, his son, while advising his own son Kaiqubad said: "If my father, Balban, came to know that I or my brother Sultan Muhammad missed a single prayer, he would not talk to us for days." Balban, however, attached no importance to the views of the *ulama* in political and administrative matters. He used to say that these things had to be decided in accordance with political considerations and not according to the views of the jurists. According to Barani, "he would order whatever he considered to be in the interest of the realm, whether it was or was not sanctioned by Islamic law."[7]

End of the House of Balban.

Balban was a hard taskmaster and a stern disciplinarian; fate also dealt with him sternly. At the age of 80, he suffered a blow which darkened his remaining days. On March 9, 1285, his son, Prince Muhammad Khan, who had been designated as heir-apparent, was slain in an encounter with the Mongols. This was a crushing blow to the aged king. According to Barani, the stern king maintained calm outwardly, and gave audiences and transacted public business with his usual stern and grave demeanour, but at night and in the privacy of his chamber he rent

his clothes, cast dust upon his head and moaned for his son "as David moaned for Absalom." He designated Bughra Khan as his heir and summoned him from Bengal. The easy-going prince, who was happier in the eastern province than at his father's austere court, left Delhi on the pretext of a hunting expedition and returned without permission to Bengal. The cup of Balban's misfortune was full and he soon breathed his last (1287).

Kaiqubad and the fall of the Ilbari Turks.

On his deathbed Balban had named as his heir Kaikhusrau, the son of Prince Muhammad, but some influential nobles, (including the *Kotwal* of Delhi) had a grudge against the late prince and his family. They disregarded the dead king's will, exiled the *Wazir* and others who did not agree with this, and enthroned Kaiqubad, a seventeen-year-old son of Bughra Khan. The reign of Kaiqubad is one long story of riotous living. He had been brought up under Balban's austere regime, and had never dreamed of ascending the throne. Now he was free from all restraints and had everything at his command. He indulged in an orgy of gay life and was always surrounded by musicians, singing girls and dancers.[e] Kaiqubad's conduct on attaining the kingship became such a scandal that the prospect of the extinction of Balban's house appeared imminent, and even easy-going Bughra Khan was moved to action. He left Bengal, and in March 1288, the father and son, respective kings of Bengal and Delhi, met on the banks of the Sarju. At first there was a possibility of open war between the two, but through the good offices of some loyal officers (including Shams Dabir whom Balban had left as chief secretary with Bughra Khan), a meeting was arranged, and natural feelings of the father and the son swept away all hostility. Bughra Khan advised Kaiqubad to mend his ways and after a demonstration of fatherly affection returned to his province. Kaiqubad made an attempt to reform himself, but was soon lured back into his old ways and was before long struck down by paralysis. There was a

(*e*) Professor Topa thinks that Kaiqubad "departed from the ethico-political philosophy of Balban by bringing the people closer and nearer to kingship than was ever attempted before" and "started a new tendency towards the harmonization of different cultures of the country." Ishwar Topa, *Politics in Pre-Mughul Times*, p. 86, ft. note. According to Ibn Battuta, people remembered Kaiqubad with affection and gratitude. It is also worth recording that Amir Khusrau pointedly mentions, with great feeling, that the first amongst rulers to think of him was Mu'iz-ud-din Kaiqubad.

struggle for ascendency between the Turkish nobles of Balban's government, and the Khaljis. In this conflict the Khalji chief, Malik Jalal-ud-din Firuz, who had been recently placed by Kaiqubad in charge of the *Diwan-i-Arz* was successful, and ascended the throne on June 14, 1290.

This was the end of the rule of the Ilbari Turks and of the so-called Slave dynasty at Delhi. So far as the house of Balban was concerned, its rule came to an end at Delhi, but not in Bengal. Bughra Khan's fondness for the eastern province hastened the downfall of his family at the capital, but in Bengal, Balban's descendants continued to hold power for another forty fruitful years.

CHAPTER VI

THE KHALJIS AND THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji.	1290
'Ala-ud-din's expedition to Devagiri.	1296
Accession of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji.	1296
Conquest of Ranthambhor.	1301
Conquest of Chitor.	August, 1303
Mongol invasions.	1298-1306
Conquest of Warangal.	1309
Death of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji.	1316
Death of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya.	January 2, 1325
Death of Amir Khursau.	1325

The Khaljis.

Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji ascended the throne on June 14, 1290. Apparently this was the success of an individual noble, but in reality it represented the achievement of power by a large ethnic group, which had played an important part in the Muslim conquest of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. According to Raverty, the Khaljis were Turkish by origin, but because of their earlier migration from Turkistan, were usually, though erroneously, believed to be of non-Turkish origin.[1] The proud Turks looked down upon them, but from the days of Muhammad Ghuri, they had formed an important element in the Muslim army. After Muhammad Ghuri's debacle at the first battle of Tarain, it was a young Khalji trooper who saved the Sultan and brought him out of the battlefield. Bihar and Bengal were added to the Muslim empire by a Khalji free lance, Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar, and we come across other achievements by the Khaljis in the eastern regions. Even in the days of Balban, the Khaljis as a group were not insignificant. The tension between the Turks and the Khaljis, which was kept under check by Balban, came to the surface in the succeeding reign and ended in the displacement of the Ilbari Turks.

The success of the Khaljis against the aristocratic Turks resulted in certain far-reaching socio-political developments,

Muslim government ceased to be a close preserve of the Turkish aristocracy and not only the 'plebian' Khaljis but other groups, like the indigenous Muslims, began to share power. For the first time now, the historians refer to the "Hindustanis" *viz.*, local Muslims and by the end of 'Ala-ud-din's reign converts like Malik Kafur, were occupying the highest position in the state. Apparently the efforts of the Muslim missionaries and Sufis had begun to bear fruit and a sizeable number of Muslim converts was available for the service of the state. The rule of the Khaljis did not last more than thirty years, but the social revolution which their success engendered and the large increase in man-power which resulted from this revolution, enabled the Delhi Government to take a major step forward, and to conquer the vast areas south of the Vindhyas.

Jalal-ud-din Khalji (1290-1296).

Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji was an experienced soldier who had earlier distinguished himself as a general and administrator. He was, however, an old man when he came to the throne and followed a policy of exceptional mildness and forbearance. This reconciled to him the general population, who were unhappy at the king's behaviour. They attributed it to senility—he was more than 70 when he came to the throne—and openly started plotting against him. The plot which succeeded was that of his nephew and son-in-law, 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. The young, ambitious son-in-law had a very unhappy domestic life, and the behaviour of his wife and mother-in-law was so galling to his pride that he often thought of leaving the realm and settling somewhere else. At Kara (near modern Allahabad) of which he had been appointed governor, he was joined by discontented officers who urged on him to organise an army and make a bid for the throne of Delhi for which he could obtain the necessary resources by plundering the neighbouring unconquered Hindu territories.

'Ala-ud-din started by invading Malwa and captured the town of Bhilsa, from where he obtained much plunder. He next decided on a bolder step. At Bhilsa he had heard of the wealth of the great southern kingdom of Devagiri later renamed Daulatabad. Without obtaining the permission of his uncle, but making arrangements at Kara for supplying Delhi with such periodical news about his movements as would allay suspicion, he set out in 1296, at the head of 8,000 horse. So far, no Muslim ruler had cross-

ed the Vindhyas, and Devagiri, the capital of a powerful kingdom was separated from Kara by a march of two months through unknown regions inhabited by people who could only be hostile. Boldly, 'Ala-ud-din undertook this expedition, which Haig characterises as the "most impudent raid known to history". Partly on account of his good luck, and partly as a reward of his ability and courage, 'Ala-ud-din was successful and returned with a huge booty, amounting to 17,250 pounds of gold, 200 pounds of pearls, 58 pounds of other gems, 28,250 pounds of silver and 1,000 pieces of silk. Some of Jalal-ud-din's nobles particularly the loyal and vigilant Ahmad Chap, were critical of 'Ala-ud-din's moves, but his brother who was at the court lulled the king's suspicions. He was even able to persuade Jalal-ud-din to go to Kara to meet his nephew, who, he stated, was penitent at having undertaken a major military operation without royal authority to visit Delhi. The king, who, according to the contemporary historian, was blinded by greed for the riches of Devagiri welcomed the suggestion and proceeded by boat to Kara, where he was assassinated. 'Ala-ud-din Khalji ascended the throne, and with a judicious distribution of riches which he had brought from Devagiri was able to win over the public of Delhi.

'Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316).

'Ala-ud-din Khalji came to the throne in circumstances which have rightly cast a shadow on his memory. He was cruel, ruthless and without moral scruple in dealing with rebels and enemies. A careful examination of contemporary accounts, however, shows that not only was 'Ala-ud-din a bold and resourceful soldier and a very capable administrator, but he had his own notions of the responsibilities of kingship, and laboured hard to fulfil them. About his achievements as a conqueror there can hardly be two opinions. With the victories won by him and his generals, he completed the Muslim conquest of India and extended the Sultanate right up to Rameswaram.

His Conquests.

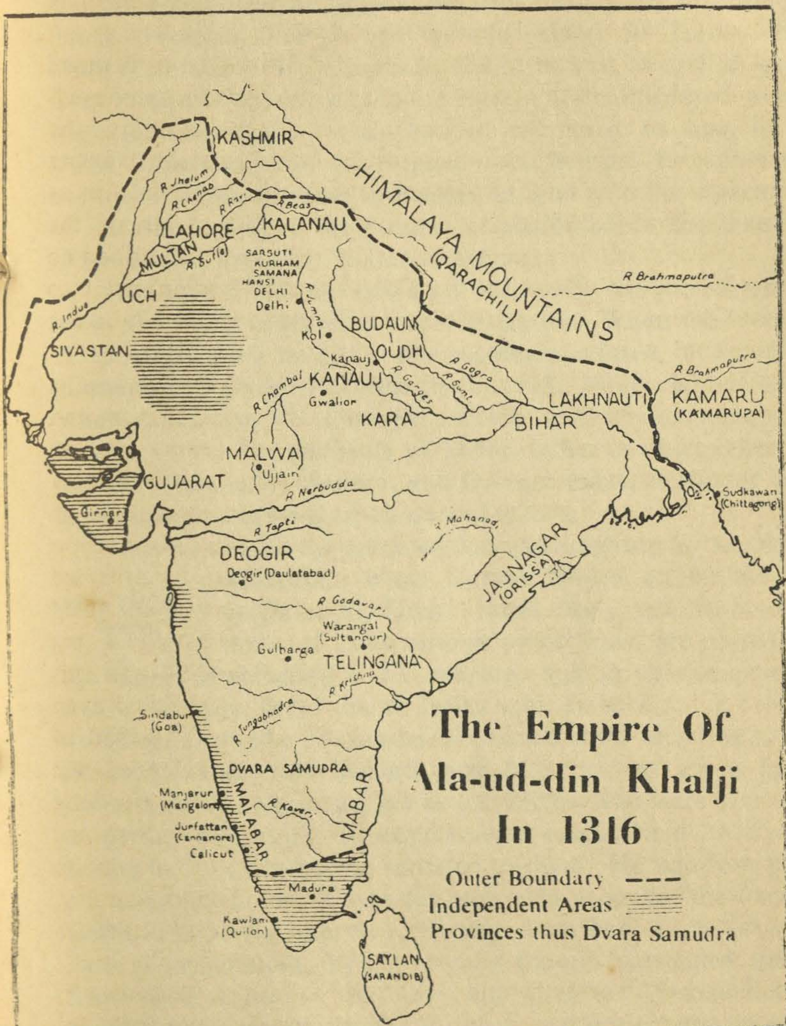
'Ala-ud-din's twenty years reign may be divided into three phases. During the first period (1296-1303), he defeated the Mongols, conquered the Hindu kingdom of Gujarat, and reduced Ranthambhor (1301), Chitor (August 1303) and other Hindu strongholds in Rajasthan. In the second part of his reign (1303-1307), his attention was devoted largely towards internal reforms and steps necessary to make his rule

secure. In 1305, he sent 'Ain-ul-mulk Multani to Central India, where he subdued Malwa and conquered the forts of Ujjain, Chanderi and Mandawar. Malwa was annexed, and 'Ain-ul-mulk appointed its governor.

In 1305, and again in 1306, there were dangerous Mongol invasions, but they were repulsed. Against the Mongols, 'Ala-ud-din's officers were so successful that they now took up the offensive, and Ghazi Malik, who was in charge of the frontier defences, carried out raids into the Mongol territory, as far as Kabul and Ghazni. After these successes and the death of the Mongol Khan of Transoxiana (1306), 'Ala-ud-din was troubled no more by this danger from the north, and could devote himself to the achievement of suzerainty over the whole of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

During the third period (1307-13), 'Ala-ud-din was able to complete the conquest of South India, for which the ground had been prepared by his conquests in Central India and the annexation of Malwa. In 1307, his *Na'ib*, Malik Kafur, defeated Raja Ram Dev of Devagiri, who had withheld tribute. The Raja was brought to Delhi where he reaffirmed his submission and received the title of *Rai Rayan*. In 1309, Malik Kafur led another expedition to the south, and conquered Warangal, from which he returned with measureless booty, including a big diamond, identified by some with the famous Koh-i-Nur. In this campaign the Raja of Devagiri gave all possible help and even sent a "force of Marathas, both of horse and foot" in aid of the Muslim army. The victory at Warangal emboldened the king and his *Na'ib*. Next year the latter set out on a year-long expedition, which led to the defeat of the rajas of Madura and Dwarasmudar (Ma'bar), and extended the Muslim dominion right upto the southern sea-coast. During this expedition, the Muslim officers built a mosque, either at Rameswaram on the island of Pamban, or on the mainland opposite.

The above impressive list of 'Ala-ud-din's conquests is based on Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, our main authority for the reign, and on Amir Khusrau's *Tarikh-i-'Ala'i*. It cannot, however, be said that this account is complete. Evidence of some other military expeditions is available in less known histories. For example, Amir Khusrau in his *I'jaz-i-Khusravi*[2] reproduces an *'arzdasht* from one Hajib Badr to Khizr Khan, son



The Empire Of Ala-ud-din Khalji In 1316

of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji referring to the conquest of Ghazni by his contingent, recital of the *khutba* in the name of 'Ala-ud-din, and the restoration of Islamic practices in that city after driving out the Mongols. This is not recorded either in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* or *Tarikh-i-'Ala'i*. Similarly the history of Bengal, as known from local sources, shows that 'Ala-ud-din Khalji played a more important role in this area than is attributed to him by the Delhi historians, and his regime was marked by substantial expansion of Muslim rule in Bengal. In Sind also the destruction of Tur, the capital of the Sumras is attributed to the troops of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji (*see Tuhfat-ul-Karam*).

'Ala-ud-din did not bring all the newly conquered territories in the south under direct administration. When the loyal raja of Devagiri died in 1311, his successor refused to accept the suzerainty of Delhi. Accordingly in 1313, Malik Kafur led another expedition to Devagiri, which was now annexed, and became part of the sultanate of Delhi. Other conquered territories, like Warangal, Madura, and Dwarasmudar, continued under local rajas on payment of an annual tribute.

Other Developments.

'Ala-ud-din Khalji was a soldier, undisciplined by any formal education. When fortune smiled on all his early projects, his fancy soared high and he began to think of conquests in other fields. He played with the idea of establishing a new religion, and at times expressed a desire to sally forth from Delhi and embark on a career of world-conquest like Alexander. He issued coins refeiring to himself as Alexander the Second, and freely talked about his two plans. Luckily he had, at his court, nobles who were not afraid of giving him sane, if unpalatable, advice, and 'Ala-ud-din Khalji had the good sense to listen to them. He had four principal counsellors, but it was the old 'Ala-ul-mulk, the *Kotwal* of Delhi, who in an interview, vividly described, perhaps with a dash of imagination, by his nephew Barani, dissuaded the king from such a course. He told him that the introduction of a religion was a matter for the prophets and not for the kings, and pointed out that the Mongols, in spite of their great power and its ruthless use against the Muslims, had not been able to replace Islamic religion. About the foreign conquests, the *Kotwal* pointed out that the king could not rightly undertake them until he had completely conquered and established his rule in the

whole subcontinent of India, and even then he could leave his realm only if he had a sagacious and dependable deputy like Aristotle to look after the kingdom during his absence. 'Ala-ud-din, who in spite of his uncertain temper and ruthlessness was a ruler of strong common-sense, generously rewarded the candid counsellor and undertook never to talk about religious innovations again.

'Ala-ud-din was uniformly successful on the battlefield, but during the early years of his reign, he had to face several rebellions. An attempt was made on his life at Ranthambhor in 1301. There was a rebellion in Oudh and another in Delhi. These rebellions were not well-organised and failed, but they set the king thinking. His intimate advisors told him that the successive rebellions were due to an inefficient system of intelligence, the wide-spread use of wine, which loosened tongues, encouraged intimacies and bred plots and treason, the strengthening of the position of the nobles by intermarriages and the possession of wealth by certain sections of the people, which by relieving many of the necessity of work, left them leisure for mischievous thoughts. 'Ala-ud-din systematically dealt with all these causes. He set up an efficient system of intelligence and it is a measure of his ability that at an advanced age, he taught himself how to read even the illegible handwriting known as *shikasta,* in order to be able to decipher the reports of his informers. He prohibited the use of intoxicating liquor and himself set an example by causing his wine vessles to be broken and the wine to be poured out near the Badaun Gate. He regulated marriages amongst the nobles and revised the taxation system so as to reduce surpluses with the prosperous classes. The latter measure seriously hit both the Muslim and Hindu privileged classes, *e.g.*, the Muslim holders of *in'am* lands (rent free grants) *waqf* (pious endowments), *idarat* (pensions) and *milk* (lands held in proprietary right), which grants were resumed. The Hindu officials, like the *Khut, Muqaddam* and *Chaudhuri* were deprived of their special perquisites and severely taxed so that people now had to be busy earning their livelihood, and had little time to think of rebellion.[a]

(*a*) Even then 'Ala-ud-din fixed a minimum standard for important village functionaries. He permitted the *Muqaddams* or the village headmen to "retain four bullocks for the purposes of cultivation, two buffaloes, two milking cows and twelve goats." vide Ashraf, p. 231.

'Ala-ud-din's effective measures rooted out conspiracies, but till 1306 he continued to be troubled by Mongol invasions. Shortly after his accession, a horde of 1,00,000 Mongols invaded the Punjab under the leadership of Kadar, and advanced as far as the environs of Lahore. They were driven back with great slaughter by Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan (February 7, 1298). Less than a year later, there was another Mongol invasion, under the leadership of Saldi. This time they invaded Sind, and captured Sehwan. Zafar Khan was again put in charge of operations. He invested the fortress of Sehwan, recovered it, and returned to Delhi, with thousands of Mongol prisoners, including Saldi and his brother. In 1303, Mongols tried to take advantage of 'Ala-ud-din's preoccupation in Chitor, and made straight for Delhi. He had returned from Chitor barely a month ago, when Targhi appeared before the capital with an army of 1,20,000 Mongols, and the king had to retire to the fortress of Siri. The Mongols withdrew after an ineffectual siege of two months, a step attributed by Barani to the prayers of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, but 'Ala-ud-din realised that more effective steps were necessary to deal with the Mongol menace. He proceeded to re-organise the defences in the Western Punjab, where the fortifications established by Balban had fallen into disrepair, and placed the frontier province of Dipalpur under Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, the ablest soldier of the realm. He also raised a powerful standing army, paid, equipped and maintained by the central government and independent of the contingents of the fief-holders and made it adequate for all offensive and defensive purposes.

Modern historians, following Barani, have held that 'Ala-ud-din's famous price control measures were introduced in order to keep the cost of the new army at a low level. Barani has attributed a narrow sordid motive to 'Ala-ud-din's measures, but other contemporary or near-contemporary writers, like 'Afif[3], Ibn Battuta[4], 'Isami[5] and Hazrat Nasir-ud-din Chiragh-i-Delhi[6], indicate that 'Ala-ud-din controlled the prices of the necessities of life in order that the general public might benefit. Barani's explanation appears odd, as a ruthless ruler like 'Ala-ud-din could easily have provided for the upkeep of his army by other means, such as additional taxation. In order to deal with a limited problem, it was hardly necessary for him to introduce a detailed and complicated system involving elaborate administrative measures over

wide areas. All contemporary authorities, except Barani, seem to indicate that 'Ala-ud-din, in spite of his obvious defects, had his own ideas of the responsibilities of kingship and thought that the most effective way in which he could benefit the public and achieve lasting renown was through the control of the prices of daily necessities of life at a reasonable level. Those who have seen the difficulty of enforcing a rigid price control even in modern times know that this could not be imposed by royal edict, and one cannot read Barani's account of various regulations and administrative steps taken by 'Ala-ud-din without admiring his administrative ability and the competence of his officers. To enforce his orders regulating prices, he introduced the system of partially obtaining land revenue in the form of foodgrains, built up vast stores from which corn could be issued at the time of need, controlled transport, laid down a simple method of rationing when necessary, and built up an elaborate organisation to carry out the whole system. 'Ala-ud-din made a success of his scheme which continued in operation throughout his reign. It is no wonder that after his death the poor people forgot his cruelty and remembered his rule with gratitude, and to judge by a statement in the *malfuzat* of Hazrat Chiragh-i-Delhi, even started visiting his grave as if it were the tomb of a holy man.[b]

Barani has done such scant justice to 'Ala-ud-din Khalji that it is refreshing to turn to the contemporary historians of the Mongols, and see how the Sultan was viewed by his arch-enemies. The first four volumes of *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* were completed in 1300, but the author continued his labours and added another volume bringing his history to 1328. He was a protege of Rashid-ud-din Fazlullah, the scholarly *wazir* of the contemporary Mongol ruler Uljaitu (1305-16), and presented his work to the Mongol chief. The latter was a contemporary of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji and Wassaf's history provides some interesting information about him. Uljaitu, who was a descendant of Chingiz Khan, sent an embassy to 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, saying that in the reign of the emperor Chingiz Khan and Uktai Khan, the rulers of the Indo-Pak subcontinent had "tendered their friendship and homage" and sent ambassadors to the Mongol court. Uljaitu complained that 'Ala-ud-din had not sent any ambassador or a message of congratulations to him, and

(*b*) For a detailed discussion of the subject and extracts from contemporary sources, see author's *Ab-i-Kausar*, pp. 163-68.

had the audacity to desire "in marriage one of the princesses from behind the veil of the kingdom of Delhi." 'Ala-ud-din was not the man to stand such nonsense. He imprisoned the Mongol ambassadors and had several of their attendants trodden under the feet of elephants. Wassaf rightly criticises this treatment meted out to the ambassadors, but even he pays a tribute to 'Ala-ud-din's "bravery and conquest, and abundant treasures and abundant armies, combining in himself all personal accomplishments and worldly advantages." He refers to the "jewel" of 'Ala-ud-din's "good fame" which was tarnished by his treatment of Uljaitu's ambassadors, but even these remarks coming from a historian of the Mongols in reference to a foreign ruler who had given good and valid cause for complaint to his patron, show what contemporaries thought of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji.[c] Elsewhere, *Tarikh-i-Wassaf* refers to 'Ala-ud-din's conquests and holy wars which "had proclaimed him universally as the greatest champion of Muhammadan religion."[7]

'Ala-ud-din's Administrative Reforms.

Such a wide gulf separated the religious and learned Barani from the illiterate and worldly 'Ala-ud-din that he was completely at a loss to understand the undeniable achievements of his reign which he designated as "miracles"—unbroken series of victories, prosperity of the people, low prices, elimination of crime, abundance of gifted men in every walk of life—and could either express his bewilderment at the "wonders" and the "mysteries of the age" or tried to explain them away, by attributing them to super-natural causes—as the *karamat* of his *pir*, Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya. It is only recently that scholars, piecing together bits of information from different sources have begun to realise the measure of Ala-ud-din's administrative achievements. Professor Qanungo, in his study of Sher Shah, has named a number of fields in which 'Ala-ud-din was a pioneer, and it is worthwhile quoting at some length from his book. With regard to the military organisation, he says, "To Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji belongs the credit of organizing the Indian army on a new model. He created an army, rearmed it directly by the central government through the Ariz-i-Mamalik, paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by nobles of the

(c) For some letters exchanged between the Mongols and the sultans of Delhi see *Mukatabat-i-Rashidi* of Rashid-ud-din Fazlullah, Punjab University, Lahore.

Sultan's own choice while the corruption was checked by the *dagh* (branding the horses) system. After his death abuses crept in it, but nevertheless it burgeoned till the death of Sultan Firuz."[8]

'Ala-ud-din kept in touch with the army, when it was on the move, through an elaborate system of *dak-chauki*. "It was the practice of the Sultan when he sent an army on an expedition, to establish posts on the road, wherever posts could be maintained, beginning from Tilpat, which was the first stage. At every post relays of horses were stationed, and at every half or quarter *kos* runners were appointed. Every day or every two or three days, news used to come to Sultan reporting the progress of the army, and intelligence of the health of the sovereign was carried to the army. False news was thus prevented from being circulated in the city or the army. The securing of accurate intelligence from the court on one side and the army on the other was a great public benefit."One may not agree with Qanungo in calling this as "the earliest record of publicity bureau in history," for the system had been adopted under the Abbasids but the arrangements show the thoroughness and efficiency with which government was organised under 'Ala-ud-din.

More important for the vast majority of his subjects were the arrangements made by the Khalji ruler for the proper assessment of land revenue. He introduced the method of assessment of revenue on the basis of measurement as it appeared to him more satisfactory from the point of view of the state. It is stated that the system was not extended very far and "did not take sufficient root to survive the death" of 'Ala-ud-din, but at any rate it shows that the most important feature of Sher Shah's revenue system was originally introduced by the Khalji ruler.

Not less important than the introduction of new administrative measures was the selection of officers, who were to carry them out, and in this 'Ala-ud-din exercised great care, and till the end of his reign when ill-health and age impaired his judgment, displayed a very sound assessment of men. Barani disliked these officers who were a party to 'Ala-ud-din's conspiracy to usurp the throne, but says about them, "In executive affairs and in matters of policy they were among those who by a shaking of the bridle bring a whole country under their sway and by one far-sighted measure subdue a dangerous tumult."

'Ala-ud-din Khalji was the ablest administrator of the pre-

Mughal period but the conditions under which he lived imposed a severe strain on him. The riches brought by his victorious armies from the south of India heralded a period of unprecedented luxury at the capital. 'Ala-ud-din himself was confined to bed, and a protracted illness coupled with other unfavourable developments affected his judgment. His informal council of bold and disinterested advisers also ceased to function. Malik Kafur, who had achieved great power after his victories in the south, completely dominated the king towards the end and persuaded him before his death on January 2, 1316, to exclude from succession his eldest son, Khizr Khan, for an act of alleged disobedience.

The military conquests of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji are well-known.

Amir Khusrau and the Flowering of Indo-Muslim Culture.

His ability as an administrator is also beginning to be recognised. A full assessment of the cultural importance of his regime is, however, yet to be made, but the scattered indications on the subject are enough to show that his was a very important period in the cultural life of Medieval India, almost comparable to that of Akbar during the Mughal period. Indeed, it may be said that if consolidation of Muslim rule was the work of Balban, Muslim India attained cultural maturity in the days of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji.

Under 'Ala-ud-din, the Muslims first crossed the Vindhyas and brought South India under their sway. This was a development of far-reaching importance, which had repercussions in all fields of national life. For one thing, it greatly augmented the financial resources of the Delhi Government, and not only facilitated the maintenance of a large army and a successful solution of the Mongol problem, but it also enabled the ruler and other beneficiaries to undertake cultural activities on a lavish scale. 'Ala-ud-din did not live long enough to realise his architectural dreams, but even then he has left, complete and incomplete, many splendid architectural monuments. Developments in the realm of music were even more significant. As Professor Halim records, "A new stage in the development of Indian music was reached during the reign of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji when with the conquest of Hindu states of the Deccan a number of Hindu musicians moved to the north to seek the patronage of Muslim kings and nobles."[9] Luckily Delhi had men like Amir Khusrau who availed themselves of the situation and a new era in Indo-Muslim music was opened.

Developments in literature were equally remarkable. Amir Khusrau lived during the reign of seven monarchs, but in the days of Balban he was attached only to the provincial courts and the royal court with which he was associated longest was that of 'Ala-ud-din. The Khalji king's outlook was too practical and matter-of-fact to enable him to appreciate literature and patronise Amir Khusrau properly, but the poet must have benefitted by the general prosperity of the period and by the stiffening of standards in all walks of life. His most ambitious literary project, *Khamsa*, written in reply to Nizami and regarded by Persian critics like Jami as the best of several attempts made on these lines, was undertaken at 'Ala-ud-din's court. Hasan was another well-known poet of the time, and Barani gives a long list of persons, who distinguished themselves in various walks of life. The achievements of Amir Khusrau alone, who has been called the Leonardo de Vinci of India by Dr. Mukerjee, make this era the cultural seed time. He ranked high as a poet, musician, historian, biographer, courtier, and Sufi and had the vision to assist in the evolution of a new pattern of culture, humanistic, artistically rich and in harmony with the environment. Until his time, Indo-Muslim culture was a projection of the cultural traditions of Ghazni. Now Muslim India discovered its soul and evolved its own pattern of culture.

The leading lights of the earlier period—*e.g.* 'Aufi, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, and Burhan-ud-din Balkhi—were immigrants, and maintained an imported tradition. Amir Khusrau was a son of the soil, and represented an era which not only saw the consolidation of Muslim rule under Balban, but its large-scale expansion under 'Ala-ud-din and the complete beating back of the Mongols. Naturally his works breathe a spirit of exultation, self-confidence and local pride. His liberal Sufi outlook (and probable Indian origin on the maternal side) enabled him to admire and imbibe the praiseworthy elements of the old Indian tradition. He studied Indian music and introduced changes and innovations which made it acceptable to the new Muslim society. He wrote long poems on local themes. His poetry is full of pride not only in his native land, its history, its people, its flowers, the *pan*, and the mango, but he also held that Persian, as spoken and written in India was purer than the language used in Khurasan, Sistan and Azarbaijan.

We shall deal elsewhere with Khusrau's works, but it may be

useful to give an extract from his *Qiran-us-Sa'dain,* written in the last year of 'Ala-ud-din's reign, which vividly expresses "the spirit of the age".

Happy be Hindustan, with its splendour of Religion,
Where (Islamic) Law enjoys perfect honour and dignity, . .
In learning, now, Delhi rivals Bukhara ;
Islam has been made manifest by the rulers.
From Ghazni to the very shore of the ocean,
You see Islam in its glory.
Muslims, here, belong to the Hanafi creed,
But sincerely respect all four schools (of law).
They have no enmity with the Shafi'ites,
and no fondness for the Zaidis.
With heart and soul they are devoted to
the path of *jama'at* and the *sunnah.*
It is a wonderful land, producing Muslims
and favouring religion,
Where the very fish of the stream are Sunnis.

Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya (1237-1325).

Khwaja Qutb-ud.din Bakhtiyar Kaki had introduced the Chishti *silsila* at Delhi, but his successor Baba Farid chose the distant Pakpattan for his devotions and spiritual labours. Sufism suffered a setback at the capital, until it was revived by Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, a disciple of Baba Farid. He was born in 1237 at Badaun, an important political and cultural centre in the eastern provinces, and received his education under the ablest teachers of his birthplace and Delhi. His studies were meant to qualify him to become a *qazi,* but he gave up the idea of a worldly career, and after receiving spiritual training at the hands of Baba Farid settled down at Delhi. Unlike his spiritual teacher, he made very few conversions and mainly devoted himself to the spiritual uplift of the large mass of Muslims who used to visit his *khanqah.* He deliberately adopted the policy of opening his doors to everyone interested in spiritual welfare—whether he was a professional *sufi* and a *dervish,* or a man of affairs—who needed spiritual solace, or even a sinner who needed guidance.

Hazrat Nizam-ud-din was a man of great ability and strength of character, and his admirers included some of the most notable personalities of Delhi. Khizr Khan, son of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, was one of his disciples amongst whom were included the celeberat-

ed poets Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan and the historian Zia-ud-din Barani. The saint's table talk, on some days from 1307 to 1322, has been compiled under the title *Fawaid-i-Fuad* by Amir Hasan, and mirrors a versatile personality, with high intellectual and ethical standards, and deeply humane. The Shaikh's interest in the intellectual and cultural matters is reflected in a number of anecdotes he related about the early writers, scholars and preachers like Minhaj-us-Siraj, Burhan-ud-din Balkhi and Hasan Saghani, making the *Fawaid* an important source-book for the cultural history of the early period. The saint was a good organiser, and sent a number of disciples to Gujarat, Bengal and Deccan, where they became centres of missionary and Sufi activities. In Bengal, his disciple 'Ala-ul-Haq, the father of even more famous Nur Qutb-i-'Alam, acquired great influence, and was held in awe even by the kings.

We will deal later with the controversy which rose in the days of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq between the Shaikh and the *ulama* on the question of *sama'*, but there is no doubt that Shaikh's long labours helped to maintain a high moral tone in the Muslim society, and as Barani records, contributed to the great spurt of creative and expansionist activity in the days of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji.

'Ala-ud-din's Successors.

'Ala-ud-din died on the second day of January, 1316, and after his death Malik Kafur caused Khizr Khan and his brother to be blinded. He was planning to ascend the throne when the palace guards killed him, and Qutb-ud-din, a son of 'Ala-ud-din, ascended the throne with the title of Mubarak Shah. He began well, but soon came under the influence of a Hindu favourite of low origin, who had nominally become a Muslim, and had received the title of Khusrau Khan. On the 14th of April, 1320, Mubarak was slain by this favourite with the help of his tribesmen (Parwaris) whom he had brought to the capital in large numbers. Khusrau Khan ascended the throne, put to death all members of 'Ala-ud-din's family, and tried to make his rule secure by various devices including a liberal distribution of gifts, on the line adopted by 'Ala-ud-din on his usurpation of the throne. His treatment of his patron and his family had, however, alienated public opinion. What was worse was that the behaviour of Khusrau's companions, "many of whom had not even formally accepted Islam"[10] con-

vinced many Muslims that what the inauspicious Mubarak's infatuation had brought on their heads was a possibility of the revival of Hindu supremacy or at least displacement of Islam from the position it occupied. As a modern historian has stated, if the insurgents had had a suitable leader, capable of winning the respect of Hindu chiefs and the public, it would not have been impossible to re-establish Hindu power. But Khusrau's low caste companions had no wise head, and behaved with incredible insolence and stupidity. "Mosques were defiled and destroyed and copies of scriptures of Islam were used as seats and stools".[11] This offended the Muslims, and important Muslim nobles outside Delhi refused to bow to the new king. Ghazi Malik became their leader and decisively defeated Khusrau's forces near Delhi on September 6, 1320. The low-caste usurper had completely extinguished the family of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, and the nobles called upon Ghazi Malik to ascend the throne. This he did, under the title of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq Shah, and became the first ruler of the Tughluq dynasty.

CHAPTER VII

THE TUGHLUQS AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN THE DECCAN

CHRONOLOGY

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq.	1320-1325
Muhammad bin Tughluq.	1325-1351
Visit of Ibn Battuta.	1333-1342
Shah Mir, First Muslim Ruler of Kashmir.	1338-1339
Death of Shah Jalal of Sylhet.	1340
Foundation of Vijayanagar.	1336
Bengal becomes independent.	1338
Foundation of independent Bahmanid Kingdom.	1347
Firuz Tughluq.	1351-1388
Conquest of Kangra.	1361
Death of Firuz Tughluq.	1388
Invasion of Timur.	1398
Death of Mahmud Tughluq.	1413

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq (1320-1325).

Ghiyas-ud-din who ascended the throne in September, 1320 was an experienced administrator. According to the accounts generally accepted, his father was a Turkish slave of Balban, who had married a Jat woman. Their son distinguished himself in the service of the sultans of Delhi, and for his brilliant and victorious campaigns against the Mongols earned the title of Ghazi Malik. He ultimately became the governor of Dipalpur, from where he was called to the throne under the circumstances outlined in the previous chapter. He proved a firm and wise ruler. His first need was to reassert the authority of the government of Delhi, which had suffered from the disorder prevailing after 'Ala-ud-din's death. The Raja of Warangal had declared his independence, and even started attacking other rulers tributary to Delhi. Bengal was in revolt. Not only were these rebellions dealt with, and the kingdoms of Warangal and Madura annexed in the process, but Ghiyas-ud-din also conquered Tirhut (Mithila) on the borders of Nepal, which had hitherto remained outside Muslim rule.

About Ghiyas-ud-din as an administrator, a modern historian says, "The administration of Ghiyas-ud-Din was based upon the principles of justice and moderation. The land revenue was organised and the Sultan took great care to prevent abuses. Cultivators were treated well and officials were severely punished for their misconduct. The Departments of Justice and Police worked efficiently, and the greatest security prevailed in the remotest parts of the empire."[1]

Differences arose between the able and conscientious king and Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, the foremost saint of the capital. When Khusrau Khan was threatened by Ghiyas, he not only paid his army several years' pay in advance, but sent large gifts to holy men of Delhi to obtain their blessings and support. Of these, three had refused to take anything from the murderer of his patron. Of the others, some received the royal gift and handed it back to Ghiyas-ud-din on his enthronement. Khusrau had so completely emptied the treasury that in order to reorganise the finances of the state, Ghiyas called upon all those who had received gifts from Khusrau to return them to the state treasury. Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya had received five *lakh tankas* from Khusrau but when he was asked to refund the money, he replied that it had already been spent for the relief of the poor in his monastery. Ghiyas-ud-din did not pursue the matter, but it was the beginning of an unpleasant relationship. Later, the orthodox theologians complained to the king that the saint indulged in ecstatic songs (*sama'*) and *dervish* dances (*raqs*), which were unlawful according to Islamic law. Tughluq accordingly summoned an assembly of theologians and religious leaders, before whom the saint was asked to justify his position. No action was taken by the king as the Muslim theologians and Sufis were divided about the legality of *sama'* and *raqs*, but the relations between the king and the Shaikh remained strained.

Ghiyas-ud-din died in 1325, as a result of the falling of a pavilion hastily constructed by his son at Afghanpur (near Delhi), to receive him before his ceremonial entry into the capital on return from his successful campaign in Bengal.

Muhammad bin Tughluq (1325-1351).

Muhammad bin Tughluq Shah, generally known as Muhammad Tughluq, who ascended the throne on the death of his father has been a puzzle to the historians. He had received a good liberal

education, and was highly gifted and accomplished. He was generous and possessed great purity of character, but his rule brought misery to the people and materially weakened the government. This was partly due to natural calamities. His reign coincided with a long period of drought and a protracted famine which in its intensity and extent was one of the worst the subcontinent has known. The rains are said to have failed for seven successive years (1335-1342) and there was widespread famine. The king tried to deal with the situation by opening poor houses and distributing grain freely, but the problem was beyond his resources, and the people suffered heavily. This created many difficulties for the king, but his misfortunes were not all due to natural and unavoidable causes. A man of ideas, he was always thinking out new measures but if his schemes were not received well, he would lose patience, and resort to ferocious cruelty to enforce them. In 1327 he decided, that in view of repeated rebellions in the south, it was necessary to shift the capital to a more central place and selected Devagiri, which he named Daulatabad, as the new seat of government. He called upon the Muslim inhabitants of Delhi to migrate to the new capital, but they were reluctant to do so. The king adopted stern measures to enforce his decree, and the execution of his orders brought great suffering to the persons concerned. Many perished on the long route to Daulatabad. The king's decision has been attributed, particularly by Barani, more to a desire to punish the people of Delhi than to administrative or strategic considerations, but this view is not fair. Consolidation of Muslim rule in the south was perhaps the main consideration, and there is no doubt that the migration of a large Muslim population drawn from all sections of society stabilised Muslim rule in that part of the subcontinent. After some time the Sultan allowed those who so desired to return to Delhi, but many of the people who had gone to the south stayed on and were a source of strength to the Muslim rulers of the south.

Another measure of a controversial nature was the Sultan's issue of token currency. The prolonged famine, the expensive wars and the royal liberality had severely strained the exchequer. To deal with the situation, the king issued brass and copper tokens in place of silver coins. Modern historians like Thomas have tried to justify the step and today everybody is familiar

with token currency, but conditions were different in the fourteenth century. The measure was not welcome to the people, particularly the commercial classes and it severely dislocated the economy of the state. Its failure was also due to the inability of the government to prevent the issue of spurious coins. Counterfeiting became common and, as Barani says, "every Hindu's house became a mint". The king had the good sense to acknowledge his failure, and the token currency was withdrawn from circulation after three or four years. Its introduction and failure, however, neither enhanced public confidence in the Sultan nor restored economic prosperity to the country.

Some other measures of the king were equally ill-conceived and ill-fated. His plan to interfere in the affairs of Transoxiana and Persia, with a view perhaps to annexing some areas, and the projected conquest of Tibet in 1337-38 ended in fiasco and considerable loss of life and money.

The king soon got a reputation for barbarous cruelty. There were widespread rebellions and before long the vast empire which 'Ala-ud-din Khalji and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq had governed with success started breaking up. In 1335 Ma'bar became independent, followed by Bengal three years later. In 1344 Hindu Rajas in the extreme south organised a confederacy, and in 1346 Vijayanagar became the nucleus of a powerful Hindu state. A year later the independent Bahmani Kingdom of Deccan was set up, and the entire area south of Vindhyas was lost to Delhi. In the same year Gujarat and Kathiawar revolted, but the Sultan was able to quell the rebellions in these two areas. Next it was the turn of Sind, and in 1351 the king was marching towards Thatta to put down the revolt there when he fell ill and died. As Badauni says : "The king was freed from his people and they from their king."

The break-up of the Dehi Sultanate began in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq but the disasters which overtook him during the last years of his reign need not be the only basis for assessing his character and abilities. He had very serious shortcomings, for which his people and the empire suffered, but he was a man of ideas and until growing years, extreme irritation at the failure of his schemes and the inability of the people to appreciate them had warped his judgment, he tried to steer his course according to certain intelligent plans and considerations. In many matters he tried to strike a new path, and in not a few was ahead of his

This further enraged the Sultan, who had him put to death.[2] Sufi chronicles record that Muhammad Tughluq was opposed to the Sufis as well as the Sayyids wearing a distinctive dress. He sharply discouraged enthusiasm for contemporary leading Sufis (like Shaikh Fakhr-ud-din Zarradi) and considered belief in their powers as heretical. The Sultan tried to pick up a quarrel with Shaikh Zarradi, but this was averted by the tact of the Shaikh's attendant.[3]

The result of this systematic policy was that the influence of the Sufis at Delhi sharply declined. Many left the capital voluntarily and others were forced to leave. The growing weakness of the Delhi Sultanate and the invasion of Timur, completed the process and Sufis never regained their old influence at the capital of the Muslim empire.

Muhammad Tughluq's policy towards the Sufis[b] at the capital was primarily dictated by political considerations but according to Barani it was also due to his association with the sceptics and the philosophers. Perhaps the arrival at Delhi from Damascus of Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz al-Ardbeli, a pupil of the famous anti-Sufi thinker, Ibn Taymiya, (d. 1328) and also something to do with this.

Muhammad Tughluq's reign is noteworthy for the presence of many foreign visitors of distinction, and the links he tried to establish with outside Muslim countries. Ibn Battuta, the famous Moorish traveller, spent nine years (1333-42) in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent during this reign and was appointed chief judge in the capital. Later he was sent to China on a diplomatic mission and has left an interesting account, not only of the capital and the places in Sind, Multan and the Punjab which he visited on the way to Delhi, but of other important places in Central India. He did not return to Delhi, but on reaching his native land, compiled his *Rehla, Book of Travels*, which is a useful source of information regarding Indo-Pak history and Indo-Muslim society of this period.

(*b*) Muhammad Tughluq repaired some Sufi tombs and favoured a few Sufi *pirs*. The latter belonged to distant places like Multan and Bihar and were not influential at the capital and were even otherwise of an accommodating type.

Firuz Tughluq (1351-1388).

On Muhammad Tughluq's death, the nobles and religious leaders (including Hazrat Chiragh-i-Delhi, who was in the royal camp under the late king's punitive orders) approached his cousin Firuz to accept the crown. In character Firuz was completely different from his predecessor. He was of a religious disposition, and tried to run his government in conformity with the Islamic law. An era of greater orthodoxy had begun with the commencement of the Tughluq rule, but Firuz's own outlook and the circumstances in which he came to the throne, made him the most prominent champion of Islamic orthodoxy before the days of Aurangzeb. During his rule, the study of Islamic law was encouraged and many books on the subject were compiled. Firuz attempted to enforce the law not only amongst orthodox Muslims, but against unorthodox sects like Isma'ili Shi'as and the non-Muslims. For the first time *jizya* was levied on the Brahmans, who had hitherto remained exempt from the tax. On appeal, the king reduced the amount to be levied on them from 10 *tankas* to 50 *jitals*, but maintained the tax as a legal formality.

In *Futuhat-i-Firuz Shahi*, which contains the text of a lengthy inscription that Firuz Shah got recorded on the dome of a mosque at Delhi, and which is now available as a small tract, the Sultan has summed up his principal achievements. The booklet shows Firuz's extreme orthodoxy and desire to run the state in accordance with the laws and principles of Islam. It is on record that in personal life, Firuz was not a model of correct Islamic living. He continued to drink wine on the sly, in spite of the remonstrances of nobles like Tatar Khan and religious leaders like Shaikh Qutb-ud-din Munawwar. He was also very fond of music, and set apart the afternoon of the sacred day of Friday for listening to music. His claims to orthodoxy cannot be taken at their face value, but Firuz had seen the fate of Muhammad Tughluq and was anxious to win the favour of the powerful religious leaders and the orthodox Muslim nobility.

The measures on the basis of which Firuz wished to gain a reputation for the championship of orthodoxy were of a formal nature and limited application. The developments which shed lustre on his reign were the steps taken by him in the furtherance of public welfare. Rawlinson calls him "the best of the Muslim rulers of Delhi previous to Akbar" and contemporary

CHAPTER VIII

THE SAYYIDS AND THE LODIS

CHRONOLOGY

The Rule of the Sayyids.	1414-1451
Bahlul Lodi.	1451-1489
Sikandar Lodi.	1489-1517
Ibrahim Lodi.	1517-1526
First Battle of Panipat.	April 21, 1526

The Sayyids (1414-1451).

Mahmud Tughluq was the last ruler of the Tughluq dynasty. On his death Daulat Khan Lodi was raised to the throne by the nobles, but Khizr Khan, who was governor of Multan at the time of Timur's invasion, and had been appointed by him as governor of Lahore, defeated him and occupied Delhi. The dynasty founded by him is known as the Sayyid dynasty, but his claims "to descent from the Prophet of Arabia were dubious and rested chiefly on its casual recognition by the famous saint Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din" of Uch. Khizr Khan's rule united the Punjab with Delhi, but the Hindus of the Doab and Katehr, whom Balban had subdued with stern measures, revolted and withheld tribute. Other parts of the country had already become independent. Khizr Khan ruled as viceroy of Timur's son Shah Rukh, to whom he is said to have paid tribute. He died in 1421, and was succeeded by his son, Mubarak Shah, who was preoccupied throughout his reign with the rebellion of Jasrat, the Khokhar, in the Punjab. Jasrat whose father Shaikha had established a principality during the ineffectual rule of the last Tughluq king, and for a time during 1394 had even held Lahore, had been carried off into captivity along with his father by Timur. He, however, regained freedom on the conqueror's death in 1405 and on return to the Punjab established for himself "a principality of considerable extent."

He defeated an army of Kashmir, and was instrumental in the enthronement of Zain-ul-'Abidin, the famous king of the valley. His success "fostered in his mind extravagant notions of his power and importance, and inspired in him the belief that the throne of Delhi was within his reach." His efforts in this direction failed, but the repeated raids he made into the territory of Delhi indicate the troubled condition of the times.

Mubarak Shah was assassinated in 1434, and was succeeded by his nephew, Muhammad Shah, during whose ineffectual reign Multan became independent under the Langahs, and Bahlul Lodi, the governor of Sirhind, extended his influence over eastern and central Punjab. The Sayyid ruler tried to placate Bahlul by styling him as his son and conferring on him the title of Khan-i-Khanan, but the relations between the two were uncertain, as Bahlul aimed at the throne of Delhi. Muhammad Shah was succeeded in 1444 by 'Alam Shah, whose circumscribed dominion has been described in the contemporary saying, *Badshahi-i-Shah 'Alam Az Dehli Ta Palam* (The kingdom of the Lord of the world extends from Delhi to Palam). In 1448 he retired permanently to Badaun, which he liked better than Delhi, and in the troubled conditions which followed at the capital, the *Wazir* and other nobles invited Bahlul Lodi to Delhi. He responded with alacrity, and occupied the throne on April 19, 1451. He wrote a letter to 'Alam Shah who replied that "he had neither fruit nor profit of sovereignty, but his father had styled Bahlul his son, and that he himself freely and cheerfully resigned his throne to Bahlul as to an elder brother."[1] 'Alam Shah continued to maintain a small court at Badaun until his death in 1478.

The Lodis (1451-1526).

Bahlul Lodi, who had been dreaming of the throne for years, took early steps to consolidate his position and reassert the authority of Delhi. One of his first acts was to overthrow the *Wazir*, Hamid Khan, who had called him to the throne, and whose influence might have endangered his position. He was very patient with his Afghan tribesmen, and tried to run the government as a tribal chief. Energetic, ambitious, and vigilant, he overlooked no opportunity of extending his dominion. He tried to take Multan from Husain Langah but did not succeed. He subdued the Hindu chiefs of Mewat and the Doab. An attempt to subdue the Raja of Etawah brought him in conflict with the Sultan of Jaunpur, who claimed

suzerainty over the territory but a truce was arranged between the two kingdoms. In 1458 Sultan Husain Sharqi, better known in the history of Indian music than in the annals of kings, came to the throne of Jaunpur. He had married Jalila, a daughter of 'Alam Shah, the last Sayyid king of Delhi, and she instigated him, some years after the expiry of the truce, to attack Delhi. This led to hostilities which ultimately ended in the capture of Jaunpur by Bahlul (1479). After the appointment of a governor at Jaunpur, Bahlul reduced Dholpur and Gwalior, where the rajas had been virtually independent though paying occasional tribute to the Sharqi kings.

Bahlul died in 1489, and was succeeded by his son Sikandar Lodi, who consolidated the gains made during his father's reign. Soon after his accession, he quelled a serious rebellion in Jaunpur, where the Hindu zamindars had assembled an army of 1,00,000 horse and foot. Sultan Husain Sharqi, who had taken refuge in Bihar was still a source of anxiety and Sikandar invaded Bihar to deal with him. Husain Sharqi fled to Kahalgaon in Bengal, and the invasion brought Sikandar's forces face to face with the army of 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah of Bengal, but they came to a peaceful settlement. Sikandar tried to strengthen his grip over Raja Man Singh, the able and enlightened ruler of Gwalior, and interfered in the affairs of Malwa. He made the independent and quasi-independent chiefs feel the resurgent strength of the Delhi government, and within its narrower boundaries restored its position to what it was before the break-up of the Sultanate. He spent four years at Sambhal to organise thoroughly the administration of the trans-Gangetic province (1499-1503) and soon thereafter transferred his capital from Delhi to Sikandra, a suburb of Agra, to be nearer to the areas which required his attention. This was, incidentally, the beginning of the future importance of Agra, which had hitherto been a dependency of the more important fortress of Biana.

Sikandar was interested in literature, and wrote poetry himself. His teacher in the art of versification was Jamali (d. 1535), a poet, mystic, traveller and biographer of importance. Sikandar patronised learning and attracted scholars to his court. One of the most interesting works of the period, which was compiled by his *Wazir*, Mian Bhowa, was a voluminous book on medicine entitled *Ma'dan-ush-Shifa* or *Tibb-i-Sikandari*, in which the theo-

ries and prescriptions of Indian medicine were consolidated. Another important work of the period, *Lahjat-i-Sikandar Shahi*, of which the only copy exists in the Tagore Library, University of Lucknow, relates to music.[2] It was compiled at the persuasion of Mian Bhowa by one of his friends—Hammad.

Sikandar is often accused of religious bigotry, amongst others by Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* but it may be mentioned that his reign also saw the beginning of the rise of Bindraban, a suburb of Mathura, as a centre of Hindu revival. Under Chaitanya's inspiration, the first colonists reached there in 1509, and Rup and Sanatana, his two distinguished disciples, after abandoning high offices under the Muslim ruler of Bengal, settled there in 1517 and 1519 respectively. There temples ascribed to 1511, survive till today. These developments led to significant repercussions in the Mughal period. It was also during Sikandar's reign that the Hindus began to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and started learning Persian in large numbers. Evidence of Muslim interest in Indian medicine and music in the highest circles has already been indicated. In spite of Sikandar's reputation for bigotry, it seems fair to surmise that in the cultural sphere his period was of active mutual interest "among Hindus and Muslims for each other's learning, thus conducing to a reapproachment."[3] Sikandar died in 1517, and was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim Lodi. Soon disputes between the king and the Afghan nobles, which were simmering throughout the Lodi period, became acute, and Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab and the king's uncle, invited Babur, the ruler of Kabul, to invade India. After early incursions confined to the north-west and the Punjab, Babur met Ibrahim on 21 April, 1526, in the first battle of Panipat, and by defeating him and capturing Delhi and Agra, laid the foundation of the Mughal rule.

CHAPTER IX

REGIONAL KINGDOMS

CHRONOLOGY

Kashmir.	1315—1586
Bengal.	1338—1576
Bahmani Sultanate.	1347—1525-27
Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar.	1377—1614
Khandesh.	1382—1601
Malwa.	1392—1531
Jaunpur.	1394—1479
Gujarat.	1396—1572
Death of Mahmud Gawan and disintegration of Bahmani kingdom.	1488
Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar.	1480—1633
Barid Shahis of Bidar.	1487—1609
'Imad Shahis of Berar.	1490—1568
'Adil Shahis of Bijapur.	1490—1686
Qutb Shahis of Golkonda.	1512—1687

The role of the regional kingdoms.

Under the later Tughluq and Sayyid rulers, the kingdom of Delhi was confined to only a small part of the old Sultanate of Delhi and powerful independent kingdoms came into existence in the former provinces of the Delhi empire. This was a period of disruption of the central authority, but did not prove an unqualified disaster for the subcontinent or the cause of Muslim civilisation.

The area of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent is so vast and means of communications were so undeveloped in the middle ages that, except under an unusually capable ruler like Balban or 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, it was not easy to administer efficiently the entire subcontinent from one centre. The splitting up of the realm into regional kingdoms led to occasional conflict, but it also resulted in Muslim penetration in areas hitherto unconquered, like Kathiawar and eastern Bengal. The administration of smaller and more compact territories was naturally more easy and

effective. In fact, it is doubtful if the loosely controlled and vaguely demarcated *iqta's* of the Sultanate could have developed into the *subas* of the Mughal period, without the rise and consolidation of regional kingdoms which led to crystalisation of these territories and closer administrative control over areas where old Hindu chiefs had exercised a great degree of autonomy.

The rise of the regional kingdoms also helped the spread of Islam and Muslim culture. During the palmy days of the Sultanate, Delhi was the one major centre of Islamic culture and religion, but now Ahmadabad, Jaunpur, Gulbarga, Sonargaon, Gaur, Pandua, and other provincial capitals became "Smaller Delhis" and active centres of Muslim religious and cultural activity. The regional kingdoms had, indeed, a special contribution to make in the cultural sphere. Delhi had a large number of influential immigrants, and the cultural traditions of the capital often reflected the central Asian pattern. At the capitals of the regional kingdoms, Muslims and immigrants were not in that preponderating majority, and the cultural activity in these areas mirrored indigenous traditions to a much greater extent. It was in these regional kingdoms that Muslim impact led to the rise of vernaculars and paved the way for the religious synthesis advocated by some leaders of the Bhakti movement. Music was more actively patronised at the regional centres like Kashmir, Jaunpur, Malwa and Gujarat than at the capital of the Sultanate. Besides, the regional kingdoms which were not preoccupied with the threat of Mongol invasions and similar problems of the central government, were able to devote greater attention to cultural pursuits than was possible at Delhi. For example, the elaborate literary and cultural activity which was carried on in Kashmir under Zain-ul-'Abidin's direct patronage finds no parallel in the annals of the Sultanate.

These cultural activities, moreover, paved the way for the broader basis of Mughal culture. The Mughal cultural pattern was primarily derived from Herat, Samarqand, Tabriz and Isfahan, but it included many features which were absent during the Sultanate and which had gained prominence in the regional kingdoms, like the attention paid to the development of vernaculars, the official patronage of music and the greater scope offered to Hindu thought and art forms. The extraordinarily rapid rise of Urdu during the eighteenth century was made possible by

the slow maturing of the Deccani Urdu at the courts of Bijapur and Golkonda, and many other features of regional cultural traditions were absorbed in the pattern of Mughal culture.

Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar.

Bengal was conquered by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji (circa 1202), but his hold extended only over a small portion of northern Bengal. After conquering Nadiya, the old Hindu capital, he withdrew northwards and gave more attention to Lakhnauti, near the present site of Gaur in the district of Malda. He established one military outpost on the southern frontier, and another in the north, at Devkot (modern Damdama in West Dinajpur district), which remained his base for further operations, and was really the first Muslim capital in Bengal. Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar spent some time in consolidating his conquests, and he and his *amirs* were instrumental in founding a number of mosques, *madrasas*, and *khanqahs*. Much of the area where early Muslims laboured in Bengal in early years is now covered by jungle, but the ruins of Devkot in India and other places in the adjacent Pakistani territory bear mute evidence to the seats of learning set up in the early thirteenth century. In Mahisantosh (in the Rajshahi district of East Pakistan) is the tomb of Maulana Taqi-ud-din, who had come from Arabia and was a spiritual successor of one of the disciples of the celebrated Shaikh Shihab-ud-din Suhrawardi of Baghdad. He was a great scholar, and students from Bihar (including the father of Hazrat Sharaf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, the most celebrated saint of Bihar) used to visit him to study Imam Ghazali's writings under him. Such well-known saints of Bihar as Muhammad Ahmad Charamposh trace their spiritual descent from him.

The area controlled by Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar comprised parts of modern Malda, Dinajpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum districts. He wisely confined his hold to the areas near Bihar, but predatory raids in the neighbouring countries were a favourite exercise with Turkish soldiers in search of wealth and adventure and the Turkish soldiery in Bengal were no exception. We hear of Sonargaon (near modern Dacca, in East Pakistan) for the first time during the reign of Balban, when he went there in 1280 in pursuit of Tughril, and compelled Bhoj, the raja of Sonargaon "to use his utmost endeavours" to discover the retreat of the rebel and to prevent his escape by land or water. Soon thereafter,

eastern Bengal came under Muslim sway and we find Bahadur established as a ruler of Sonargaon some time before 1302.

The House of Balban.

The early history of Bengal is so full of rebellions that the province was often called *Bulghakpur*. In fact, the distance between Delhi and Lakhnauti (now more frequently called Gaur by Muslim historians) was so great and contact between the two centres was so difficult on account of intervening jungles and territories of the rebellious Hindu chiefs, to say nothing of dacoits, that it is a marvel that in those days of difficult communications, Delhi was able to maintain some sort of link with this far-off territory. The revolt of Tughril brought Balban face to face with the problem of chronic rebellion in Bengal and he tackled it with his usual thoroughness. He sternly rebuked those who were in a hurry to return to the capital and after dealing with the rebels stayed on to reorganise the administration of the area. On this expedition Balban was away from Delhi for nearly three years[1] and before his return he appointed his son to the government of the province. He administered a stern warning to the prince against entertaining ideas of rebellion against the Sultans of Delhi at any time, and pointed to the frightful punishments which had just been inflicted on the rebels. What was even more important, he left a number of picked officers, including Shams Dabir, a celebrated poet and writer of the day and a friend of Amir Khusrau, to assist the prince in the administration of the area. Balban further administered an oath to Prince Bughra Khan to exert himself in conquering *diyar-i-Bangala* and establishing his own authority firmly therein.[2]

The measures taken by Balban in Bengal proved fruitful. Balban's dynasty continued in Bengal for many years after it had been displaced from the throne of Delhi, and Balban's advice about relations with the king of Delhi was duly followed by his son and grandson, who offered their allegiance to the Khalji rulers. The cultural consequences of posting a team of highly educated and cultured officials from Delhi were soon evident, and Islamisation of the territory is supposed to have received a fillip under the Balbani rulers of Bengal. Their rule, from 1286 to 1328, is a period of "active expansion of Mussalman dominion in Bengal and the adjacent territories." This was made possible partly by the administrative reorganisation effected by Balban and the measures

taken by the team of officers left by him, and partly by the fact that after the fall of the house of Balban at Delhi (1290), a large number of Turkish officers who hated the 'plebian' Khaljis, migrated in large numbers to Bengal. On the other hand the accommodating policy adopted by the unaggressive Bughra Khan and his descendants towards the new rulers at Delhi gave them a long respite from any conflicts with them. This left them free not only to subdue the small Hindu principalities, which were holding out within the territory overrun by Muslims, but also to expand towards the east. The addition of the northern districts of what now constitutes East Pakistan to the Muslim dominion was effected during this period. When Sonargaon, modern district of Mymensingh, and Sylhet, were occupied in the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah[a] (1301-1322), the volunteers for *jihad*, or holy war locally known as *ghazis*, and other spirited volunteers actively assisted in these efforts. The conquest of Sylhet in 1303 is attributed by both Muslim and Hindu accounts to the moral and material support which the Muslim troops received from Hazrat Shah Jalal, who lies buried at Sylhet. Many other warrior-saints like Zafar Khan Ghazi of Tribheni in Hugli and Shah Isma'il Ghazi in Rangpur district are mentioned in contemporary accounts.

Balban's ease-loving son, Bughra Khan, who ruled at Gaur under the title of Sultan Nasir-ud-din abdicated in favour of his son Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus in 1291, when he heard of the end of the House of Balban at Delhi. Kaikaus was succeeded about 1301 by Shams-ud-din Firuz, who died in or about 1322. During the last two reigns, "Muslim rule was extended to South and East Bengal, and important centres were established at Satgaon (Hugli District), and Sonargaon (Dacca district). Firuz extended his conquests across the Brahmaputra into the Sylhet district of Assam (now in East Pakistan) and probably founded the city of Firuzabad-Pandua, the future capital of Bengal."[3]

In 1324, Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq decided to reassert the authority of Delhi over Bengal. He defeated Firuz's succes-

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(*a*) There is some doubt as to whether, as stated by Ibn Battuta, Sultan Shams-ud-din Firuz Shah was a direct descendant of Bughra Khan. It has been suggested that he was a slave of Sultan Balban, but in spite of this, his reign and that of his two successors are generally included in the period of the "House of Balban", during which "Balbani" traditions were maintained.

sor, and appointed another member of the same family to the government of North Bengal with capital at Gaur. Eastern Bengal and Southern Bengal, with capitals at Sonargaon and Satgaon respectively were annexed to the empire and Bahram Khan was appointed to govern them.

Independent Bengal (1338—1576).

The arrangements made by Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq worked well for a time, and it was during this period that Muslim rule was extended beyond the Meghna river, and the territory represented by modern Tippera State and Chittagong district was conquered and annexed to the Delhi Sultanate. The troubles which broke out in the later part of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq, however, resulted in the independence of Bengal. The two expeditions of Firuz Tughluq in 1351 and again in 1359-60, did not prevent the break-away of this province from the centre as an independent kingdom. It retained its independence till the conquest of Bengal by Akbar in 1576.

Bahram Khan, whom Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq had appointed to the governorship of Sonargaon to keep a general watch over the affairs of Bengal, died in 1337. Muhammad Tughluq, was too preoccupied with troubles elsewhere to attend to Bengal. Two officers, Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah and 'Ala-ud-din 'Ali Shah took advantage of the rusultant confusion and assumed royal title in Sonargaon and Gaur, in 1338 and 1340 respectively. They were fighting among themselves when a new figure emerged on the scene. This was Ilyas, the founder of the Ilyas Shahi Dynasty. He first took possession of Satgaon, and later made himself master of Gaur sometime about 1345, when he assumed the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah. Later he annexed Sonargaon (1352), thus bringing the whole of Bengal under his sway. His seizure of power is noteworthy on many accounts. "The accession of Shams-ud-Din Ilyas Shah to the throne of Gaur opened a new chapter in the history of Bengal. He founded a dynasty of able and vigorous kings who won military glory and revived Bengal's contact with the outside world. He achieved the political unity of Bengal and carried his victorious arms far outside the boundaries of Bengal. He overran Tirhut and made a bold thrust across the inhospitable region of Terai into the fastness of Nepal, which was yet untrodden by Muslim soldiers."[4] Next he turned to

Ilyas Shahi Dynasty (1338—1415) (1437—1487).

Orissa, where he defeated the raja. In 1359-60, Sultan Firuz Tughluq tried to reassert the authority of Delhi, but the campaign was a failure and he had to accept terms which left Ilyas virtually independent.

Ilyas was succeeded by his son Sikandar Shah, who ruled from 1357 to 1393, and tactfully dealt with another expedition by Firuz Tughluq, who thereafter left Bengal untroubled on promise of payment of a nominal tribute. His son and successor, Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah (1398-1410) is known in history as the correspondent of the great Persian poet, Hafiz. Following the disintegration of the Sultanate, Bengal had lost any real connection with Delhi, but Persian traders and statesmen came by sea and occupied positions of trust and responsibility. Presumably it was through one of these Persians that the king sent a letter to Hafiz at Shiraz, requesting him to complete a hemistich into a verse. Hafiz wrote a beautiful ode in which he referred to Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din and said:—

"All the parrots of India will crack sugar,
Through this Persian candy which is going to Bengal.
O Hafiz, be not heedless with yearning for the court of Sultan
Ghiyas-ud-din,
For thy affair will be furthered by this lamentation."[5]

Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah also sent large sums of money to holy places in Hijaz, a fact to which appreciative reference is made in some Arab histories. He also revived the old contacts of Bengal with China, and exchanged envoys with the Chinese emperor. He died in 1410, and is buried near Sonargaon in a beautiful small tomb, which is the oldest Muslim monument in East Pakistan.

Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah was succeeded by weak rulers whose brief tenure was brought to an end by Ganesh, a Hindu *zamindar* of Dinajpur. He started persecuting Muslims[(b)], and Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-'Alam, a leading Muslim saint of Bengal, had to invoke the aid of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur. On his intervention, Ganesh vacated the throne in favour of his son, who became a Muslim and assumed the title of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah. He ruled from 1415 to 1431 and is buried in the Ekalakhi

(*b*) This is according to *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, and is supported by contemporary letters of Makhdum Ashraf Jahangiri, *etc.* Firishta absolves Ganesh of religious persecution.

tomb in Pandua, one of the finest old buildings in West Bengal. During the reign of his successor Ahmad Shah, there was a threat of invasion by the Sharqi ruler of Jaunpur and Ahmad Shah appealed for intervention to Shah Rukh, the Timurid ruler of Herat. The Bengal envoy rounded the entire coast of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and approached Shah Rukh, who sent a senior officer with a message to the ruler of Jaunpur to desist from aggression. In 1437, Ahmad Shah was assassinated, possibly "as a result of a sort of rivalry between the Hindu and Muslim nobles"[6] and the reign of the "House of Ganesh" came to an end.

The Ilyas Shahi dynasty was once more restored to power, and continued to rule for another fifty years (1437 to 1487). During this period Chittagong was lost to the Arakanese (1450), but otherwise the frontiers of Muslim Bengal were greatly extended. Early in this period, the Bagerhat region of Khulna district of East Pakistan was conquered by Khan Jahan, who colonised the area. He died in 1458-59 and was buried in a magnificent tomb at Bagerhat. There was extension of the frontier in North Bengal, and Sylhet, which after its conquest in 1303-4 had been lost, was reoccupied. This period was also marked by large-scale building activity at Gaur, Pandua and other places. The last Ilyas Shahi king was assassinated in 1487 by his Abyssinian palace guards, and there was a brief interval of Abyssinian rule, followed by the commencement of the Husain Shahi regime in 1493.

After the failure of Ganesh's attempt to seize power in the early 15th century, Muslim rule in Bengal continued unbroken, but the Hindu revival and resurgence, of which this attempt was a striking example in the political field, continued unabated in other spheres. "In the second half of the same century it spread in two directions, on one side in social reorganisation among Brahmans and Kayasths, on the other side in the encouragement of learning, the revival of Sanskrit learning at Navadvip and elsewhere and the nourishment of vernaculer literature by songs and stories about Radha-Krishna and Chandi, or by translations from the Sanskrit epics and Puranas. The following century saw its further progress in the revivified religious beliefs, specially the Radha-Krishna worship through the preaching and singing procession of Chaitanya, his associates and followers." The vigour of the Hindu revival may be judged by the fact that now for the first time Hinduism spread to Assam, and the Ahoms adopted a

form of Vaishnavaism. In the affairs of state, no further attempt like that of Ganesh appears to have been made in Bengal, but the Hindus held high offices under Muslim rulers and apparently the important position of the old Hindu *zamindars* and chiefs in the countryside was not seriously disturbed during the Muslim rule.

Husain Shahi Dynasty.

In dealing with Muslim Bengal one is handicapped by the absence of any contemporary history of the area. Even the literary works produced by Muslims in Persian during the pre-Mughal period have been, with rare exceptions as with the letters and some other works of Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-'Alam, lost. The only period about which some information is available, mostly in the form of references in contemporary Vaishnava literature, is the brief but glorious period of the Husain Shahi dynasty, which attained power with the enthronement, in 1493, of Sayyid 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah. He was an Arab who had recently settled in Bengal with his father, and had rapidly risen in the service of the local rulers on account of his Sayyid descent, ability, and personal character. He had been minister under the previous ruler and now the nobles elected him as king on receiving guarantees from him which, according to Sir Wolseley Haig, "bore some resemblance to a European constitution of 1848".[7] The new king proved worthy of the confidence reposed in him, aud was a conscientious and competent ruler. After establishing order in his own territory, he turned his attention to the areas which were formerly included in the kingdom of Bengal, but had been lost during the disorders of the previous reigns. He recovered the territory as far as the borders of Orissa in the south and reoccupied Kamrup. He spent much time in fortifying his frontiers, introducing administrative reforms and building mosques and alms-houses. He left magnificent buildings at Gaur and Pandua, and made large endowments for the maintenance of the tomb of the saint Nur Qutb-i-'Alam. 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah, though a deeply religious ruler, was liberal in his treatment of the Hindus whom he employed in key posts.

'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah was succeeded by Nusrat Shah (1519-1532), another enlightened and liberal ruler. Both he and his father were patrons of literature, and did not confine their patronage to Persian which was the court language. As we shall

see in a later chapter, with their encouragement many important Sanskrit works were translated into Bengali. The architectural monuments of the Husain Shahi period include the *Chota Sona Masjid* at Gaur, built by Wali Muhammad during the reign of Husain Shah (A.D. 1493-1519) and a mosque at Bagha in the Rajshahi district dating from 1523. Both these mosques are in Pakistan, but the *Bara Sona Masjid* at Gaur, completed by Nusrat Shah in 1526, and the Qadam Rasul mosque, completed by the same ruler in 1533, are now in India.

Nusrat Shah was assassinated in 1533, and after his death, the resultant political confusion enabled the Afghan adventurer, Sher Khan Suri, who had established himself in Bihar, to intervene in the affairs of Bengal, and ultimately to conquer it in 1539. The Afghans continued to hold the province until it was conquered by Akbar in 1576 and incorporated in the Mughal empire.

JAUNPUR (1393-1479 A. D.)

The independent kingdom of Jaunpur was established in 1393 by Khwaja Jahan Malik Sarwar, a minister of the later Tughluqs, who, seeing the prevailing confusion in Delhi, retired to Jaunpur and, after suppressing the Hindu rebellions in the Gangetic Doab and Oudh, threw off his allegiance to Delhi. His family continued to rule Jaunpur for a little more than eighty years and included two rulers of some distinction. Ibrahim, who ruled from 1402 to 1436 was easily the ablest ruler of the Sharqi dynasty[c]. He intervened in the affairs of Bengal, but his reign is chiefly distinguished for literary, cultural and architectural activities. His chief Qazi, Shihab-ud-din Daulatabadi, wrote a commentary on the Quran besides other works on Islamic law. Ibrahim built some magnificent buildings and gave protection to a number of learned men, who, during the disturbed conditions at Delhi following the invasion of Timur, sought refuge at Jaunpur. Vidyapati, a Hindu poet, has bestowed high praise on the prosperity and wealth of the city, which on account of its literary and cultural activities came to be known in later days as the Shiraz

(*c*) The rulers of Jaunpur were known as Sharqi (Eastern) kings, partly on account of the situation of their kingdom, which was to the east of Delhi and partly on account of the title of the founder of the dynasty, *Malik-ush-Sharq* (King of the East).

of India. The last king of Jaunpur, Sultan Husain Sharqi, was an ineffective ruler, but a great patron of fine arts, and occupies an important place in the history of Indian music. In 1479 he was driven out of Jaunpur by Bahlul Lodi of Delhi, and after some years' stay in Bihar, from where he vainly tried to regain his lost territory, sought refuge in Bengal. He was hospitably accommodated by Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah at Kahalgaon (Colgong), where he lived in retirement until his death in 1500.

No contemporary account of the kingdom of Jaunpur has survived and some subsequent potentates controlling the area like Sikandar Lodi and Burhan-ul-mulk, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, systematically tried to efface the achievements of the Sharqi rulers. There are, however, plenty of indications to show that art and learning were very actively patronised at Jaunpur, and the brief Sharqi rule had its own distinctive contribution to make to the stream of Indo-Muslim civilisation. Not only was the period marked by certain far reaching developments in the realm of Indo-Muslim music, but the Sharqi rulers, by bestowing rich endowments on scholarly families and the Sayyids at Jaunpur, A'zamgarh, Bilgram, Chiriakot etc., laid the foundation of the intellectual importance of the area, which made itself manifest during the Mughal period, and has been maintained till recent times.

KASHMIR

Kashmir remained outside the kingdom of Delhi until the days of Akbar, but Muslim rule had been established in the area in the first half of the fourteenth century. Islam was introduced into Kashmir by Shah Mirza, an adventurer from Swat, who in 1315 entered the service of Suhadeva, the ruler of the valley. Suhadeva was overthrown by Rinchana, a Tibetan who is stated to have accepted Islam at the hands of a Muslim saint and made Shah Mirza his minister. On Rinchana's death, there was confusion in the state and Shah Mirza ascended the throne in 1346, under the title of Shams-ud-din Shah. He proved a model ruler. According to the *Cambridge History of India*, "The new king used wisely and beneficiently the powers which he had acquired. The Hindu kings had been atrocious tyrants, whose avowed policy had been to leave their subjects nothing beyond a bare existence. He ruled on more liberal principles, abolished the arbitrary taxes and cruel methods of extorting them, and fixed

the state share of the produce of the land at one-sixth."[8] Shams-ud-din died in 1349. Sikandar, the next important ruler wielded power from 1394 to 1416. During his reign, Amir Kabir Sayyid 'Ali Hamdani, a distinguished writer and saint from Iran, came to Kashmir with a large number of companions who initiated a powerful movement for the Islamisation of the valley. In this they were assisted by Sikandar's minister, Sinhabhat,[(d)] "a converted Brahmin with all a convert's zeal for his new faith." Forcible burning of widows was a common Hindu practice in Kashmir, and Sinhabhat, who wanted to put an end to this practice, persuaded the king to initiate stringent measures against those who refused to give it up. Many Hindus were forced to leave Kashmir, some temples were taken over and idols made of precious metal were broken and converted into money. These measures became such a prominent feature of Sikandar's reign that he is known in history as Sikandar, *But-shikan*—"the iconoclast".

Zain-ul-'Abidin (1420—70).

Sikandar died in 1416, and after one brief reign, his son Zain-ul-'Abidin ascended the throne in June, 1420, and continued to rule for almost half a century. He completely reversed the policy of his father and Sinhabhat, restored temples, introduced a policy of toleration of all religions and allowed Hindus to "observe all the ordinances of their faith which had been prohibited, even the immolation of widows." He abolished *Jizya* on non-Muslims and freely patronised Hindu learning. He caused the *Rajatrangini*, a Sanskrit history of Kashmir and the *Mahabharta* to be translated into Persian and several Persian and Arabic works to be translated into the local language. Zain-ul-'Abidin was proficient in Persian, Hindi, Kashmiri and Tibetan, and patronised poetry, music and painting. He established Persian as the court language, and is said to have introduced fire-arms in Kashmir. His death in 1470 was followed by great confusion.

In 1487 Shams-ud-din, a disciple of Mir Nur Bakhsh came from Iraq to Kashmir and started propagating Nur Bakhshi tenets. He believed Mir Nur Bakhsh to be the promised *Mahdi*, and in some matters agreed with the *Shi'as*. The Chak tribe adopted these doctrines and it is from that time that *Shi'a-Sunni* differences started in Kashmir which at times led to violence and

(b) In *H. C. I. P.*, Vol VI (p. 378), he is also styled as Suhabhatta.

bloodshed. In 1568 a religious disturbance gave Akbar's envoy a pretext for intervention in the affairs of the kingdom and although shortly thereafter there was a patched up settlement, confusion in the realm continued and in 1586 Akbar annexed the territory.

SIND AND MULTAN

Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni had conquered Multan and Mansura, two seats of Muslim power in the former Arab dominion of Sind and Multan. By 1053, however, the Ghaznavid hold had grown so weak that though Multan and upper Sind remained linked with the Ghaznavid empire, lower Sind came under the control of the Sumras, a native Rajput tribe. The area was reconquered by Muhammad Ghuri,whose lieutenant, Nasir-ud-din Qabacha, maintained a magnificent court at Uch. Iltutmish defeated Qabacha and annexed his territory, but owing to the incursions of the Mongols, the situation in Sind and West Punjab remained confused under the later Slave kings. In fact, for sometime the area was under the control of rulers who owed allegiance to the Mongols rather than to the Sultans of Delhi. 'Ala-ud-din Khalji and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq reasserted the authority of Delhi, but lower Sind retained so much autonomy that in the days of Muhammad Tughluq, the Sammas, a Rajput tribe of Cutch and lower Sind ousted the Sumras, without any interference from Delhi. They continued their old Hindu tribal names, and many Hindu practices. The Samma rulers had adopted Islam, but the fifth Samma ruler who had spent some years at the court of Firuz Tughluq as a hostage, was the first native ruler of Sind with a Muslim name.

After the decline of Delhi government, the rulers of Sind became independent and built up relations with Gujarat. There were intermarriages between their ruling families. Some saints of Multan went and established themselves at Patan and Ahmadabad in Gujarat, and in the days of Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat, efforts were made by the latter to spread the knowledge of true Islam in Sind. The best known Samma ruler was Jam Nizam-ud-din (popularly known as Jam Nanda). He came to the throne in 1439, and reigned for nearly sixty years. Towards the end of his reign, the Mughals of the Arghun clan, who had established themselves at Qandhar, began to make their influence felt in Sind, and when in 1521, Shah Beg Arghun was driven out

of Qandhar by Babur, he came to Sind and expelled Nanda's son, Jam Firuz, who took refuge with the ruler of Gujarat.

Shah Beg Arghun was a brave ruler, patron of learning, and according to *Ma'asir-ul-Umara,* author of many scholastic works. In 1556, he was succeeded by his son, Shah Husain, who for a time had Multan under him. During his reign, Humayun went to Sind in search of help. In 1556 Tarkhans, who belonged to an elder branch of Arghun clan came to power and continued to rule Sind until Mirza Jani Beg was defeated in 1591 by Akbar's general, 'Abdur Rahim Khan Khan-i-Khanan, and Sind was incorporated in the Mughal Empire. During their short rule, the Arghuns and the Tarkhans were able to introduce into Sind the cultural traditions which had grown up at Herat and Qandhar, and the cultural life of the territory was greatly enriched.

Multan, which the Arab geographers mention as the principal city of the upper Sind, became independent during the confusion following the invasion of Timur, when the authorities at Delhi did not even nominate a governor. In 1438 the people of Multan chose as their ruler Shaikh Yusuf Quraishi, the guardian of the shrine of Hazrat Baha-ud-din Zakariya. The Shaikh, however, was a simple man of piety and devotion and was soon beguiled out of his possessions by an Afghan chief, Sahra Langah, who set up in 1348, the Langah dynasty, which endured until the capture of Multan by the Arghuns of Sind in 1528. Husain Langah who defeated the armies sent by Bahlul Lodi, the contemporary king of Delhi, and held power from 1456 to 1502, was the ablest of the local rulers of Multan. In 1528 the Arghuns of Sind captured Multan, but their occupation of the city was marked by such cruelty and oppression that the inhabitants rose against the Arghun governor under Langar Khan, the former commander of Multan army. After driving out the Arghuns, Langar Khan submitted to the Mughal governor of the Punjab, and Multan was once again united to Delhi.

GUJARAT

The kingdom of Gujarat was established in 1403, when Zafar Khan, who had been appointed governor of the province in 1391, assumed the title of Sultan Muzaffar Shah and declared himself independent in 1391. He was succeeded by his grandson, Ahmad Shah (1411-1432), who extended his dominion over the whole of Gujarat and built the city of Ahmadabad which

is named after him. His grandson, Mahmud Begada (1458-1511) was the most eminent member of the dynasty. He waged successful wars against the Ranas of Kathiawar and the Rajput chiefs, annexed Junagarh, and led an expedition to Somnath. He successfully interfered in the affairs of Malwa, Khandesh, Sind and the Deccan. So great was his prestige that anybody having a grievance against rulers in these areas would approach Mahmud and usually these grievances were redressed through his intervention. Towards the end of his rule, he came in conflict with the Portuguese who had appeared on the Malabar Coast in 1498, and were interfering with seaborne traffic in the Indian Ocean.

The last king of Gujarat, Bahadur Shah (1526-1537), occupied Malwa in 1531, conquered Chitor in 1533 and repulsed the attacks of the Portuguese on Diu. In 1535, Humayun invaded Gujarat and two years later the fugitive Bahadur Shah was drowned off Diu. The defeat of Humayun by Sher Shah threw the kingdom into a state of anarchy, and it was ultimately conquered by Akbar in 1572.

During the two centuries of their independent rule, the kings of Gujarat built many magnificent buildings and founded new cities like Ahmadabad and Mahmudabad. They encouraged arts and crafts, and laid the foundation of many industries for which Gujarat became famous during the Mughal period. Gujarat also became an important centre of Muslim learning. Cambay and Surat were two important ports for pilgrims and scholars visiting Hijaz, and at one time the learned men of Gujarat were even more renowned than those of Delhi, as it was attracting scholars from other important centres (*e.g.*, the renowned Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi of Jaunpur).

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

More magnificent than most of the contemporary kingdoms of the North was the Bahmani Sultanate in the Deccan. It was founded in 1347 when Hasan, the leader of Muslim nobles in the Deccan revolted against Muhammad Tughluq's severity and set up an independent kingdom with Gulbarga as its capital. The Bahmani kingdom lasted from 1347 to 1526. For a little less than a century and a half (1347-1482) it prospered, until it extended from the west coast of India to the eastern coast. Towards the end of this period, weaknesses set in but the affairs of the state were well-managed by the scholarly *wazir* Mahmud Gawan, who

ranks as one of the ablest Muslim statesmen of the subcontinent. He was an honest and efficient organiser, who reformed the administration and centralised authority in the hands of the king. But the Deccani nobles got jealous of him and poisoned the king's ears against him. The able minister was put to death on false charges, and soon the order and unity which he had maintained in the kingdom came to an end. Mahmud Gawan was also a distinguished writer and his Persian letters have been recently published. He maintained contact with many celebrities outside the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and amongst those who benefitted by his munificence was the famous poet Jami.

The death of Mahmud Gawan in 1488 was followed by a period of anarchy, and the kingdom broke up into five principalities—the 'Adil Shahis of Bijapur (1490-1686), the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar (1480-1633), the 'Imad Shahis of Berar (1410-1568), the Barid Shahis of Bidar (1580-1609) and the Qutb Shahis of Golkonda (1512-1687).

The Bahmani kings and their successors at Bijapur and Golkonda "were great builders who have left massive fortresses which are monuments of high military engineering and their mosques and tombs are impressive." The college established by Mahmud Gawan at Gulbarga, though now in ruins, must have been a magnificent building at one time; and the Gol Gumbad at Bijapur is the second biggest dome in the world.

The rulers of Deccan attracted scholars, poets, and statesmen from Persia and other lands, but local talent was also employed to a much larger extent than was the case at Delhi. In some cases, the principal ministers, as at Bijapur, were Hindus, and the Maratha chiefs like Shahji of Ahmadnagar, the father of Shivaji, occupied distinguished positions in the army. In linguistic matters also, there was closer collaboration between the Hindus and the Muslims. Marathi was the language used for village records, and the Sufi saints helped the development of the Deccani variety of Hindustani. Some of the rulers composed verses in that language and encouraged others to do, and it was not mere accident that although Hindustani appeared in Northern India at the very beginning of the Muslim rule, it was the Deccani idiom which first attained literary status.

MALWA AND KHANDESH

Malwa became independent after Timur's invasion in 1401

and remained so until 1531, when it was incorporated in the kingdom of Gujarat. The kingdom of Malwa was never very extensive, but its independent existence was distinguished by some interesting developments. One noteworthy feature of the activities in independent Malwa was the erection of the splendid buildings with which the two capitals of Dhar and Mandu are adorned. The rulers also encouraged literary activity and permitted greater freedom of thought than was customary at Delhi or other states in Northern India with the result that the kingdom became a refuge for many heterodox sects. Sayyid Ahmad, the *Mahdi* of Jaunpur, received a warm welcome in Malwa, and Shaikh Abdullah of the less orthodox *Shattari* order made it the centre of his activities. Perhaps the most important contribution of Malwa to the cultural history of the subcontinent was the encouragement which the local rulers, particularly Baz Bahadur, the last king of Malwa, gave to Hindustani music. Not only did music flourish during their reign, but such important centres were established as at Dhar, that for centuries later, a large number of the musicians who distinguished themselves at the Mughal court were from this area.

Another minor kingdom was that of Khandesh, with its capital at Burhanpur. It was established in 1382 and came to an end in 1601 when Akbar incorporated the kingdom in his empire. Burhanpur, however, continued to be an important cultural centre under the Mughals.

HINDU KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA

The break-up of the Delhi Sultanate led not only to the establishment of a number of Muslim kingdoms, but in certain areas the Hindu chiefs reasserted themselves. In addition to the minor chieftains, who became virtually independent, the Sisodias of Mewar established a powerful state in Rajputana. Kumbh (1433-1468) defeated the ruler of Malwa in 1437 and built a tower of victory at Chitor to commemorate his success. He was assassinated by his son in 1468 and after some quarrels within the family, Rana Sanga came to the throne in 1509. He was successful not only against the king of Gujarat, but defeated the Lodi ruler of Delhi at Khatauli in 1517. By 1526, he had become the most powerful ruler of northern India, and when Babur was establishing the Mughal rule, his most important victory was not against

the Lodi ruler at Panipat, but against Rana Sanga and his Afghan confederates at Kanwah (1527). Sanga was poisoned shortly after his defeat, and the importance of Mewar declined with him.

In the South, a bigger and more important Hindu kingdom was established. Two brothers Harihar and Bukka, who had embraced Islam were appointed by Muhammad Tughluq as governor and deputy-governor of Kampili, and were sent there to restore order. After initial set-backs they were successful, but southern India was at this time in a ferment. The Hindus had recovered from the stunning effects of the Muslim victories, and were trying to reassert themselves. Muhammad Tughluq's ineptitude and conflicts with Muslim nobility gave them their chance. There was a revival of Hindu power in the south and the rise of a powerful politico-religious movement in the area. In this atmosphere, Harihar and Bukka were reconverted to Hinduism by the Hindu religious leader Madhava Vidyaranya, and instead of remaining loyal to Delhi, Harihar declared himself independent and laid the foundation of a new capital at Vijayanagar in 1336. The kings of Vijayanagar became independent of the control of Delhi, but they had often to fight the Bahmani rulers and their successors. In order to increase their military strength, they recruited a large force of Muslim archers, and gave them special privileges. Their task was facilitated by differences amongst the Muslim principalities into which the Bahmani kingdom had broken up. Occasionally the aid of the Raja of Vijayanagar was obtained by Muslim kingdoms in their mutual conflicts, and it was due to excesses committed by the army of Vijayanagar in one of such campaigns that sealed its fate. In 1557, the kings of Bijapur and Golkonda sought the assistance of Vijayanagar army in an attack against Ahmadnagar, but the way in which the Hindu soldiers behaved shocked even their confederates. They laid waste the entire country and according to Firishta: "The infidels of Vijayanagar, who for many years had been wishing for such an event, left no cruelty unpractised; they insulted Muslim women, destroyed mosques, and did not even respect the sacred Quran." This outraged Muslim sentiment, and all the Muslim rulers of the Deccan combined to form a grand alliance against Vijayanagar. In December 1564, the hostile forces met near the town of Talikota, where the Vijayanagar army was completely

defeated, and the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar came to an end.

THE PORTUGUESE

Shortly before the advent of the Mughals, a new power appeared in the south which did not establish a large regional kingdom, and was confined to the coast-line, but which became a powerful factor in shaping the destinies of the subcontinent. On May 27, 1498, Vasco da Gama, guided by the Arab pilot Ahmad ibn Majid and his companions whom the Portuguese had pressed into service on reaching the East African coast, appeared before Calicut, and a new chapter opened not only in the history of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, but of the entire East. The object of the Portuguese was twofold—to regain direct access to spices and other goods of the Indies for which Western Europe was now dependent on Egypt and Venice, and to wrest the trade and political power in the east from the Arabs.

The pattern of the Portuguese activities was laid down by Vasco da Gama himself. "Without any kind of warning, he intersected and destroyed any vessel he came across on his voyage," but special treatment was to be meted out to the ships carrying Muslims. Vasco da Gama came across some unarmed vessels returning with pilgrims from Mecca. He captured them, and "after making the ships empty of goods, prohibited anyone from taking out of it any Moor, and then ordered them to set fire to it."

Vasco da Gama returned to Lisbon in August, 1499, but soon the Portuguese forces returned in greater strength. In 1506, a strong fort was built at Cochin, and a year later, a settlement was established on the Island of Socotra near the entrance of the Red Sea. The *zamorin*, the Hindu ruler of Calicut had welcomed the foreigners, but soon the behaviour of the Portuguese led to hostilities. The *zamorin* was successful at first, but when strong Portuguese forces started coming, he realised the need for allies. The Portuguese actions and plans were also fatal to the interest of Egypt, and they had made themselves obnoxious to the Muslim rulers of Gujarat. It was, therefore, arranged by correspondence between the Sultan of Egypt, the king of Gujarat, and the *zamorin*, that a powerful fleet should be equipped at Suez and sent to the Indian coast, where it should be reinforced by the vessels of the other two allies. Amir Husain Kurd, the governor of Jidda, was the commander of the Egyptian fleet, while the

contingent of Gujarat was under the command of Malik Ayaz, a Russian convert to Islam who had accepted employment under the king of Gujarat. In 1507, a fierce fight took place at the harbour of Chaul (near modern Bombay) where the Portuguese forces were utterly defeated, but this victory was without lasting results. According to Sir Denison Ross, this was due to the fact that in the following year there was another desperate fight near Diu, where the entire Portuguese fleet met the Egyptian fleet and its Indian auxiliaries. "In the desperate battle which followed, the Muslims were totally defeated and the Egyptian fleet was almost entirely destroyed." Dr. Panikkar, who had access to the Portuguese archives in Lisbon, states that in spite of the fact that the Portuguese had secretly won over Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu, "the action was inconclusive".[10] Whatever may have been the exact course of the battle, the outcome of the developments at Diu was very definite. The Egyptian commander became so disgusted with the behaviour of Malik Ayaz that he withdrew from the Indian Ocean. The confederacy broke up and even if the naval battle was "inconclusive", the Protuguese by their successful diplomacy had attained the results which a complete victory would have achieved.

In 1570, Egypt was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. The struggle between the Egyptians and the Turks and the dislocation inevitable in a new conquest "gave the Portuguese respite during which they were able to consolidate their naval position." By now they had occupied and fortified Diu, and were interfering with all shipping in the Indian Ocean which was not covered by their permits. These factors, high-lighted by the tragic death of Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujarat, at the hands of the Portuguese, brought the situation home to the Ottoman ruler, Sulaiman I. He ordered Sulaiman Pasha, the governor of Egypt to equip a fleet and to proceed to Indian waters to deal with the Portuguese. Sulaiman Pasha was to join hands with Khwaja Safar, the commander of the naval forces of the ruler of Gujarat and with the admiral of the *zamorin* of Calicut. This collaboration, however, did not materialise. On his way, Sulaiman dealt harshly with the governor of Aden and some people around Khwaja Safar played on the dangers from the Turks and "convinced him that Gujarat had nothing to gain by their taking the place of the Portuguese at Diu[11]. In the meantime the Portuguese

governor was able to force the Calicut admiral to fight an action and to disperse his ships. Getting no real help from Khwaja Safar, the Turkish commander sailed back to Egypt, after a futile cruise of the Arabian Sea. This left the Portuguese navy in full control of the Indian waters for the next sixty years.

It is not known whether amongst those friends of Khwaja Safar who dissuaded him from active collaboration with Sulaiman, there were any agents of the Portuguese, but they had, in case of Malik Ayaz, shown great skill in fostering treachery amongst their enemies. Some years later they achieved a signal victory at Chaul and Goa, where with the help of a very small force they defied and defeated a much larger and better equipped army (1570). Commenting on this success, Sir Wolseley Haig says, "These victories were due no less to the skill with which Portuguese exploited corruption and dissensions of their enemies than to their valour and discipline."[12]

Having become master of the seas, the Portuguese established themselves at important ports. They had already established a fort at Cochin (1506). In 1510, Albuquerque, who was "the principal exponent of occupation policy," secured the island of Goa, the principal port in the kingdom of Bijapur. He introduced a system of direct administration for the district of Goa, which became, "the first bit of Indian territory directly governed by Europeans since the time of Alexander the Great." The Portuguese had some keen and efficient administrators, and they made useful contributions to Indian life and society. In the sixteenth century, they introduced printing in Goa and though this did not immediately extend to other parts of the subcontinent, some of the articles introduced by the Portuguese have been generally adopted. They were the first to encourage the growth of tobacco, potatoes and cashew nuts. Some articles of daily use (for example, the table) bear Portuguese names in Indian languages and were probably introduced by them into the subcontinent. They were, however, religious fanatics and failed to conform to the standards of international and interreligious conduct current in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent at the time of their arrival. "Albuquerque reported to his master that he had put every Moor in Goa to the sword." The mosques would be filled with Muslims and set on fire. Soon others began to share the fate of the Muslims. To quote Vincent Smith, "After Albuquerqe's death, the government of Portugal,

under the guidance of King John III, a bigoted fanatic, based its policy on a desire to make Christians by fair means or foul, rather than on political or commercial motives. The Inquisition, which had been established in Goa in 1560 indulged from the beginning of the seventeenth century in an atrocious religious persecution, torturing and burning relapsed converts and unlucky wretches supposed to be witches"[13].

An interesting relic of the Portuguese occupation of the Malabar ports is an Arabic book which Shaikh Zain-ud-din of Ponani, a Malabari scholar wrote in 1583, giving a brief history of Malabar, an account of the spread of Islam in the area, and the story of struggle of the *Zamorin* of Calicut against the Portuguese and his efforts to get the assistance of the neighbouring Muslim rulers of Gujarat and Bijapur. It is popularly known as *Tohfat-ul-Mujahidin*, but its full title is *Tohfat-ul-Mujahidin-fi-Ba'az-Akhbar-ul-Purtagalin* (A Present to the *Mujahids* containing some account of the Portuguese). It was dedicated to 'Ali 'Adil Shah I of Bijapur (1557-80), though it was completed three years after his death. The author's aim was to draw the attention of the contemporary Muslim rulers to the crisis which was developing in the area. The author did not succeed in his object, but his book has been a source of useful material. Firishta included a brief summary in his well-known book, and an English version, by Major Rowlandson, appeared in 1833.

Zain-ud-din's account is objective, and although he was deeply hurt by the trend of events, he paid a compliment, to the sense of discipline amongst the Portuguese, whom he, according to the practice of the times, called 'the Franks'. "All of them being actuated by the same spirit, and obeying, to the letter, the order of their superiors, notwithstanding the distance by which they were removed from their government; for although dissensions might arise amongst them, yet it was never heard that any one of them ever fell a martyr to his exercise of the authority invested in him. This general obedience to authority enabled them, notwithstanding the smallness of their numbers, to overcome the native princes of Malabar, who, as well as the Mahomedans, were all intriguing for power amongst themselves, every man being desirous of authority, and prepared to encompass the death of all who stood in his way to it."[14]

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CHAPTER X

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE DELHI SULTANATE

Early Indo-Muslim Literature on administration and political theory.

The old histories of Medieval India, by confining themselves to accounts of wars and conquests, have created the impression that early Muslim rulers were only rough and rude soldiers, with no cultural interests and without well-developed views on the proper role of government. The earlier chapters of this book, in which an attempt has been made to trace the administrative changes introduced in different reigns and the political views of rulers like Iltutmish and Balban, would have removed this impression. Before, however, we deal with the administrative structure evolved during the Sultanate, it may be useful to refer to two works on government and political theory, which have somehow survived and which show that the newcomers had amongst them thoughtful and well-read intellectuals, who applied their minds to the general principles and technique of public administration and government.

The earliest work which is of special importance in the history of political thought of Muslim India, and was probably intended to be a blue-print for the first Muslim Government at Delhi, was written by a contemporary of Iltutmish. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, whose father was a distinguished scholar of Ghazni and whose great grandfather had served in a prominent position under Sultan Ibrahim (1059-1099) spent a considerable part of his life at Lahore, where he met Muhammad Ghuri, and was later presented to Qutb-ud-din Aibak in 1205. He was the author of a book of Genealogies, and the historical introduction to this work, which he completed in 1206 and presented to Aibak, has been edited and published

by Sir E. Denison Ross. A more important work, variously styled as *Abab-ul-Muluk wa Kifayat-ul-Mamluk* (Rules for the Kings and the Welfare of the Subjects) or *Abab-ul-Harab wa-sh-Shuja'a* (Rules of Warfare and Bravery) has not yet seen the light of the day. The first part of this book is a work of political theory, dealing with the privileges and responsibilities of kings, with separate chapters giving the qualifications and functions of different officers of state—*wazir, mustaufi, wakil, mushrif, amir-i-hajib, amir-i-dad* and *sahib-i-barid.* In the chapters dealing with different dignitaries, Fakhr has drawn administrative pattern set up at Ghazni—following the models of Baghdad and Bukhara,—on old historical works, books on statecraft and on theological works, to illustrate and elaborate his views. The remaining book is a manual dealing systematically and in some detail with the art of war and warfare. This book, in which a distinguished scholar-statesman of the age laid down the lines for the administrative and military organisation of Muslim India, was doubtless intended by the author to be a guide book for the rulers. It was presented to Iltutmish and as the contemporary histories show, the government organisation set up by him corresponded very much to the structure visualised by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir.

Another early work connected with political theory, of which an incomplete copy has survived, belongs to a different category. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* (Rulings on Government) which is in the nature of a political phantasy[a] consists mainly of a number of imaginary discourses supposed to have been addressed by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni to his successor. It was written after Barani had retired from the royal court in disgrace and is concerned more with general policies than with the structure of the state. The book reflects Barani's bitterness against recent trends, his extremism and his acute class-consciousness. He is bitter not only against the Hindus but also against the Muslim lower

(*a*) On the form of this somewhat peculiar book, Prof. Habib writes in his introduction to the English version: "We discover that Sultan Mahmud is the hero of the book, but curiously enough we find three persons speaking one after the other—Sultan Mahmud, a contemporary of Sultan Mahmud, and Barani himself—and it is difficult to say where speech of one of them ends and the speech of the other begins. Also Mahmud is sometimes spoken of as living and at other time as dead".

classes, who according to him should be taught rules about *hajj*, *zakat* etc., but should not be "taught reading and writing, for plenty of disorders arise owing to the skill of the low-born in knowledge...For on account of their skill, they became governors, revenue collectors, auditors, officers and rulers." If the teachers disregard this edict and "are discovered at the time of investigation that they have imparted knowledge or taught letters or writing to the low-born inevitably the punishment for disobedience will be meted out to them."[1]

Fatawa-i-Jahandari is of interest, like everything else from the pen of a brilliant writer like Barani, but it represents an individual's views and made no impression on the course of Indo-Muslim history or political thought. Indeed, it is not referred to by any later writer or historian, and is not included in an incomplete, but fairly full list of Barani's works given by his contemporary, Amir Khurd. The importance of the book is partly personal, as giving an insight into the mind of Barani, and partly topical, as it gives his views in the context of political and social situation then prevailing. In spirit and sentiments, *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* is in complete contrast with Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's book, which is throughout inspired by practical idealism, moderation, and good sense. The contrast between the outlook of two early writers on political theory and administration is manifest on many points, but can perhaps be seen most vividly with reference to their attitude towards non-Muslims. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir sums up the position of the *zimmis* according to the Hanafi law. He indicates that efforts should be made to avoid confusion between the *zimmis* and the Muslims in the Islamic cities (Shahrha-i-Islam),but he is very emphatic about the protection to be given to the lives and properties of the *zimmis*, once they have accepted this position and agreed to pay *jizya*. "If they consent to pay it", he says, all conflict should cease "for their blood and property is like the blood and property of the Mussalmans" and it is not proper to carry on conflict with them.[(b)]

Barani is, on the other hand, most unhappy that by "merely paying a few tankas and the poll-tax", the Hindus were able to continue the traditions of their religion. He elaborates this point

(*b*) For details see K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th Century*, pp. 113-114.

at one place, "On the other hand, if the Muslim king, in spite of the power and position which God has given him, is merely content to take the poll-tax (*jizya*) and tribute (*khiraj*) from the Hindus and preserves both infidels and infidelity and refuses to risk his power in attempting to overthrow them, what differences will there be in this respect between the kings of Islam and the Rais of the infidels? For the Rais of the infidels also exact the poll-tax (*jizya*) and the tribute (*khiraj*) from the Hindus, who belong to their own false creed, and fill their treasuries with money so obtained; in fact, they collect a hundred times more taxes."[c]

Besides *Fatawa-i-Jahandari,* Barani has dealt at length with political philosophies of early Muslim rulers, statesmen and religious leaders in his well-known historical work, *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shahi.* The long discourses on political affairs and statecraft contained in his book, like Nur-ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi's advice to Iltutmish on the responsibilities of a Muslim "Defender of the Faith" (*Din Panah*), Balban's views on kingship, and his long lecture to his son, Bughra Khan, the governor of Bengal on the relationship between the central and the provincial governments, Ahmad Chap's advice to Jalal-ud-din Khalji, Kotwal 'Ala-ul-mulk's discourses at 'Ala-ud-din's consultative assemblies, Qazi Mughis's views on major political and legal problems of the day and several others were dramatised and enlarged by the eloquent historian. They are presumably coloured by his own predilictions, and should not be treated as authentic in every word, but the views attributed to different rulers and dignitaries are so distinct and so much "in character" that they may be taken to generally represent the individual views of the persons to whom they are attributed. For an understanding of Muslim political thought during the Sultanate, a study of *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is helpful, although it is not a work of political theory.

Delhi Sultanate not a Theocracy.

Muslim state in India was not a theocracy. Writing about the Sultanate, Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi says, "The supremacy of the *shar'* has misled some into thinking that the sultanate was a theocracy. The essential feature of a theocracy—the rule of an ordained priest-

(c) *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, translated as *Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate* by Prof. M. Habib. p. 65.

hood—is, however, missing in the organization of the Muslim state; the jurists are all laymen who claim no sacerdotal immunity from error."[2] Even apart from the general question whether in a society which does not recognise an ordained priesthood there can be a theocracy, especially in areas not under the direct control of the *Khalifa*, the historical factors, the declared policies of important early sultans and the presence of a large non-Muslim population ruled out the establishment of an Islamic theocracy in India. The sultans of Delhi were practical men, and since their power rested largely on the Muslim army and nobility, two of them strengthened their position in the eyes of the orthodox, by obtaining formal recognition from the contemporary *Khalifas* and some others continued to designate themselves on their coinage as the "Helpers" of a living or dead *Khalifa*. But this pious legal fiction did not alter the reality. By the time Muslim rule was established at Delhi, the temporal authority of the *Khalifa* at Baghdad had dwindled into a mere shadow even within his own territories, and the actual reality of the Indian links with the *Khalifa* may be judged by the fact that occasionally a *Khalifa* would be dead for years before Delhi became aware of the event, and made any change in the *khutba* or the coinage. The patents obtained by the rulers from the *Khalifas* meant so little that at one time the contemporary *Khalifa* sent such patents simultaneously to more than one independent Sultan in India, *e.g.*, the rulers of Delhi and of Bengal.

Besides, the policy adopted by the early sultans under the stress of circumstances with which they were confronted could hardly permit the growth of theocracy. Iltutmish, practically the first Sultan of Delhi, pointed out the essentially secular nature of the Sultanate, and explained why under the conditions prevailing in India, it was not possible for him to be a "Defender of the Faith" (*Din Panah*), except in some limited spheres. Balban, the next important ruler, dominated northern India for nearly forty years and built up the political and administrative pattern which was followed by the later sultans, went even farther. Barani makes it clear that in spite of Balban's courtesy to the leading *ulama* and his personal observance of religious practices, in matters of administration "he carried into effect whatever he considered to be in the interest of the state, irrespective of whether it was in accordance with Islamic law or not"[3].

'Ala-ud-din Khalji followed the same policy. Barani writes about him, "When he obtained kingship, it was firmly ingrained in his mind that government and administration were one thing, while the citations and injunctions of Islamic law were another, and that while the government decrees were the concern of the king, the decisions of Islamic law concerned the *qazis* and the *muftis*. Accordingly, in affairs of government, he did whatever appeared expedient to him, and in whatever way he saw the welfare of the state, whether it was allowed or forbidden by Islamic Law. In administrative matters he never asked for legal opinion and very few learned men visited him".[4] It was under the Tughluqs, particularly under Firuz, that Muslim jurists received some recognition, but by then the pattern of Muslim rule in India had become firmly established.

The early *ulama* realised the complexity of the Indian situation and the need for strengthening the Muslim government. After a brief period of doubts and questionings, they accepted the course, which Iltutmish wished them to adopt[(d)]. The local needs and the spirit of the times encouraged this and a realistic *modus operandi* was evolved. The lack of rigidity shown by the *ulama* may be judged by the fact that Raziya ascended the throne of Delhi, although Muslim legal opinion is firmly opposed to women rulers, and it was left to a much later scholar (Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis—1551-1642), in the more legalistic days of the Mughals, to criticise the selection of Raziya and express surprise at the action of the contemporary jurists and Shaikhs in accepting it. There was an equally glaring departure from the correct legal position in Qutb-ud-din Aibak's being accepted as the Sultan, years before his manumission. Dr. Ashraf has

(*d*) About this brief but important chapter in the constitutional history of Muslim India, some details are found in the work of the historian Barani. In his *Sahifa-i-Na'at-i-Muhammadi*, he gives a long anecdote about the views expressed by some extremist *ulama* regarding the Hindus, and the evasive reply given by the *wazir*, Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi at Iltutmish's behest, (see Medieval India Quarterly 'Aligarh, Vol: I, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 104-5). The views of an influential early theologian, Nur-ud-din Turk Ghaznavi, on the basic policy to be adopted by a Muslim king in India are given at length in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (pp. 41-44). Barani wrote more than a century after these discussions, and his information was based on hearsay. His own extremist, anti-Hindu attitude may also have coloured his account, but this echo of early debates in his works is not without significance for the historian.

correctly summed up the position regarding the early *ulama*; "The Ulama whatever their spiritual significance did lend a hand, and perhaps not unsuccessfully, in helping the advancement of Muslim society in Hindustan, instead of harnessing all the religious passions of the Muslims to impede its progress".[5]

With the good sense shown by rulers like Iltutmish and practical, broad-minded juristis like Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj, the lines indicated by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir were followed. From early days the practice grew that so long as a sultan undertook to safeguard the honour and the observances of Islam, did nothing in open defiance of the principles of *shari'at*, appointed *qazis* and made arrangements for religious education and observances of religious practices, the *ulama* did not interfere in the affairs of the state, which the sultan and his officers administered according to their lights.

The Sultan.

The title *Sultan* signifies a sovereign ruler and marks the transition from the quasi-theocratic *Khilafat* to a secular institution.[e] Although the process was implicit in the establishment and administration of the Umayyad caliphate, it was strengthened by the Persian ideas regarding "the divine right of kings". These influences, which had gradually become dominant in Baghdad under the later Abbasids were even more marked at Bukhara and Ghazni. "At Ghazni—to which we may look for the source of the political ideas of the Sultans of Delhi—even the official titles of some of the heads of departments were the same as those at the ancient Persian court." At Delhi "in the early days of the Turkish rule, there was some opposition to the idea (of the divine right of kings) in every orthodox circle of Muslim thinkers" and the pious-minded Iltutmish was almost apologetic about his kingly role. The position completely changed with Balban, who was a great advocate of Persian ideas, modelled his court after the Persian style, assumed the title of Zillullah and introduced Persian etiquette, court ceremonial and festivities. With him Persian ideas of monarchy became dominant. The process was facilitated by the fact that the Hindus were already used to regarding the

(e) "The Quran wanted to set up a 'Kingdom of God' in which the Caliph judges among or rules the creatures of Allah by His command. In contrast to this the Sultanat is a purely secular institution signifying the dominion of man over man and not a theocracy." (Ashraf, p. 126, ft. note 2.)

king as a representative of Divine powers.

These theories based on Persian political ideas and antecedents gave medieval kings powers which occasionally were used arbitrarily, but there were a number of checks on the absolute exercise of authority by the sultan. For one thing, Islamic theory curtails the law-making power of a ruler, and although there was nothing to stop an autocratic ruler from becoming a law unto himself, he could only do so in defiance of the system which gave him power, and usually the sultans found it unwise to do so. Even an autocratic and worldly-minded ruler like 'Ala-ud-din Khalji admitted that administration of justice was the concern of the Muslim jurists and rewarded Qazi Mughis-ud-din for his bold criticism of his own actions, for which he could even offer some justification.

Equally important was the opinion of the nobility. Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi says, "No feudal lord in Europe exercised a greater check on royal power than the nobles in India".[6] This may not have been true in all cases but there is plenty of evidence to show that the sultans consulted their chief nobles on important occasions and the routine affairs of the state were left to them. Minhaj refers to a dignitary, *Amir-i-Majlis*, whose duties were to arrange meetings for the Council of Advisers consisting of his most intimate advisers. According to Dr. Qureshi, these meetings were "private parties, where the sultan met his friends" and were "just social and cultural". Barani, however, repeatedly refers to *Majlis-i-Khalwat* as a place where affairs of the state were also discussed. Depending on this, Professor Day says, "The Sultan generally discussed all important matters of state in a council, Majlis-i-'Am or Majlis-i-Khalwat, in which the most trusted and highest officers were allowed to sit. The four high ministers of the state were also present in the deliberations of the Majlis-i-Khalwat. But this council had neither any constitutional sanction nor it could enforce the Sultan to call it; besides the Sultan was not bound to follow its decisions. It was only consultative in character."[7]

Barani has left a graphic account of some important discussions which took place in 'Ala-ud-din's *Majlis-i-Khalwat*. In these meetings, important questions were discussed freely, and some of his pet schemes (like his desire to establish a new religion) were ruled out. These factors, together with the influence

of public opinion, and the natural desire of the Sultan to maintain his position, exercised a check on the theoretical absolutism enjoyed by him.

According to Muslim theory, particularly of the Sunnis who formed the bulk of Muslim population in India, election is the accepted method for selecting the *amir*. Both Turko-Iranian ideas of kingship and the Hindu conception of sovereignty were opposed to this principle, and even at the seat of the *Khilafat*, the original Muslim theory had since long given way to the practice of nomination, but, as Tripathi points out, "In spite of the fact of the nomination the theory of election was not abandoned. The gulf between the two principles was bridged by the leading officials and men amounted to his election."[8] The acceptance of the governors of the provinces, the principal nobles of the capital and of the chief theologians, was taken as the indirect consent of the mass of the people.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir lists the following principal dignitaries of the state:—

Departments of the State.

(1) *Wazir;*
(2) *Wakil-i-Dar;*
(3) *Amir-i-Dad;*
(4) *Amir-i-Hajib;*
(5) *Mushrif;*
(6) *Mustaufi;*
(7) *Sahib-i-Barid.*

According to Dr. Qureshi, the *Mushrif-i-Mumalik* was the Accountant-General of the empire, while *Mustaufi* (*Mustaufi-i-Mumalik*), was the Auditor-General. In Firuz Tughluq's reign, the *Mushrif* was the accounts officer dealing with the income, and the *Mustaufi* dealt with the expenditure. *Amir-i-Hajib* (or the *Barbek*) is often designated as the Chief Chamberlain, but this does not fully connote the functions and the importance of this officer. *Amir-i-Hajib* was the master of the ceremonies at the court and nobody could enter the royal presence without being introduced by one of his assistants. All petitions were presented to the Sultan through the *Amir-i-Hajib* or his subordinates. The post, therefore, was one of great prestige and was reserved for trusted nobles. At least one holder of this post (Balban) was the most powerful noble of the day. *Wakil-i-Dar* (not to be confused with the *Wakil-i-Sultanat* of the Sayyid

dynasty and the *Wakil-i-Mutliq* of the Mughals) was the Controller of the Household, while *Sahib-i-Barid* was in charge of the royal post, communications and intelligence.

History of Wizarat.

The chief minister of the Sultan was called the *wazir*. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir considered the *wazir* a "partaker in sovereignty" and recommended that in his own technical domain, he must be left free by the monarch. He describes the normal functions of the *wazir* in the following passage : "The kings know well how to lead expeditions, conquer countries, give rewards, and shine in the assembly or battlefield ; but it is the domain of the *wazir* to make a country prosperous, to accumulate treasures, to appoint officials, to ask for accounts, to arrange for the stock-taking of the commodities in the *karkhanas*, and the census of horses, camels, mules and other animals, to assemble and pay the troops and artisans, to keep the people satisfied, to took after the men of piety and fame and to give them stipends, to take care of the widows and the orphans, to provide for the learned to administer the affairs of the people, and organise the business of the state".[9] This was the position in early days, when the *wazir* used to be in charge of the entire government, both the civil and the military departments and the functions which were later entrusted to the *Sadr-i-Jahan* but this arrangement underwent drastic changes in the light of practical experience, In view of the importance of the office and to illustrate the administrative experiments that were carried on under the Sultanate, it will be useful to sketch the history of *wizarat*.

Few details are known about administrative arrangements during the brief rule of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, but presumably the practice of combining civil and military offices (which was introduced by the Ghaznavids at Lahore in Mas'ud's reign, and was continued under the Ghuris) remained in operation. This was also the position under Iltutmish. His first *wazir*, Nizam-ul-mulk (Kamal-ud-din Muhammad) Junaidi was in charge of all sections of the government, and in addition to his civil duties was occasionally entrusted with military commands (*e.g.*, the operation against Nasir-ud-din Qabacha). He held this office during the brief reign of Iltutmish's immediate successor, but as he refused to take the oath of allegiance to Raziya, she promoted his deputy, Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-din to the *wizarat*. During the troubled

reign of Raziya and her successors, Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-din played an ambitious and dangerous game. He used his influence with the weak rulers and his own capacity for intrigue to consolidate his position and "took all power out of the hands of the Turkish *amirs*". At first an attempt was made during the brief rule of Bahram to curb the *wazir's* (and the king's) powers by the creation of the post of the *Na'ib* (the Deputy of the Realm), but this did not work and the *wazir* continued to be all-powerful. Muhazzab's opponents, therefore, joined hands and had him assassinated on October 28, 1242.

The end of Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-din marks the close of a period in the history of *wizarat*. The way he used his proximity to the king and his authority in the military sphere to secure unlimited power frightened the nobles. The provincial governors and other administrative officers representing the backbone of the government would not permit an individual, selected for his ability in office work, to obtain so much power. Not only did Muhazzab's overwhelming ambition bring about his own violent end, but it also led to a change in the character of the *wizarat*. His successors were selected for their docility. Balban, even before he became Deputy, was more powerful than the *wazir*, and when he became king, he took away the military functions of this functionary. He made the Rawat Arz, his muster-master, who was originally in charge of the financial side and of records of military personnel only, independent of the *wazir*, and raised him to the rank of the War Minister. Actually in Barani's list of high dignitaries, Balban's venerable Rawat Arz comes before Khwaja Hasan, the *wazir*[(f)], possibly on account of his personal eminence. This change marked the end of the dual—civil and military—role of *wizarat*, so dear to the Muslim political theorists, and remained in operation till the days of Firuz Tughluq. Under the pleasure-loving Kaiqubad, Nizam-ud-din Dadbak gained ascendency and contributed to the ruin of the young king. When Jalal-ud-din Khalji came to the throne, *wizarat* was entrusted to Khwaja Khatir, who had been

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(*f*) The low position to which Balban reduced the *wazir* proved disastrous to his own schemes. At his death bed he had desired that Kaikhusro, son of Khan-i-Shahid, should succeed him. Some influential nobles of the capital decided to ignore Balban's wishes and enthroned Kaiqubad. The *wazir* favoured adherence to his old master's will, but was powerless to enforce it and was sent into exile.

Deputy *Wazir* in Balban's days. He was confirmed in his office by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, whose Deputy Wazir Sharaf Qai is also praised for efficiency, but during the last days of the king, Malik Kafur, the royal Deputy, wielded real power. During the short-lived rule of Khusrau Khan, Malik Wahid-ud-din Quraishi, who had proved successful as provincial *wazir* in Gujarat, became *Wazir-ul-Mumalik*. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq made an even more interesting experiment. He created a board of three ex-wazirs, with the senior most having the high title of *Malik-ul-Wuzara* (the Chief Minister). Ghiyas "honoured them by permitting them to sit in his presence, and not only consulted them in all matters but gave full weight to their opinions". The routine work of the *wizarat* was carried on by Malik Shadi, the son-in-law of the king. Muhammad Tughluq entrused the *wizarat* to Khwaja Jahan Malik Ayaz, who had been in charge of the Public Works Department under his father. The *wazir* could not sway the self-willed Sultan, but was considered competent and continued to hold his office till the end of the reign.

With Tughluqs' general policy of approximating to standard Muslim practice in all matters and Muhammad Tughluq's personal preference for Arab and Persian ways, we notice the beginning of a change in the character of the *wizarat*. Khwaja Jahan, though essentially a civil servant, was occasionally entrusted with military duties. This change is more marked under Firuz, whose *wazir* fully approximated to the Arab notion of an all-powerful *wazir*, the *Wazir-i-Mutliq* advocated by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. Khan Jahan, originally a Hindu from Telingana, who had accepted Islam at the hands of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, exercised both civil and military powers. His position may be judged by Firuz's frequent remark that Khan Jahan was virtually the king of Delhi. After his death in 1372, his son became *wazir*, and maintained his father's traditions over a long period, but this led to jealousy, and in 1387 he lost his life while in opposition to a prince of the royal family. This also marked the end of the power of Firuz Tughluq and the decline of the dynasty. Khwaja Jahan Sarvar-ul-mulk, the *wazir* of Muhammad Shah, commanded great power both in civil and military spheres, but realising that the Sultanate was tottering to its fall, he had one of the military leaders made *Wakil-i-Sultanat*, and himself left for the eastern provinces, where he carved out a kingdom for himself in Jaunpur.

The vicissitudes of the *wizarat* under the Sayyid dynasty are not very important, and Bahlul Lodi, true to his tribal conception of kingship, did not establish an organised *wizarat*. Sikandar Lodi, however, saw the impossibility of successfully applying this tribal conception to a huge territory, and had a regular *diwan* and a *wizarat*. His *wazir*, however, seems to have confined himself to civil work, "mainly in relation to the treasury." Mian Malik Bhowa, the second *wazir* of Sikandar continued to hold office under his son, Ibrahim. He was not a young or energetic officer, but was pious and upright and was a great patron of literature. He compiled a book on medicine and sponsored another on music. According to *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*, he obtained books from Khusrau and gave them to scholars.[10] Once when Ibrahim asked him to pay a large sum of money to a chief, the old minister violently objected saying that "the monarch accumulates treasure as a matter of policy and spends it on proper objects. It is not desirable that money should be spent without good reason."[11] The youthful Sultan was so enraged at this blunt reply that he ordered the arrest of the *wazir* with whom he was even otherwise unhappy, but the office of the *wizarat* was entrusted to his son.

Ibrahim Lodi lost his throne to Babur in 1526, and the developments which took place under the Mughals will be described elsewhere. Essentially, however, the *wizarat* followed the lines laid down by Balban, and the holder of the office was confined to civil duties. This became the normal arrangement in Muslim India. The arrangements by which the *wazir* enjoyed the comprehensive powers assigned to him by Muslim political theorists, did not work badly under Firuz, but he was a mild, if not a weak ruler, and the normal tradition in Muslim India was to have strong, active monarchs under whom the system evolved by Balban worked best. Even popular opinion favoured this. Hindus and Muslims knew only monarchical government, and "on the whole people tolerated an absolute ruler rather than an absolute *wazir*."

Finance.

The financial arrangements of which the *wazir* was in change, were in accordance with the normal Islamic theory and practice, as inherited from the Ghaznavids, and modified in the light of local needs and usages.

The land revenue was, as in Hindu India, the mainstay of the government finance. As the Muslims had to pay *zakat*, which was fairly high, and were subject to military duty from which non-Muslims were exempt, Islamic practice often authorised a variation of the incidence of taxation between Muslims and non-Muslims.[g] In India, however, ordinarily no such distinction was made in regard to the main source of the state revenue, the revenue from land.

Qutb-ud-din Aibak, the first Muslim ruler fixed the state demand (*Kharaj*) at one-fifth of the gross produce. In land revenue, as in other spheres, Balban laid down the administrative pattern for the Sultanate. "With regard to assessment, he advised a middle course: over-assessment would result in the impoverishment of the country, but under-assessment would render the peasants lazy and insubordinate: it was essential that they should have enough to live in comfort, but they should not have much more."[12] According to Moreland, "it may be fairly said then that Balban had grasped the main principles of rural economy in an Indian peasant-state, at a period when the environment afforded little scope for individual advance; he aimed at a peaceful and contented peasantry, raising ample produce and paying a reasonable revenue; and he saw that it was the king's duty to direct the administration with the object in view."[13] When under 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, owing to need for building up a large army, additional funds were needed, the state demand was raised to one-half of the produce, the uppermost limit allowed by Muslim law in respect of *Kharaj*, but in the following reign "the heavy *Kharaj* and heavy demands" were lowered. There is a difference of opinion about the scale of demand in the reign of the first Tughluq king. According to the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, 128), Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq limited the land tax "to one-tenth or one-eleventh of the gross produce" while according to Moreland, the relevant reference in the contemporary history only refers to the limit of increase being one-tenth or one-eleventh. Dr. Qureshi is of the opinion that "except for a few well-defined areas, which paid the

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(g) Differential treatment was not unusual in the Middle Ages. In Hindu India, Brahmans were free from all taxation (a position which Muhammad bin Qasim recognised vis-a-vis the levy of *jizya*) and death penalty could not be imposed on them for any offence.

half or single tithe, the general charge on land was a fifth of the produce, which was maintained from the earliest days of the sultanate until, at least till the end of Firuz Shah's reign; the only exception was 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji's special demand of a half." Under the Mughal rulers who followed the precedent of Timur in charging a third of the produce as land revenue, the scale was raised and Sher Shah, who had seen the increase in the state demand under Babur and Humayun, followed their example.[h]

Apart from the land revenue, there were a number of local imposts. Orthodox Muslims considered them illegal and the two Muslim monarchs who made an attempt to run the state in accordance with Islamic law, Firuz Tughluq and Aurangzeb, abolished these extra-Shara'i taxes. But these imposts were of ancient origin and raised their heads again and again. Most sultans permitted them, as they were sanctioned by custom, and at times when the state abolished them, they were realised by corrupt officials or even by *panchayats*.

During the early period, when the subcontinent was being conquered and new areas were being occupied, the *ghanimah* (the spoils of war) provided an important source of state income. According to Islamic law, all booty should be collected and a fifth (*Khums*) set apart for the state, the rest being distributed among the soldiers. Later, the practice was reversed and four-fifth of the booty was appropriated by the state treasury. Firuz Shah's *ulama* considered it illegal and the king ordered the adoption of the share fixed by *Shara'*. A tax which gained importance during Firuz's reign was the charge levied for use of canal water. Firuz was not the first to dig canals, but he was the first monarch to ask Muslim jurists whether an irrigation tax was lawful. The reply of the jurists was in the affirmative, and so a ten per cent. addition was made to the land revenue demand for using canal water for irrigation.

Zakat and Jizya.

With regard to the religious taxes, contemporary historians do not record that *zakat* was levied by the Sultans of Dehli, but their silence has been taken by some historians to mean that the normal procedure of the levy of *zakat* was followed. At any rate, there were arrangements for the receipt of *zakat*, paid

(*h*) For details see Qureshi, pp. 111-114.

voluntarily by Muslims as a religious duty, and *Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi* mentions a separate treasury for *zakat*. Towards the end of the Sultanate, Sikandar Lodi abolished the *zakat* on grain and it was not renewed by any subsequent Sultan. *Jizya*, or poll-tax, was levied from non-Muslims "in return for which they received protection of life, and property and exemption from military service."[14] The Holy Quran uses the word *jizya*, like *kharaj*, to mean a tax and early writers of Muslim India do not attach any technical significance to the term. It was, however, soon levied as a capitation tax. As such it was borrowed from Persia where it was called *gezit*. The Romans also imposed a poll-tax on those who were not Roman citizens, and in the Middle Ages, it was quite common to charge special taxes for military needs. As pointed out by Tripathi, *jizya* "served the purpose of what "host tax" was in France, "Common penny" in Germany, and the "Victual money" or "Scutage" in England".[15]

As military duty was compulsory for Muslims, they were free from *jizya*. According to Dr. Tripathi, until the legalistic and orthodox Firuz Tughluq took up the matter, the recovery of *jizya* was often in abeyance. "Although it is true that *jizya* had not been abolished and was probably realised to some extent, it was gradually falling into disuse. The ablest of the Delhi Sultans were taking more and more interest in the secular revenue and were inclined to ignore *jizya*."[16] He says elsewhere, "There is no definite evidence to show that *jizya* was levied from the Hindu subjects living directly under the government of Delhi. From the trend of conversation between Ala-ud-Din and Qazi Mughis-ud-Din, it appears that the Sultan was well satisfied with the maximum tax he had imposed upon the people and was not inclined to press for *jizya*. Zia-ud-Din would surely have not failed to mention it if it had been levied at all."[17] Dr. Levy expresses similar opinion, though he states that 'Ala-ud-din did not levy *jizya* from the Hindus because he refused to accord them the status of *zimmis*[18]. This interpretation is not correct. Very often for the sake of convenience and more often in rural areas, *jizya* and *kharaj* were realised as a consolidated tax. In the early days of the Sultanate, the rulers had not built up an elaborate organisation, and tax-farming—ultimately through Hindu middlemen—was the normal means of recovery. It appears unlikely that apart

from a comprehensive demand made on a village or a territory, separate and specific realisation of *jizya* was feasible. Where *jizya* was recovered it was charged in three categories. The richest paid four *dinars* per head per annum, the middle groups two *dinars* and the lowest class paid one *dinar*[19]. The women, the children and "those who had not enough to pay the tax after defraying the cost of their living" were excused.

Coinage.

Nothing illustrates the practical and statesmanlike approach of the early Muslim rulers better than the slow, cautious evolution of their coinage system. Muhammad Ghuri was the founder of the Muslim empire in India. Some modern historians refer to him as a "soldier of faith" keen on the destruction of Hindu idols and the establishment of Islam. Yet the three of his coins which are extant, show him to be a cautious, practical man of affairs, rather than a fanatical soldier of faith. Two of those tell-tale coins are mere imitation of the earlier Hindu coins, with even the figure of the goddess Lakshmi reproduced, the only distinguishing element being the sovereign's name inscribed in Indian characters. The third coin, though based on the *dinar* of the Muslim countries, bears a Devanagri legend and the figure of a horseman, much in the tradition of the Hindu coins. The Muslim rulers were faced with the problem of establishing a new currency, amongst a people unacquainted with the Muslim coinage system much less with Arabic, and they tried to do this with minimum disturbance of the existing usages and practices. "It was Balban who more than sixty years after the conquest of Delhi finally replaced the Hindu device of the 'bull and horseman', with the sovereign's name inscribed in Devanagri characters".

In the early years of the Sultanate, the *jital,* corresponding to the modern *anna,* and an adaptation of the old *dehliwala* current before the Muslim rule, was the token coin in use. The silver *tanka,* (which was replaced by *rupiah* of Sher Shah and Akbar), was introduced by Iltutmish and marked "the commencement of the Indo-Muslim monetary system". In addition to its indigenous name, it was linked up with the weight standard, with which the people in India were familiar. It was planned to contain one *tola* or ninty-six *rattis* and to be divisible by the thirty-two *ratti purana,* to which weight the older *dehliwala* approximated. Once the Muslim monetary system became estab-

shed, the rulers introduced changes and improvements in the designs and legends of their coins and made them approximate to the normal Muslim coinage in length and appearance. Iltutmish started the practice of inscribing the name of the mint on his *tanka*. By 1225, the name of the contemporary Abbasid Khalifa had begun to appear on the coins, which already contained the Muslim *kalimah*. With the improvement of mints, the beauty and design of the coins improved, and in course of time kings and currency experts could indulge in their own whims or experiments. The fertile brain of Muhammad Tughluq thought of using coinage for propaganda. "Not only are his coins noted for their novelty, for their superb die execution and for their design", but by his giving up the tradition of the predecessors who styled themselves "Sultans" or "Shahs" or by similar titles uniformly maintained. He issued coins with different legends and titles such as (a) The Just Sultan ; (b) Fighter in the Way of God ; (c) The Slave, Hopeful of the Grace of God.

Careful planning and skilful adjustment to local conditions ensured the success of the currency introduced by the Muslims. "As a measure of the ability of the Delhi financiers, it would be observed that the relative value of the currency pieces remained static throughout the century". The silver *tanka* was the principal coin which ruled all other dominations like *jital* (of mixed metal), and the copper *fals* (corresponding to modern *paisa*). The gold *tanka* was equal to ten silver *tankas* in value in the time of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. Apart from Muhammad Tughluq's unsuccessful effort to introduce token currency of mixed metal, the coins were of pure metal and standard weight, and the state took every precaution to maintain the purity and the weight of its coins.

The Ariz.

Significantly enough Fakhr-i-Mudabbir does not refer to a *Qazi-i-Mumalik*, presumably, as his functions were originally performed by *Amir-i-Dad*, with the help of the *qazis* and other advisers, or by *qazi-i-lashkar*, and the office of *Qazi-i-Mumalik* was, perhaps, created after Iltutmish. Nor does Fakhr devote a separate chapter to the functionary known as *Ariz* or *Ariz-ul-Mumalik* during the Sultanate (and *Mir Bakhshi* during the Mughal period) possibly as this functionary was, during the early days, directly under the *Wazir*, who looked after the military and financial side of the work and it was only under Balban that the *Ariz* was made independent of the *wizarat*. The

Ariz was already performing many of the duties later assigned to him. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir describes a military review thus: "The *ariz,* from a point of vantage, saw the left wing, the centre and then the right wing march past him, both cavalry and infantry. The *naqibs* stood by, and the *ariz* scrutinised each soldier, his arms and his horse. Every soldier had an appointed place; the *naqibs* had charts for arranging the soldiers in battle array".[20]

The king was the commander-in-chief of the forces but with the expansion of the empire and the growth of the military side of the government, the importance of the *Ariz* increased immensely. Not only did he function sometimes as the General of the Forces, but he also acted as the chief recruiting officer and fixed the salary of each recruit. The commissariat was under him, and the *Diwan-i-Arz* disbursed salaries to the troops. Even Amir Khusrau and other court officials who held a military rank received salaries from this office. Thus already under the Sultanate we can see the beginnings of the Mughal system of placing all public servants on the army pay-list and giving them *mansabs.* The *Ariz-i-Mumalik* was not the commander-in-chief, or even the seniormost general —the king named the generals for different campaigns,—but it is not difficult to see in contemporary accounts the power and the importance of the head of the *Diwan-i-Arz.* Jalal-ud-din Khalji held this post before he ascended the throne, and the part played by Shaikh Farid, who held the corresponding position of *Mir Bakhshi* under Akbar, in securing the accession of Jahangir is well-known.

Rawat Arz.

In the early period the post gained immensely by the sagacity, popularity and competence of Amir Khusrau's maternal grandfather, who had the title of 'Imad-ul-Mulk, but was popularly known as Rawat Arz. He began service under Iltutmish, who later appointed him as head of the *Diwan-i-Arz.* He retained this position during many political changes which took place after Iltutmish's death, and was confirmed in his office by Balban, who made him independent of the *wazir* and raised the office to the level of an independent minister. In fact, Balban had ordered that Rawat Arz should take precedence over all nobles and chiefs. Rawat Arz seems to have been a most remarkable officer. He retained his position in those troubled times for sixty-two years[21], which in itself seems extraordinary, but the paternal way in which he looked after his soldiers was

even more remarkable. Any *sawar* who accidentally lost his horse or armour was sure to get it from the private account of Rawat Arz. "He was kinder than a father and a mother to all his soldiers" and he used to say, "I am the guardian of the kingdom, and a prop of the kingship of the rulers, who have entrusted to me all affairs relating to the armed forces. If I am negligent in looking after the army, and do not spend my day and night in making arrangements for them and do not treat my soldiers better than my brothers and sons, I would be considered untrue to my salt in this world and will look small on the Day of Judgment".[22]

He had an open table where not only nobles but clerks and peons were welcome and were entertained on a lavish scale. He maintained the efficiency of the War Office, which is praised by contemporary historians, but his success was also due to his tact and statesmanship. Partly on account of the political condition and partly on account of Rawat Arz's own personality, the importance of the office increased enormously. Balban laid down that he should be supreme (*mutlaq-ul-'inan*) in his department. He had direct access to the ruler, and the officers of the departments placed their annual reports regarding the army and the muster directly before the king.

Army.

The situation with which the Muslim rulers were confronted inIndia necessitated maintenance of an effective army. Muslim task was facilitated by their superior generalship and quality of their troops but they had also developed the science of warfare to a high level. We have already referred to Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's book on government. Of the two extant copies of the book, one is entitled *Adab-ul-Muluk wa Kifayat-ul-Mamluk* and the second is called *Adab-ul-Harab wa-sh-Shuja'a*. One third of the book deals with organisation of government, but the greater part is a War Manual, dealing with different aspects of warfare. It deals with such practical subjects as camping places, battle-array of the armies, despatch of spies and scouts (*Tilaya*), surprise night attacks, and different types of equipment and arms. Three chapters are devoted to horses, *viz.* the qualities of good horses, directions for maintaining them in a fit condition and method of treatment in case of illness.

The steps taken by Balban to keep his troops in good trim and by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji to raise and maintain a large standing army have been described by Barani. The cavalry was the back-

bone of the army, but the sultans did not confine their organisation to the traditional pattern. They soon began to employ elephants on an extensive scale, and Balban considered a single war elephant to be as effective in battle as five hundred horsemen. The foot-soldiers (*Payaks*) were mainly Hindus of poor classes, slaves or other persons of small means, who wanted employment and could not afford horses. The military grades were organised on a decimal basis. "A *sar-i-khail* had ten horsemen under him, a *sipah salar* commanded ten *sar-i-khails*, an *amir* ten *sipah salars*, a *malik* ten *amirs* and a *khan's* forces comprised at least those of ten *maliks*".[23]

The use of naphtha and Greek fire was known from early times. Incendiary arrows and javelins as well as pots of cumbustibles were hurled against the enemy. The Delhi army used grenades, fireworks and rockets against Timur, but although there are references to a crude form of cannon, and in the provincial kingdoms of Gujarat and the Deccan, this arm was properly developed, the Sultanate of Delhi had not made much progress in the use of artillery. It was the neglect of this arm which turned the scales against the Delhi forces in the first battle of Panipat in 1526.

One of the main military tasks before the early sultans was the security of the north-western frontier. The Mongols who had overwhelmed Muslim states in central and western Asia were always at their doors. Perhaps the greatest achievement of the Sultanate was to save India from this calamity, and this was made possible not only through an adequate army but by the completion of a network of forts in the western Punjab. The magnitude of this achievement is more easily appreciated if it is compared with the ineffective efforts put in by the Rajput rulers to deal with the smaller problem of Muslim invasion, and their failure to develop and work out an efficient system of frontier defences.

A section of the army, which was distinct from the contingents of *Iqta'dars* and the royal army, consisted of the volunteers for *jihad*, often called the *ghazis*. Thousands of such volunteers joined Mahmud in his Indian campaigns and they remained a factor of some importance in the early days of the Sultanate—probably until the reorganisation of the army by Balban and 'Ala-ud-din Khajli at Delhi, and even till a later date in Bengal.[(i)]

(*i*) The importance of volunteers for jihad was revived during the

They were not registered in the *Diwan-i-Arz* like the regular soldiers entitled to a salary, "but eventually an attempt was made to control their exuberance and make better practical use of them". At the time of Mahmud's expedition to Somnath, 50,000 *dinars* were allotted from the state treasury for their weapons and equipment, and in the reign of his son Mas'ud a special *Salar-i-Ghazian* remained stationed at Lahore. These volunteers formed a part of Muhammad Ghuri's army. The soldiers who accompanied Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji in his adventurous exploits included many *ghazis* and, in general, the role of Muslim volunteers in expansion of Muslim rule in Bengal has been important. Shah Jalal, who with his companions played a decisive role in the conquest of Sylhet, may be taken as a notable example of this secondary source of Muslim military strength.

Judiciary

Muslim judicial practice recognised four types of courts (1) *diwan-i-mazalim*, presided over by the ruler or his representative ; (2) *qazi's* courts ; (3) the courts of *muhtasibs* to deal among other things with certain offences against religious ordinances and (4) the police (*shurta*) courts. In Muslim India, the third type of courts gained in power and prestige under the Tughluqs, and later under Aurangzeb.

Amir-i-Dad

The first important judicial dignitary of the Sultanate at Delhi to whom a reference is found in contemporary records, was *Amir-i-Dad*, (chief justiciary or chief magistrate). Sipah Salar 'Ali Isma'il, the first *Amir-i-Dad* of Delhi, was the head of the group of noblemen and officers who invited Iltutmish to occupy the throne of Delhi in opposition to Aibak's adopted son, Aram Shah. He was obviously a layman, and the office was usually reserved for a leading noble, with special aptitude for judicial work. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, who devoted a chapter to the qualifications of the *amir-i-dad* desired that only a man belonging to the royal or a noble family, and known for piety and learning, should be appointed to this post and should have a large salary paid to him, as he may

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decline of the Muslim rule, especially for fighting the Sikh freebooters. Khushwant Singh suggests that the Mughal army had its own "suicide squads". Referring to the Sikh *Nihangs*, he says, "Nihangs were suicide squads of the Mughal army and wore blue uniforms. The Sikhs took the name and the uniform from the Mughals". (*A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. 1, p. 215, ft. note.)

have to try complaints against governors and high commanders. In the absence of the Sultan, who functioned as Supreme Judge throughout Muslim rule, the *Amir-i-Dad* presided over the "Court of Complaints and Justice". The court was called the *diwan-i-mazalim* under the Abbasid Government of Baghdad while Minhaj refers to the institution at Delhi as *masnad-i-mazalim wa 'adl*. *Amir-i-Dad* who later came to be called *dadbak*, controlled "the *kotwal*, the police and the *muhtasib*."[24] He was also responsible for the proper "maintenance of mosques, bridges and public buildings as also of the city walls and gates. His office kept copies of the documents registered with the *qazi*; it was his duty to forbid a covenant which transgressed the law". If he felt that there had been a miscarriage of justice, he could either draw the attention of the *qazi* to the fact or delay the execution of the decision until the matter was reconsidered by a fuller or a higher court.[25] *Amir-i-Dad* ordered the apprehension of criminals, dealt with breaches of law, and tried cases, where necessary with the assistance of a *qazi*, who functioned as a legal adviser. Minhaj has some interesting observations to make about one of the early occupants of this office, with whom he worked for several years, and his account shows that although *Amir-i-Dad* gave judgment and awarded punishment, his court functioned as a judicial bench. Minhaj says, "It must be about eighteen years since the bench of the administration of justice was adorned by his [Saif-ud-din 'Ajami's] dignity; and, during the whole period, he has been obedient to the canons of the [Muhammadan] law, and beyond those which the law decrees he has not added a title. The writer of this work, upon two occasions, for nearly eight years, by the gracious command of the Sultan of Sultans [Nasir-ud-din Mahmud] was seated on the same bench with that just Malik in the Court of Justice at the capital city, Dehli, and the author has seen that all his acts, procedures, and expositions have been conformable with the faith and its ordinances. By the dignity of his punishments, and the majesty of his justice, the multitude of contumacious [persons] round about the capital, and the gangs of evil doers and robbers, having drawn back the hand of violence within the sleeve of relinquishment and suspension, are quiescent in the corner of fear and terror".[26]

Amir-i-Dad had his representatives in the provinces as well as in the army. For example, Malik Saif-ud-din Aibak, with

whom Minhaj worked at Delhi, was originally at Kara. Barani, at one place, refers to *amir-i-dad-i-mumalik*. The *mir-i-'adl,* to whom reference is made by the Mughal historians corresponded to *amir-i-dad* or his regional representative, but the provincial and city governors and the kings began to handle some disputes themselves, and referred others to the *qazi,* and the posts of *amir-i-dad* or *mir-i-'adl* seem to have been filled in a few cases only. Still, the kings and the governors made regular arrangements for personal dispensation of justice. Ibn Battuta and another Arab writer describe the detailed arrangements made by Muhammad Tughluq, who presided over the *diwan-i-mazalim,* with the Chief Qazi at his side "to give him legal advice". Under Sikandar Lodi, the *wazir* Mian Bhowa also functioned as *mir-i-'adl* and presided over the *Mazalim* court, while the legal advice was given by the *qazi,* who was assisted by twelve learned lawyers.[27]

Qazis.

While the system of dispensation of justice by the king or his representative continued, administration of justice by the *qazis* grew in importance and became a prominent feature of the Tughluq rule. The main concern of the *qazi* was with civil disputes amongst Muslims, "but later his jurisdiction widened considerably and embraced supervision and management of the property of orphans and lunatics, the execution of testamentary dispositions and the supervision of *awqaf.*"[28] They were appointed by the central government and were completely independent of the governors. The office of the *Qazi-i-Mumalik* or *Qazi-ul-Quzzat* was normally held by the head of the ecclesiastical department, who was generally known as the *Sadr-i-Jahan*. It is not certain whether *Qazi-ul-Quzzat* heard appeals against the judgments of the *qazis*. "Possibly, his functions with regard to *qazis* were merely administrative ; as an appeal judge, he probably sat with the king." The Chief Qazi was also the Sultan's legal adviser in matters relating to *shari'at*. The enlightened opinion and books on Muslim statecraft emphasise the importance of appointing only honest, pious and well-qualified *qazis* in the realm, but with the monarch retaining the powers of appointment of the Chief Qazi, the Sultan had the final say in the framing of the judicial structure. Still public opinion was critical of any appointment of chief *qazis* for considerations other than those of merit, and such an appointment made by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji was very unpopular. Most of

the kings took steps to uphold the prestige of the judiciary. The manner in which, on one occasion, Muhammad Tughluq appeared like an ordinary plaintiff in the court of a *qazi,* and saluted him may be nothing more than a theatrical gesture, but such episodes built up the prestige of the courts and enabled the general public and the legal profession to realise what was expected of the judges. There are plenty of instances to show that, although under a despotic monarchy there were obvious limitations to the role which an individual could play, the jurists often acted with courage and independence. When Jalal-ud-din Khalji wanted Sayyidi Maula, who was accused of high treason to vindicate himself by walking through fire, the jurists vetoed the idea by contending that fire did not distinguish between the innocent and the guilty. The Sultan bowed to their decision, though he later instigated and connived at Sayyidi's murder. Similarly, in spite of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji's reputation for ruthlessness, Qazi Mughis-ud-din did not fail to criticise his actions, and let it be said to the credit of the Sultan, that in spite of this condemnation he rewarded the *qazi* with a *khil'at.* The sanctity attached to the office of the *qazi,* his being an expert in Islamic law, and the pressure of public opinion encouraged an honest and independent judiciary, the need for which was universally recognised.

RISE OF INDO-MUSLIM LAW

Nur-ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi (d. 1234).

The first important personality, who is stated to have been consulted on questions of Islamic law in the Sultanate of Delhi was Sayyid Nur-ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi. His figure is shrouded in obscurity, but the long extract which Barani has given of his address to Iltutmish about the lines on which a Muslim king should conduct himself and the forthright manner in which he expressed himself indicate his importance. According to *Akhbar-ul-Akhiyar,* he was "the leader and the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* of Delhi, and was known as the chief of Delhi in the days of Sultan Shams-ud-din (Iltutmish)."[29] In Ottoman Turkey, *Shaikh-ul-Islam* was the principal dignitary entrusted with the exposition of Islamic law, but in Muslim India the term has normally been applied to the principal Sufi *shaikh* of the day. Shaikh Nur-ud-din Mubarak was not a jurist but a mystic. On account of his prominence and Iltutmish's regard for the Sufis, he seems to have been consulted on questions of Islamic law and political

theory, which normally are not the concern of the mystics. He was born in Ghazni, and was one of the early immigrants to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. He was held in high regard by Sultan Muhammad Ghuri, who is stated to have appointed him as *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. He died in 1234 shortly before Iltutmish's death. Barani's account of his discourse shows that he was extremely critical of the court etiquette and the mode of living adopted by Muslim kings. The Shaikh wished the Sultan to deal firmly with non-Muslims, and condemned not only all heresy, but also the study of philosophy. Barani often puts some of his own ideas in the discourses which he attributes to important personalities, but the puritanical, ultra-democratic and ascetical approach which he attributes to Nur-ud-din Mubarak Ghaznavi, appears typical of the early days of Muslim India, when simplicity and piety found favour not only with the jurists, but with the ruling monarch.

Minhaj-us-Siraj, Chief Qazi of the Realm.

A different type of personality and one whose policy left a great impress on the history of Islamic law in the country was Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj, better known as the most important historian of the Slave Dynasty. In the days of Iltutmish's successors, he held the important office of the Chief Qazi of the realm for a number of years, and though his close association with a particular group of nobles in later years with Balban's party resulted in his displacement when his enemies came to power, but he was reappointed after a brief interval. Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya is reported to have stated that the *sama'* (ecstatic dances), to which most orthodox lawyers objected, became prevalent in Delhi when Minhaj became *Qazi*.[30] He also quoted a contemporary of Minhaj as saying that the latter was not fit to be a *qazi*, but should have been the principal Sufi *Shaikh*. These significant statements give a clue to the personality and the policies followed by Minhaj, as *Qazi* of the realm (and of the capital). Minhaj himself has recorded that he was not popular with other religious dignitaries and once they attempted to have him assassinated.[31]

In the light of these observations (and even Minhaj's very close association with Balban), it is reasonable to infer that he was not rigid in the application of Islamic law, and his long tenure as Chief Qazi contributed towards the evolution of suitable *modus operandi* for the new Muslim government. Minhaj

was one of the most learned men of his day and was an eloquent preacher. Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya says that he used to go every Monday to hear Minhaj's *tazikir*, and the contemporary rulers often called upon him to address the army or public meetings, when they were confronted with a crisis. When Iltutmish besieged the fort of Gwalior and met with difficulties, under royal orders, Minhaj addressed the troops ninety-five times in the course of the protracted siege. Similarly, when after the Mongol invasion of the Punjab and destruction of the city of Lahore in 1241, there was panic at the capital, Bahram Shah, the reigning monarch, "assembled the people of the city of Delhi in the Qasr-i-Safaid" and asked Minhaj to deliver a discourse. Minhaj was effective as usual and the people enthusiastically pledged their fealty to the Sultan.

Minhaj's scholarship and oratory were undoubtedly of a high order, but he was more of an "elder statesman" than a religious dignitary. He was called upon to exercise his diplomatic skill on a number of occasions (*e.g.* when governors of Bengal and Oudh started fighting), and his versatile personality was not an unimportant factor in determining the course of events.

The tradition of strong commonsense and a realistic approach to problems built up by Minhaj was maintained by his maternal grandson, Sadr-ud-din 'Arif, who was a *na'ib* to the Chief Qazi for a long time, and whom 'Ala-ud-din Khalji early promoted as *Sadr-i-Jahan*. According to Barani, he was not distinguished for scholarship, but was a strong executive officer and thoroughly understood the temperament of the people. "In spite of the crooks and the freed slaves with which Delhi was full, it was not possible for anyone to resort to swindling, deception or trickery before his *masnad* (court)." After him, the office lost its importance, and did not regain it till under the Tughluqs. His successor in office was Qazi Zia-ud-din of Biana, who was a sound scholar, but who lacked piety and received this high office as a reward for his father's loyal services. To judge by the absence of crime even during the last days of 'Ala-ud-din, the judiciary under Hamid-ud-din could not have been inefficient, but 'Ala-ud-din's selection of the Chief Qazi not for the qualities laid down in law books, but as a reward for loyal services, set up a precedent which was followed by others. His successor gave the office to Zia-ud-din, whose father had been his teacher, and although he

was steadfast in his loyalty to the ruler and the realm, and lost his life in the insurrection of Khusrau Khan, his appointment reduced the independence and the dignity of the post.

Maulana Burhan-ud-din Mahmud Balkhi (d. 1288).

Qazi Minhaj-us-Siraj, and others mentioned along with him, held high judicial offices, and influenced the course of legal history by their practices and policy, but the scholar who directly influenced the course of Indo-Muslim law and was probably the first to introduce its systematic study in the subcontinent, was Maulana Burhan-ud-din Balkhi. He was born in Balkh, and was reputed to have seen, in his early childhood, Shaikh Burhan-ud-din (d. 1196), the famed author of the *Hidaya,* and even studied under him. At any rate, he introduced in India the study of *Hidaya* when he migrated to Delhi, and it became the favourite legal text-book of Muslim India. The *Hidaya* became the subject of numerous abridgments (*e.g. Wiqaya*) and innumerable commentaries, and retained its pre-eminence so long that when at the end of the Muslim rule, the officers of the East India Company needed a text-book of Muslim law, they selected *Hidaya,* which was translated in parts by Hamilton into English on the imperfect basis of a Persian translation, specially prepared for the purpose by Muslim scholars.

Maulana Burhan-ud-din did not hold any office, but such was his pre-eminence that according to Barani, even the punctilious Balban used to visit him after Friday prayers, with the entire royal cavalcade and listen to his discourses respectfully.

Maulana Burhan-ud-din laid the foundation of the study of Islamic law in India, but he does not appear to have been an extremist or unduly rigid in its application. On the crucial question of *sama',* which remained the major legal controversy of the day and generally provided the dividing line between the mystics and the theologians, his practice, at any rate, was not different from that of the more tolerant Minhaj. Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya quoted him as saying, "I have not committed any major sin in life, except hearing of *sama',* which I have heard, and want to hear again, if I get an opportunity."

Maulana Burhan-ud-din died in 1288, and was buried near Hauz-i-Shamsi in old Delhi, and for a long time his memory was reverenced as that of the foremost scholar of early days of Muslim rule.(j)

(j) Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis, writing more than three hundred

Some other legal text-books written by scholars of Central Asia—mainly Farghana and Bukhara—were brought to the subcontinent a little later. They did not displace *Hidaya*, but their contents were incorporated in indigenous compilations. The popularity of *Hidaya* and other text-books from Central Asia ensured that in legal affairs Muslim India followed the traditions of Central Asia.

Later Compilations.

The *Hidaya* and other text-books introduced into India from Central Asia, mainly by refugees coming during Balban's reign, were in Arabic. With the efforts made by Firuz Tughluq to run the government according to Islamic law, it became necessary to have summaries and abstracts of Islamic law in Persian, the court language of Muslim India. We accordingly see a large number of manuals prepared in his reign, usually based on the compilations of the lawyers of Central Asia. In addition, more substantial efforts for compilation of books on Islamic law in Persian and Arabic were made. The earliest of such compilations prepared in India was in the time of Balban and was dedicated to him. *Fiqh-i-Firuz Shahi*, which was a digest of civil and ecclesiastical law, was compiled under Firuz Tughluq's patronage and named after him. An earlier compilation was *Majmu'a-i-Khani*, prepared at Daulatabad and dedicated to Qutlugh Khan, originally the tutor of Muhammad Tughluq and later governor of Daulatabad. The most comprehensive digest compiled in Muslim India, prior to the compilation of *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri* in Aurangzeb's reign, was the *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khania*[32]. It was named after the pious nobleman, Tatar Khan who died a little after 1351 but who sponsored the compilation. It was prepared by a committee of *ulama*, headed by 'Alim bin 'Ala Hindi and completed in 30 volumes. It attracted attention outside the subcontinent, and a summary was prepared by Shaikh Ibrahim, the *Imam* of the mosque of Sultan Muhammad, the Conqueror, in Istanbul.

Provincial and Local Administration.

Contemporary historians give meagre details about the provincial governments and it seems a fair inference that the provincial administrative structure did not properly crystalise till the days

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years later, stated that the people of Delhi made their children reverence the dust of Maulana's grave so that they may rapidly progress in their studies.

of Sher Shah and Akbar, and even then, it was possible because in the interval, regional kingdoms had been established in what were originally *iqta's* (regions) of the Delhi Sultanate and elaborate administrative organisation had grown under them. From the earliest period governors (*muqt'is*) and *walis* were appointed for large *iqta's*, which later became provinces, but their responsibilties were mainly the maintenance of peace, establishment and extension of the authority of the government, and recovery of state dues from the Hindu chiefs and others. The observance of state laws and the maintenance of order depended on the ability and the interest of the individual governor, and in some areas their authority must have been confined to main centres of administration and places easily accessible. The provincial boundaries were shifting and vague, and it was a long time before the territorial units took a stable form. Even the powers of all the governors were not identical. Governors in charge of bigger or more important areas or with special claims exercised wider powers than ordinary *muqt'is* and were often referred to as *walis*.[33]

The governors enjoyed great autonomy in administrative matters. Before Balban they were often semi-independent military chiefs of the territories conquered by them or by their ancestors but many functions remained outside their domain. They were not given authority in religious and judicial affairs, nor were the local officers of the intelligence department under their control. These departments were kept under the supervision of the centre. The provincial governor was concerned primarily with military and revenue departments, though as the *wizarat* became more organised at the centre and the provincial *diwans* were posted from Delhi, a close check was exercised by the central government over the recovery and transmission of revenue. The provincial *Sahib-i-Diwan* was appointed by the Sultan on the recommendation of the *wazir*, and submitted detailed statements of provincial accounts to the capital. On the basis of these statements, the *wazir's* department settled the accounts with the *muqt'is*[34]. Even in the military sphere, the powers of the provincial governors came to be regulated by the presence of the provincial *ariz* who was under the *ariz-i-mumalik*, and was responsible for the recruitment and supervision of the army.

Balban had asserted the authority of the central government over the provincial chiefs, and 'Ala-ud-din Khalji tried to introduce

system and uniformity in the administration of the Doab (the fertile area between the Ganga and the Yamuna), the most dependable source of state revenue. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, who had a long experience of provincial administration in the Punjab, took steps to improve the administration, but details of his provincial administration have not been recorded. It is under his son, Muhammad Tughluq, that we have details of the hierarchy of provincial officials possibly following a pattern introduced by his father. His empire consisted of twenty-four provinces. "The provinces or *aqalim* were divided into a number of rural districts or *shiqs* and urban districts or *madinas* or *shahrs* ; the rural districts were sub-divided into *hazaris* or collections of 1,000 villages and *sadis* or collections of 100 villages. The chief officer of the province was called *wali*, the *shiqs* were under the *shiqdars, amils* or *nazims*, while the *sadis*, the smallest administrative units (perhaps corresponding to the modern taluqas or tahsils), were under the *amiran-i-sadah* under whom were smaller village officials such as *mutasarrif, karkun, balahar, chowdhuri, patwari*, etc."[35] The governor of a town was called "the *Kotwal* or *Amir* while *amir-i-sadah* was something like the modern Tahsildar."[36] It is thought that the system broke down during the second half of Muhammad Tughluq's reign and could not be operated during the decline of the Delhi Sultanate. In the absence of evidence, this is a matter of conjecture. What is equally likely is that this system continued, at least in certain areas like Jaunpur, and provided the basis, which was improved upon by Sher Shah and Akbar.

The province came to be subdivided into *shiqqs* which would correspond to modern commissioner's divisions. The next smaller unit after the *shiqq* was the *pargana*, an aggregate of villages. In a *pargana* and in the villages, the old Hindu organisation continued. The head of each *pargana* was a *chaudhuri*, while a *muqaddam* or a *mukhiya* was the headman of the village. The most important feature of Muslim administration in India was the local autonomy enjoyed by the rural areas. This was introduced by Muhammad bin Qasim in the earliest days of Muslim rule, and was maintained by the sultans of Delhi. Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who originally handed back Ajmer to a son of Prithvi Raj, first adopted the policy of appointing Hindu officers for the administration of the country. A contemporary history (*Taj-ul-Ma'asir*),

describing his conquest and settlement of Asni, refers to his posting of *ranas* on every side for the administration of the people and the territory. This was continued and, of course, the organisation in the rural areas was not disturbed. "The Hindu chief played such important role in the rural life of the period, that to many he was the government, whereas the Sultan was almost a mythical figure."[37]

The character of government.

The position of the nobility and the officers was so dominant in the early period that Minhaj, the historian of the period, devotes more space to an account of the principal officers of the realm than to the kings. This is understandable as the administrative machinery was run by them and the strength and stability of the state depended on their ability and devotion. Dr. Qureshi says : "In form, the sultanate was a monarchy, partially elective, partially hereditary; in reality it was a dictatorial bureaucracy."[38] And again, "The administration, therefore, was a bureaucracy, the major portion of which was not affected by changes of dynasty. It is a common mistake to think that a change of ruler involved the very current of the life of the people; actually only a small number of leading officials were affected. These revolutions were little more than ripples on the surface beneath which the water continued to flow steadily."[39]

The truth of Dr. Qureshi's observations comes out clearly if we study the history of various offices and the life story of prominent officials of the period. Of course minor officials like Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan, were not affected by the changes of rulers or even dynasties, but the continuity of tradition and often of the personnel, in the highest offices, is most remarkable. Amir Khusrau's grandfather, Rawat Arz was, for example, in charge of the War Office for more than half a century. Even when there are short breaks in the continuity of the *wazirs,* we see them return to the office again. When a *wazir* was removed from office, his place was often given to his deputy, as we have seen in the case of Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-din and Khwaja Khatir.

The power of the chief nobles and religious dignitaries can also be seen in the sad fate of Muhammad Tughluq. He was a well-qualified monarch, who had ample experience of administration and military command before ascending the throne, and who had a strong will but he proved completely powerless against "the

Establishment."

Temper of the Times.

We have not dealt at length with battles and warfare, and the horrors and atrocities connected with them. This should not, however, give an impression that the period was peaceful. The modern wars and the recent treatment of minorities have illustrated the extent to which man remains a brute in spite of scientific and intellectual advancement. Medieval times were distinctly harsher, and human life was considered of little value. The smallest excuse could lead to the drawing of the sword and the shedding of human blood. This was not confined to the thoughtless and the inconsiderate. In fact more blood was spilled in the name of justice, state policy and religion than on account of passion and anger. Rulers like Balban were not deficient in their sense of justice or political ability. These qualities, however, did not deter Balban from awarding severe punishments and free spilling of blood. As a matter of fact, sense of justice and public welfare seemed to dry up the milk of human kindness. Once the "deterrent" theory of punishment was adopted and carried to extremes, all other human considerations gave way before it. In vain did the religious lawyers and intellectuals try to curb the punitive powers of the sultans. Qazi Mughis argued before 'Ala-ud-din Khalji that many of his punishments and demands on the *bait-ul-mal* were unauthorised and un-Islamic, while the historian Barani told Muhammad Tughluq that human life could be taken only for seven specific crimes,[k] but the autocratic sultans refused to accept this position.

Not only was human life held in little esteem, but there were revolting cases of torture and mutilation. In this Muhammad Tughluq, who was a highly educated monarch and enjoyed the company of intellectuals and philosophers, was the worst culprit. Some of the punishments awarded by him—for example to his cousin Gurshasp—are truly revolting. The Moorish traveller, Ibn Battuta wrote about him:—

"Notwithstanding all his modesty, his sense of equality and justice, and his extraordinary liberality and kindness to the poor—, he had immense daring (sic) to shed blood. His gate was hardly free from the corpse of a man who had been executed. And I used to see frequently a number of people killed at the gate

(k) See E & D, Vol. III, pp. 184-87 and 255.

of the royal palace and the corpses abandoned there.

"The Sultan used to punish all wrongs whether big or small and he would spare neither the men of learning (*ahl-ul-'ilm*) and probity (*salah*), nor those of high descent (*sharaf*). Every day hundred of people in chains with their hands fastened to the neck and their feet tightened were brought into the council hall. Those who were to be killed were killed and those who were to be tortured were tortured and those who were to be beaten were beaten. May God save us from calamity".

It is true that these punishments were reserved for treason, and it is also true that condition in the medieval ages in other parts of the world was not very much better, but the position in Muslim India in this respect seems to have distinctly worsened during the hundred years or so following the death of Iltutmish. Possibly this coarsening of moral fibre was due to the example and impact of the Mongols, as harshness and severity associated with Muhammad Tughluq or even Balban and 'Ala-ud-din Khalji did not exist in the days of Muhammad bin Qasim, Aibak and Iltutmish. Rightly did Firuz Tughluq rebel against these trends and issue firm orders against torture and cruelties. "In the reigns of former kings the blood of many Musulmans had been shed, and many varieties of torture employed. Amputation of hands and feet, ears and noses; tearing out the eyes, pouring molten lead into the throat, crushing the bones of the hands and feet with mallets, burning the body with fire, driving iron nails into the hands, feet, and bosom, cutting the sinews, sawing men asunder ; these and many similar tortures were practised. The great and merciful God made me, His servant, hope and seek for His mercy by devoting myself to prevent the unlawful killing of Musulmans, and the infliction of any kind of torture upon them or upon any man".[40]

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Muslim Nobility.

During the Sultanate period, the most important class in the country was the Muslim bureaucracy, consisting of governors, court officers, other dignitaries at the capital, and the officers in the provinces. The highest among the nobles bore the title of *khan,* and as a special distinction some of them—usually never more than one—received the title of Ulugh Khan or Khan-i-A'zam. Next in rank came the *maliks,* and then the *amirs.* There was no lower rank of aristocracy in the court of the Sultans of Delhi. Below the *maliks* and *amirs* came the military ranks of *Sipah-salar* and *Sar-khail,* classified, as stated elsewhere, on a decimal system.

The Muslim conquest of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was not the work of a central authority preparing a blue-print of annexation, obtaining necessary personnel and equipment, and carrying out the plan. It was largely and in its most fruitful phases (*e.g.* Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji's conquest of Bihar and Bengal, and 'Ala-ud-din Khalji's incursions into Malwa and Deccan), the work of brave and resourceful individuals, working on their own initiative. These individuals and their peers formed the aristocracy of the realm.

The Muslim nobles, in the beginning, claimed to share sovereignty with the Sultan, and Iltutmish seemed to agree to this. After his death, the corps of his "Forty" slaves managed the affairs of the country. But Balban, who followed the Persian theory of monarchy, broke their power, and made the monarch supreme. The search for an organisation providing the "steel-frame" of administration, however, continued and various experiments were tried by different rulers. The Khaljis, who were not liked by the old Turkish aristocracy, broadened the basis of government and freely encouraged newly-converted Muslims, like Malik Kafur and Khusrau Khan, but these converts from

the lower classes, showed themselves devoid of both moral scruples and statesmanship, and not only brought ruin upon themselves, but brought down the fabric of the Khalji rule.

The Tughluqs searched in other directions for the personnel of their government. Muhammad Tughluq started by favouring foreign visitors from Muslim lands but the Muslim bureaucrats did not take kindly to his erratic policies, and he resorted to entrusting important offices of state to more pliant commoners of Indian origin. This plan also failed and his successor followed more orthodox ways. Firuz Tughluq's all-powerful *wazir* was a converted Brahman and Firuz recruited a large number of slaves to maintain the fabric of his government, but until a well-organised bureaucracy, recruited from all available sources was built up under Akbar, no finality was reached and experiments continued to be made.

Under the early Turkish rulers, power was in the hands of the Turkish nobles, and Balban was punctilious in entrusting good positions to Turkish nobles of high birth only. It appears, however, that in spite of their high-sounding foreign titles, at least some of the dignitaries were of indigenous origin. Rawat Arz, who was in charge of the War Office for nearly sixty years, is generally considered to be of Indian origin. Barani also says that the very first *wazir* of Iltutmish, who had the grand title of Nizam-ul-mulk, was originally a *jolaha* (a weaver), though this does not necessarily mean that he was an Indian by birth.

The Turkish nobles and their spokesmen like Barani wanted high offices of state to be the close preserve of the Turkish nobility, but there was stiff resistance to this from local elements. Behind the many personal struggles for power this conflict between foreign and local Muslims can be seen. For example, the nearly successful attempt to oust Balban from the position which he had gained under Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, has been described as a struggle of this type. "Being a Muslim was not considered enough to make any difference to his political status, unless he was a Turk of pure blood,"[1] and the two parties to the conflict were the Turkish *amirs* and other foreigners led by Balban, and the Indians, including both Hindus and Muslims, led by 'Imad-ud-din Raihan. Perhaps the attempt of Khwaja Muhazzab-ud-din who took away power from the Turkish *amirs* had the same basis. The successful tenure of Khan Jahan, the first important

Indian *wazir* of the Sultanate meant the final end of the theory of Turkish supremacy and we do not hear of it again.

Muslim nobles were paid for their services by the grant of *iqta's* and it is sometimes stated that they occupied a position similar to the feudal landlords in medieval Europe. The comparison, however, is misleading. The nobles had no hereditary or even life interest in their *iqta's*. They had a right to the income from these areas so long as they performed duties with which the grant was connected. The rulers would frequently transfer them and allot them new *iqta's*. The nobles were really civil servants, appointed and usually paid by temporary grant of revenue from land.

While many Muslims were in state service, civil or military, the common view that Muslim immigrants were not engaged in agriculture is incorrect. We get evidence of this from the fact that in the early days of the Sultanate, a family as distinguished as that of Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din of Ajmer was engaged in cultivation. According to *Siyar-ul-Auliya*, the Khwaja's sons were employed in agriculture and when the local officials demanded state authority for their exemption from land revenue, the venerable Khwaja had to go to Delhi to obtain it.[2] There are other similar cases on record.

Muslim Social Life.

The formal histories of the Sultanate are largely devoted to military expeditions and palace revolutions, but other works like the *Rehla* of Ibn Battuta, the *masnavis* of Amir Khusrau and the table talk of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya illuminate the social scene.

Muslim society during the period was dominated by the Turkish rulers and nobles who sought to maintain their position not only against the non-Muslims or the Muslims of indigenous origin, but also against other non-Turkish immigrants. Out of the four groups, which had played a prominent part in the establishment of Muslim rule, the Turks, the Tajiks, the Khaljis and the Afghans, the Tajiks were eliminated from key positions soon after the death of Iltutmish. The Khaljis (apart from the short-lived burst of glory in distant Bengal) did not come into their own until the revelries of Kaiqubad destroyed the fabric of Turkish supremacy, and the Afghans had to wait till the days of the Lodis. The first hundred years of the Delhi Sultanate are a period of Turkish supremacy, when they produced not only two great

rulers—Iltutmish and Balban—but also the greatest poet of the period, Amir Khusrau.

Under 'Imad-ul-mulk Raihan, the Indian Muslims attempted to assert themselves, but Balban and the Turkish nobles were too powerful for them. Their number and position, however, gradually improved. Under the Khaljis, Malik Kafur and Malik Khusrau, both of Indian origin, attained high positions but their excesses brought about their early downfall. The position improved under the Tughluqs. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq had an Indian mother; Muhammad Tughluq appointed a Hindu as the governor of upper Sind, and the dominant personality of the reign of Firuz Tughluq was Khan Jahan, a Hindu convert from Telingana.

It took sometime for the Muslims of indigenous origin to reach positions of power in the state but local usages and customs were influencing social life and behaviour even at an early period. The Indian *pan* (betel leaf) soon became popular amongst the Muslims. Both Barani and Khusrau, in their accounts of the latter's grandfather 'Imad-ul-mulk (Rawat Arz), speak of the continuous relay of trays of this delicacy being brought to the assemblies in the *diwan-i-arz,* and distributed amongst those present. "The seasoning of food with rich spices and chillies, almost unknown in the Muslim lands, had also become widely prevalent; the culinary art brought by the Muslims to India had already absorbed several Indian elements. Standard dishes which, from their names, would appear to be of foreign origin, such as *pilau* and *qawarma,* were now very different from what they had been in Iran or Khurasan."[3] Amir Khusrau speaks of the head-gears known as the *chira* and the *pag,* which were both of Indian origin. "Among the religious ceremonies and social functions those of the *'aqiqa,* the *bismillah,* the circumcision, the marriage and the funeral played the most important part in the life of an individual, and in these also we can easily trace Indian influence. Several ceremonies, connected specially with marriage and death, were common, as they are today, to both the communities, although the Muslims, following the old Arab tradition, continued in India, as elsewhere, to marry cousins and other close relations. The Indian bridal decoration, the *sola singhar,* had already become familiar to the Muslims, and often mentioned by the name of *'haft-o-nuh'* (sic) by Khusrav and

others."[4]

The popularity of music, in spite of the persistent opposition of the religious groups, reflected the local atmosphere though the art was also highly cultivated at Damascus and Baghdad. Iltutmish tried to preserve a pious Islamic atmosphere at his capital but his gay successor, Rukn-ud-din Firuz made his *darbar* a centre of musicians and dancers of both sexes. During the reaction which set in under Kaiqubad, against the strict discipline of Balban, music and dancing again came into their own, and the accounts of Delhi at that time recall the later days of Muhammad Shah Rangila and Wajid Ali Shah. Under Jalal-ud-din Khalji, conditions became more regular but he also had a gay court and Barani recalls with nostalgia performances of music and dancing seen at that time. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq banned music but Muhammad Tughluq revived it and had a number of musicians in his service. This later became the normal tradition of the royal court, except under very orthodox rulers like Aurangzeb.

The everyday humdrum life of the common people "was frequently brightened up by the royal cavalcades, *jashns* (such as that of the *nauruz*), and receptions, when the streets were lavishly decorated and beautiful kiosks or pavilions (*qubbas*) erected at regular intervals, in which there were stationed beautiful singing and dancing girls, and where the spectators were treated not only to music but also to pleasant drinks. Glowing accounts of these *qubbas* are found in the writings of Khusrav, Ibn Batutah and other writers"[5]. Anniversaries (*'urs*) of Sufi saints provided other occasions for outings, and often became popular public diversions.

The lives of the Muslim upper classes were modelled very much on those of their Turkish and Persian counterparts. "The game of *chaugan* (polo), riding, racing, hunting, and archery were very popular as outdoor sports among the nobility and the better classes of [Muslim] society, but the poorer people could seldom indulge in them. Among the indoor games, popular both among the rich and the poor, chess and backgammon (*nard* or *chaupar*) are often mentioned, although they were usually frowned upon by the religious divines as frivolous pursuits beguiling the faithful from more useful and more serious occupations. Drinking of wine, in spite of the strict ban placed on it by Islam seems to have been very common, especially in the higher classes of society, and convivial wine parties supplied another source of

recreation"[6]. "The arrogant aristocratic classes gradually developed a sort of caste system which was alien to the spirit of Islam and was certainly the product of Indian influence. Thus a Turk (or Mughul), a Pathan, a Sayyid, or even a Shaikh, would never think of a matrimonial alliance with a person of a lower rank, that is one outside these four *dhats* or *qaums*, or even outside his own particular denomination. The *purdah* or seclusion of women had already become a common practice. This is evident from the remarks made by contemporary historians and poets on the bold step taken by Sultana Raziyya in discarding the veil and dressing herself up in male attire"[7].

During early days, the Muslims were largely city-dwellers. Many of them served in the army and were attached to the garrisons of important places. Their pastimes and games were soldierly, and there was much communal life amongst the rank and file. There were numerous *tanurs* in the cities, functioning as communal bakeries, instead of the separate *chulhas* of the Hindus. Bathrooms in individual houses were few, but *hummams* (Turkish baths) were common in towns. Although Amir Khusrau and others mention a large number of dishes, yet the diet was much simpler than it is today. Even references to the elaborate Turkish dishes, like *qorma*, *mutanjan*, and *pilau* are not very numerous in the literature of the Sultanate period. Food was not highly spiced. A popular dish, now out of vogue was *sakba* consisting of various kinds of meats. Another popular dish was *harisa*. The thin *chapati* had not yet been adopted, and the *nan* was the staple bread[(a)]. On the whole living was much simpler and more soldierly than is at present, or was even under the Mughals later.

Position of the Hindus.

During military operations, the Hindus suffered losses in property and life. When these operations were over and the harsh laws of war gave place to the laws of peace, even then the Hindus suffered from certain handicaps. The loss of sovereignty itself was a major loss, especially in case of the Brahmans and the Kashatryas. This is inevitable in all periods of conquest and political change and the Sultanate period was no exception. As a matter of fact from the

(*a*) This paragraph is based on the relevant entry in Hashimi Faridabadi's *Tarikh-i-Musalmanan-i-Pakistan-o-Bharat*, Vol. I, pp. 227-30. His information is, apparently, derived from an analysis of contemporary literature.

point of view of the Hindus, probably, the Sultanate period was more difficult than any other period of Muslim rule. The liberal and conciliatory policy adopted by Muhammad bin Qasim had given place to a new relationship, while a proper integration of the Hindu population in the political and administrative structure was to come about in later days. The Muslim conquest of Sind and Multan and even of Lahore and Peshawar had not led to the same tensions and conflicts which followed their domination over the heart of Aryavarta. Even the indirect effect of the Mongol invasion of Muslim lands led to a stiffening of attitude. The Muslim refugees, who had suffered so much at the hands of the pagan Mongols were not likely to be very soft in dealing with the pagan Hindus in the Indo-Pak subcontinent.

All these factors make the Sultanate a period of social tensions and conflicts. Even the theory of Turkish racial superiority which held sway during the rule of early slave kings was not favourable to the employment of Hindus—or even indigenous Muslims—to high civil and military appointments, as was the case under the Arabs in Sind or under Ghaznavids. It would, however, be wrong to think that the Hindus were completely excluded from service. In rural areas the Hindu landed aristocracy still occupied a position of prestige and power, and the *Muqaddams*, the *Chaudhuris* and the *Khots* were important limbs of administration. As Panikkar says, "The land system in fact did not change and, therefore, the Hindus in general in the countryside led fairly the same life as they had led before. Nor is it to be understood that commerce and trade changed hands to any considerable extent. The Muslim invaders were military adventurers who looked down upon trade and to whom the elaborate system of Hundi and credit on which Indian business was based was a mystery. The commercial classes were no doubt mulcted heavily both by the imperial government and by its local officials, but the Hindu *banya* remained, then as now, a necessary element in the structure of society"[8].

The Muslim system of Government allowed certain basic safeguards to all minorities and non-Muslims living under Muslim rule, and this enabled the Hindu population to maintain its economic and social structure. Generally speaking, the position of the Hindus even during the Sultanate was not worse than the position of the Jews under Christian rule. Summing up the posi-

tion of the Hindus under early Muslim rulers Sir Wolseley Haig observes, "On the whole it may be assumed that the rule of the Slave Kings over their Hindu subjects, though disfigured by some intolerance and by gross cruelty towards the disaffected, was just and humane as that of the Norman Kings in England and far more tolerant than that of Philip II in Spain and the Netherlands".[9]

Hindu Upper Classes.

This was the general position. In addition, the Hindus remained supreme and autonomous in important sectors of social and economic life, and were virtually sovereign, at least during the Sultanate, over a great part of the country. It is an established axiom of Islamic law that while Muslims are governed by their own law, non-Muslim *zimmis* are subject to their own laws and social organisation. This legal position curtailed the sovereignty of the Muslim state and led in the Ottoman Empire to the institution of the Capitulations. In the Indo-Pak subcontinent, the Muslim rulers accepted, from the days of Arab occupation of Sind, the right of the village and caste *panchayats* to settle the affairs of their community, and left the autonomous structure of the rural and caste life intact. This meant that not only the Hindu villages remained small autonomous republics, as they had been since ancient times, but in commerce and industry also, the Hindu guilds ruled supreme. This position continued throughout the Muslim rule, but during the Sultanate, when the provincial administration had not been properly organised, the Hindu autonomy outside the principal towns was very real.

It is often forgotten—and Muslim court chroniclers are not keen to point it out—that at least at this stage there was a large number of independent or quasi-independent Hindu chiefs, and as Moreland says, "a large portion of the kingdom was obviously in their hands." Some of them were big enough to "rank as kings and others merely chieftains claiming authority over a few villages." Many of the chiefs belonged to old families, but new principalities were also growing up. Even after the establishment of Muslim empire at Delhi, bands of Rajputs would often set out "to found new kingdoms for themselves in the less accessible and more defensible parts of the country." Many of the states which now exist in Rajputana and in the Himalayas derive their origin from such movements during the Sultanate, as do some of the large landed estates still held by

Rajputs in Oudh and in Bihar. "The position of these new foundations varied from time to time ; they might be practically independent states, or they might merely be privileged units subject to a Muslim ruler, but their individuality has survived to the present day".

The position of the Hindu business community was even better. We hear much about the large incomes of the Muslim grandees and the splendour of their households, but Barani leaves us in no doubt that all of them were in the clutches of the Hindu money-lenders. "The *maliks* and the *khans* and the nobles of those days were constantly in debt, owing to their excessive generosity, expenditure and beneficence. Except in their public halls no gold or silver could be found, and they made no savings on account of their excessive liberality. The wealth and riches of the *Multani* merchants and the *Shahs* (Sahukars) were from the interest realised from the old *maliks* and nobles of Delhi, who borrowed money from them to the maximum limit, and repaid their debts along with additional gifts from their *iqta's*. Whenever a *malik* or a *khan* held a banquet, and invited notables, his agents would rush to the *Multanis* and *Shahs*, sign documents, and borrow money with interest."[10] Even the powerful 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, who seeing the danger to his government from the position and the defiant attitude of the Hindu rural chiefs, made a determined attempt to curb their power and reduce their wealth, found it necessary to make Hindu traders (the *Multanis*) the main instrument of his price control measures.

Muslim historians tend to omit or ignore features which show the limits or the set-backs to the authority of their patrons, but there is plenty of incidental evidence about the prosperity of the Hindus, both in the countryside and the cities. In *Tarikh-i -Firuz Shahi*, Barani quotes Jalal-ud-din Khalji as saying, "Every day the Hindus pass below my palace beating cymbals and blowing conch shells to perform idol worship on the bank of the Yamuna. While my name is being read in the *Khutba* as the Defender of Islam, these enemies of God and his Prophet, under my very eyes, are proudly displaying their riches and live ostentatiously among the Muslims of my capital. They beat their drums and musical instruments and perpetuate their pagan practices."[11] Barani makes the position clearer in the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*. In the words of Mahmud of Ghazni, he criticises the

attitude of Muslim rulers towards Hindus, but in this process lays bare not only the wide cleavage between his point of view and the policy adopted by the Muslim government of Delhi, but also gives a vivid account of the position enjoyed by the Hindus in the Muslim capital. "In the capital (Delhi) and in the cities of the Musalmans, the customs of infidelity are openly practised ; idols are publicly worshipped *and the traditions of infidelity are adhered to with greater insistence than before*. Openly and without fear, the infidels continue the teaching of the principles of their false creed ; they also adorn their idols and celebrate their rejoicings during their festivals with the beat of drums and *dhols* and with singing and dancing. By merely paying a few *tankas* and the poll-tax (*jizya*), they are able to continue the traditions of infidelity by giving lessons in the books of their false faith and enforcing the orders of these books. How (under these conditions) can the traditions of Islam be elevated or the orders for enforcing the good and prohibiting the evil be made effective ?

"But the desire for overthrowing infidels and knocking down idolators and polytheists does not fill the hearts of the Muslim kings (of India). On the other hand, out of consideration for the fact that infidels and polytheists are payers of tribute and protected persons (*zimmis*), the infidels are honoured, distinguished, favoured and made eminent ; the kings bestow drums, banners, ornaments, cloaks of brocade and caparisoned horses upon them, and appoint them to governorships, high posts and offices. And in their capital (Delhi), owing to the status of which the status of all other Muslim cities is raised, Muslim kings not only allow but are pleased with the fact that infidels, polytheists, idol-worshippers and cow-dung (*sargin*) worshippers build houses like palaces, wear clothes of brocade and ride Arab horses caparisoned with gold and silver ornaments. They are equipped with a hundred thousand sources of strength. They live in delights and comforts. They take Musalmans into their service and make them run before their horses ; the poor Musalmans beg of them at their doors ; and in the capital of Islam, owing to which the edifice of Islam is elevated, they are called *rais* (great rulers), *ranas* (minor rulers), *thakurs* (warrirs), *sahas* (bankers), *mehtas* (clerks) and *pandits* (priests)."[12] The position of the Hindus, if anything, improved under Muhammad Tughluq. When the Jain scholar and saint Jinaprabha Suri visited the

royal court, Muhammad Tughluq, according to the Jain accounts, "treated him with respect, seated him by his side, and offered to give him wealth, land, horses, elephants etc. which the saint declined. The Sultan praised him and issued a *farman* with royal seal for the construction of a new *basadi upasraya*, i.e. rest house for the monks. A procession started in his honour to his residence to the accompaniment of varied music and dancing of young women, and the saint was seated on the State elephant surrounded by Maliks."[13]

General Social Conditions.

Contemporary historians throw very little light on the condition of the masses. With the establishment of Muslim rule, there was a gradual improvement in the condition of the Shudras and the other classes at the bottom of the Hindu caste system. Muslim converts from the Hindu lower classes had, of course, great opportunities before them, and one of them, Khusrau Khan, even sat on the throne of Delhi. But the Muslim example, the danger of conversion, and in course of time, the preachings of Hindu reformers, must have improved the position of these classes within Hindu society also. The conquest of Deccan and the resultant transfer of riches to the North engendered a wave of prosperity in the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, from which the general masses of Northern India also benefitted, but it was a temporary and local relief.

One feature of the social life of the period was the widespread prevalence of slavery. The number of royal slaves was often large and Firuz Tughluq, from economic motives, increased their number considerably. They were, however, well looked after and were really dependable, loyal personal servants. Sultan Muhammad Ghuri had set a noble example in taking paternal care of his slaves, and the fact that, for a long time the throne of Delhi was occupied by those who were originally slaves or were descended from slaves, would show that slavery in the Muslim society meant something quite different from what it was in the Roman Europe or became during the European colonisation and exploitation of Africa and America in the nineteenth century. Invasions and wars added to the number of slaves, and of course, descendants of slaves inherited inferior status.

"The Muslim tradition with regard to women varied according to the country. The Turks in general gave their women a fair

measure of freedom. The Persian woman was improving her position as compared with her Indian sister. In India the Muslims followed the older tradition of the ancient Persians, which put the woman in an inferior position."[14] There was a partial exclusion of women in ancient India and upper class Hindu women were generally shut off from the gaze of the males. They observed what even now goes under the name of *ghoonghat* but the elaborated and institutionalised form of *pardah* dates from the time of Muslim rule. It gradually established itself amongst Hindu upper classes, especially the Rajputs. Amongst the Hindus *sati* was not uncommon. Some Muslim kings tried to stop it. According to Ibn Battuta, Muhammad Tughluq tried to ensure that there was no forcible burning of Hindu widows.

Amongst the contribution of Muslims towards the improvement of towns in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent "may be noted their beautiful and spacious mosques, their gateways, probably the use of fountains, domes, a new arch, and an improved style of walls around a city with watch-towers and the other military equipment of a more efficient pattern. Their buildings, their mausoleums, their roofed tanks and baths and their beautiful gardens, all went to enrich and embellish the Indian cities[(b)].

"Special classes of people had their own distinctive dresses. There was no special uniform for a soldier, whose arms alone distinguished him from other people. The royal slaves were conspicuous by the use of a waistband, and handkerchief in their pocket, red shoes and the common *kulah*. The Hindus usually went bare-headed and bare-footed. They also stuck to their intricate arrangements of cooking and eating (*chauka*). They generally believed that purity of thought could only be attained by not being seen by others when eating food."[15]

Trade and Commerce.

The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has a long history of inland and foreign trade, which continued under the Sultanate. The important trading classes of the period were the *Multanis* in the north and the *banias* of Gujarat on the west coast. Foreign Muslim merchants, usually known as *Khurasanis*, also played an important role. The rulers of the coastal kingdoms in the Deccan

(*b*) See Ashraf, pp. 266-67, for an analysis of Muslim contribution to town-planning and the description of an average city of Hindustan in the middle ages.

accorded to foreign merchants certain extra territorial rights and special concessions in consideration of the heavy taxes which they paid to the treasury. There was an organised class of brokers which handled large-scale transactions on the coast and inside the country. The money-lenders and bankers called *Sahus* and *Mahajans,* formed an important section of the community and they did not find it difficult to recover their dues, including interest.[(c)] It is not possible to form any exact estimate of the volume of internal or foreign trade, though more information is available about the latter. The imports consisted mainly of certain articles of luxury for the use of the upper classes and a general supply of all kinds of horses and mules, in which India was deficient. Hindus had never attached any importance to cavalry, but seeing the success of the Muslim horsemen, they also started to substitute horses for elephants in their armies. The exports of the Indo-Pak subcontinent were numerous and included large quantities of necessaries like food-grains and cloth. The exports of agricultural produce, consisted of wheat, millet, rice, pulses, oilseeds, scents, medicinal herbs, and other similar articles. Cotton and sugar were the principal exports of Bengal. Cotton cloth and other textiles were specially important items of export.[16] Some of the countries around the Persian Gulf depended on the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent for their food supply, and islands in the Pacific Ocean, the Malay Islands and the east coast of Africa provided extensive markets for Indian goods. Some of these goods also reached Europe. They were carried by the Arabs to the Red Sea and from there found their way to Damascus and Alexandria, from where they were distributed over the Mediterranean countries and beyond.

Industry.

The scale and organisation of industry radically differed in the middle ages from that of the present, but many industries of considerable size and importance had been developed under the Sultanate. More important of these were textiles, various items of metal work, sugar, indigo, and in certain localities, paper.

The textile industry is very old in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but the variety of cloth produced was originally

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(*b*) See Ashraf, pp. 217-18, for references in the legal compendium of Firuz Tughluq's reign for facilitating the work of brokers and for fixing the rate of interest for *tamassuks.*

limited. Muslims took advantage of the local talent and introduced a number of fine varieties of textiles, most of which had Persian or Arabic origin. Barbosa mentions a kind of sash called *sirband* made in Bengal and much esteemed by Europeans as head dress for ladies and by Persian and Arab merchants as turbans. Another European traveller, Varthema, gives the names of the various varieties of fine cloth, which were being produced in Bengal, and in spite of mutilation in transmission, it is not difficult to recognise the Persian origin of many of these varieties —*Bairam, Namone, Lizati, Caintar, Donzar,* and *Smabeff.*

The textile industry of Bengal attained to great heights under the Mughals, but we find indications of a fairly large volume of production in this area during the Sultanate period also. Gujarat was the other big centre of textile production, and according to Varthema, Cambay "contributed about half of the total textile exports of India."

Next in importance were a number of metal-work industries, like sword-making and the manufacture of "basins, cups, steel guns, knives and scissors." The manufacture of sugar was also carried on a fairly large scale and in Bengal enough was produced to leave a surplus for export after meeting the local demand.

The Chinese are usually credited with the discovery of paper. They were the first to manufacture paper from "grasses and plants" but the "credit of first discovering rag-paper goes to the Arabs or rather to the paper makers of Samarqand." The large number of plain and illuminated manuscripts which have survived "leave no doubt as to the existence of a paper industry" during the Sultanate and there is even a mention "of a regular market of book-sellers in Delhi,"[17] but the quantity of paper was not sufficient to meet the demand.

Industry was mainly organised on a private basis, but the government also equipped and managed large-scale *karkhanas* or factories, for supplying its requirements. The royal factories at Delhi sometimes employed as many as four thousand weavers for silk alone. The example of the Sultan of Delhi was followed by the rulers of the regional kingdoms and the contribution of the state to the development of the industry was substantial.

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CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL LIFE

The cultural importance of the Delhi Sultanate.

The fact that the historians of Medieval India, dependent in most cases for their information largly on Elliot and Dowson's work, have generally dealt only with political and military events, has created an impression that the Sultanate had nothing to show in the cultural sphere. The ruthlessness and intemperence occasionally displayed during the conquest of the country, or later, when dealing with rebellions or internecine warfare, have further strengthened this impression, but as Sir John Marshall has pointed out, "these were vices common in those ages to most Asiatic nations" and did not preclude the Delhi Sultans "any more than they had precluded the Ghaznavids from participating in the culture and arts of Islam."[1]

Far from being a cultural desert, Delhi was, after the sack of Baghdad in 1258, perhaps the most important cultural centre in the Muslim East. Lahore had been known as "smaller Ghazni" at a time when Ghazni was the principal seat of literary and cultural magnificence, associated with the House of Mahmud. Delhi was heir to the traditions of Ghazni and Lahore, but what increased its importance was the fact that soon after the foundation of Muslim rule in northern India, the Mongols destroyed the cultural centres of Central and Western Asia, and the poets, scholars and men of letters from these areas took refuge in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. A large number of works written during this period have been lost, but the contemporary histories leave no doubt about the rich cultural life of the period. Both Minhaj-us-Siraj and 'Isami pay eloquent tribute to the

attempt made by Iltutmish to make his capital a great cultural centre. This process became more active under his successors. In 1258 Hulagu destroyed Baghdad, and now men of letters came to Hind-Pakistan not only from Khwarizm, Turkistan and what is now modern Afghanistan, but also from Persia, Iraq, and Western Asia. Balban, who was particular about entrusting high offices of the state to persons of good families only, welcomed these distinguished refugees, and many illustrious families of Muslim India trace their origin to this period. 'Ala-ud-din Khalji was not a great patron of letters, but the general prosperity engendered by his conquests enabled nobles to replace royalty in the role of literary patrons. Judging from the number of eminent men of letters, his reign seems to have surpassed the rest. Barani devotes more than fourteen pages to an account of cultural activities of the period, and gives a long list of scholars, poets, preachers, philosophers, physicians, astronomers and historians who thronged Delhi in the days of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. As the works of most of the persons named by Barani have perished, it is impossible to assess their quality, but if the surviving poetry of Khusrau, the historical works of Barani, and the table-talk of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya, are any indication of the cultural vitality and richness of the age, one can well understand why Amir Khusrau and others felt that Delhi was the metropolis of the Muslim East and were loud and eloquent in its praises.

The cultural life of Delhi received a set-back when Muhammad Tughluq moved the capital to Daulatabad and compelled the Muslim upper classes to migrate there. This resulted in some good in its turn, but we can understand the bitterness of Barani and others at the "madness" of the Sultan for undoing what his distinguished predecessors had built up during a century and a half. Firuz Tughluq, the next ruler, attempted to pick up the broken threads of cultural life, but his period was the golden age of the jurists and the orthodox *ulama*. The literary and cultural life of northern India was not restored till the days of Sikandar Lodi, who patronised not only poetry, theology and medicine, but was the first orthodox ruler of Delhi to patronise music on a large scale. Soon after his death the Mughal Empire was established and the most important period of cultural life in Muslim India was ushered in.

The pre-Mughal era was not a cultural void, but it cannot be

claimed that the Sultanate is a period marked by that solid scholarship and study of sciences, which distinguished Baghdad and Cordova, and which produced al-Biruni and Avicena. The reason is obvious. Learned and gifted men had come to India, but without their libraries. Those who were escaping with their lives could not be expected to carry heavy loads of books over long distances. Already, we find in the eleventh century Data Ganj Bakhsh missing in Lahore Ghazni's rich treasures of books. The position of those who were fleeing before the Ghuzz and Mongol marauders was naturally worse. We get a glimpse of this in the case of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, who fled from Ghazni even without his family papers, and had to wait for a suitable opportunity to go back and reclaim them. The result of all this was that only those cultural activities gained prominence which, like poetry, *belles-lettres*, local history, sufism, architecture and music, were not dependent on accumulated stores of knowledge.

Education.

In Muslim society, education is almost a religious duty, particularly for the religious classes. They are expected to undertake teaching, with a view to earning religious merit, and the Muslim state is expected to facilitate this by providing them with ample means of subsistence. This was the procedure generally adopted during Muslim rule in India, and *Sadr-i-Jahan*,[a] in charge of the religious endowments, arranged for the grant of tax-free lands to *imams*, *qazis*, and other religious groups who provided education, particularly in Islamic subjects. Usually this education was elementary but the system also provided for the maintenance of scholars and learned men, who had specialised in different branches of learning and were attracting students interested in these particular subjects. We find even nobles and distinguished men of affairs teaching subjects in which they had become proficient to interested students. For example, Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya studied the Arabic classic, *Maqamat-i-Hariri*, under Shams-ul-mulk, who later became *wazir* of Balban. The children of nobles were taught in their own houses by picked private tutors, whose guidance was often available for

(*a*) Originally the *wazir* had over-all charge of this work. According to Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, it fell in the domain of the *wazir* "to look after the men of piety and fame and to give them stipends" and "to provide for the learned." Later—especially during the Mughal period—*Sadr-i-Jahan* became an independent minister.

other students also. For advanced students, *madrasas* were set up by pious and public-spirited rulers, and this activity received special attention during the early period. We come across two major *madrasas*, the Mu'izziya and the Nasiriya, established during the beginning of Muslim rule at Delhi. One of these was so big that it was mistaken by the Isma'ili raiders, who had come to Delhi to assassinate the reigning Sultan, for the Grand Mosque. The second was important enough to have as its Principal the learned Minhaj-us-Siraj, the Chief Qazi of the realm. Details about these *madrasas* are lacking, but probably one of the them was the college built by Iltutmish, and repaired a century later by Firuz Tughluq. Similar steps to establish educational institutions were taken by Muslim rulers in the distant provinces, and we read of Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khalji setting up *madrasas* at Devkot and other places in Bengal after the conquest of the country. Firuz Tughluq was an exception in looking after the institutions established by his predecessors, and probably, most of these establishments fell into decay when the original founders passed away or the grants made for the *madrasas* were diverted to other purposes.

Historians give few details about the teachers, or the curriculum or the text-books taught at these institutions. The college about which some details are available and which was probably the most elaborate educational institution established by a Delhi ruler, was the one founded by Firuz Tughluq near Hauz-i-'Ala'i, and was known as Firuz Shahi Madrasa. Barani has given a lengthy account of its beautiful building, and the surrounding gardens, which used to attract visitors and provided the centre round which people of Delhi set up their residences. The college had extensive courtyards, comfortable seating arrangements and provision was made not only for the general education but also for the spiritual welfare of the students. Barani's account, written during the lifetime of Firuz, is largely rhetorical, but other contemporary accounts also bear witness to the eminence and the grandeur of the *madrasa*. Mutahar, a contemporary poet of Kara (near modern Allahabad), has written a long poem describing his visit to Delhi where the Firuzi *madrasa* was one of the important places he visited. Both Barani and Mutahar praise the comprehensive knowledge of Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the head of the institution. The main subjects taught seem to have been religious—*tafsir*, *hadis* and

fiqh. For the study of *hadis*, the favourite text-book was *mashariq-ul-Anwar* and in *fiqh, Hidaya* held the field.

The intellectual and spiritual activity of the early Sultanate owed not a little to the scholars and the saints who sought refuge from Mongol atrocities in the neighbouring countries. After this rush had ceased and Mongols had established their rule in the north-western borderland, communication between central Asia and northern India became difficult, if not impossible. This naturally had adverse effects on cultural and educational activities here, and it appears that in the Deccan where contact was maintained with Iran by the sea-route, intellectual activity during the later centuries encompassed a wider range than in the north. In northern India, apart from religious subjects mentioned above, literature, history, mysticism and ethics were the principal subjects studied. In the Deccan, scientific subjects were also receiving attention. The great Bahmani king Firuz (1397-1442) used "to hear lectures on botany, geometry and logic on Saturdays, Mondays and Thursdays."[2] He was also interested in astronomy and in 1407 started work on an observatory near Daulatabad. The untimely death of Hakim Hashim Gilani, the astronomer who was to supervise the observatory, however, put an end to the project. When Sayyid Gesu Daraz—who has left a large number of books on mysticism and was famous for his knowledge of religious subjects—reached the Deccan, Firuz went to meet him. The historian Firishta records that the king missed in the saint that solid scholarship which he valued and made no secret of his disappointment. The fact that the king was not solitary in intellectual pursuits is evident from the account of a son of Da'ud Shah, who used to teach students three days a week and was very fond of *Zahidi, Sharh-i-Tazkira* and *Tahrir-i-Uqlidas* (Euclid) in mathematics; *Sharh-i-Maqasid* in theology; and *Mutawwal* in rhetoric; and made them the course of study of his pupils.[3] Promotion of learning in the Deccan was largely the work of Persian statesmen and scholars whom the rulers had attracted from Iran, and an interesting monument of the age is the ruined college of the Bahmani minister, Mahmud Gawan, in Bidar. It was a magnificent building as can be seen from its beautiful minarets and facade, but during the wars of the Deccan kings with Aurangzeb, it was badly damaged by an explosion of gun-powder.

When the worst fury of the Mongol holocaust had blown

over and overland contacts between Iran and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were resumed, new subjects were added to the curriculum. The activity was most fruitful during the Mughal period, but a beginning was made somewhat earlier at Talamba, near Multan, which was on the direct route from Iran. An extensive study of logic and *'Ilm-ul-Kalam* (scholastic theology) was first undertaken by Shaikh 'Abdullah and Shaikh 'Azizullah, who after an upheaval in Multan, went to Delhi during the reign of Sikandar Lodi and introduced new text-books on these subjects. The importance of Multan during this period may be judged by the fact that when Sultan Husain Langah, ruler of Multan (1456-1502), wanted his capital to vie with Gujarat in architecture and was told that, with all his wealth, he could not erect similar buildings in Multan, his *wazir* tried to console him by saying, though Gujarat was noted for its buildings, Multan outshone it in learning and scholars.[4]

Medicine.

The history of Indo-Muslim medicine, popularly called *Tibb-i-Yunani,* has not been properly studied and the material for the early period is scanty but it would be useful to refer to available accounts, as the history of medicine is linked up with the development of medieval science and provides a good index of Greek and Indian influences.

The foundation of Indo-Muslim medicine was laid during the Abbasid period, when *Vaids* and doctors from India were invited to Baghdad and translation of important Sanskrit works into Arabic was undertaken.[(b)] After that, the first detailed reference to the subject is by Barani, who gives details about prominent physicians of the reign of Balban. He gives an even more impressive list of the days of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji (1296-1316). Foremost in the latter reign were Maulana Badr-ud-din and Maulana Hamid Mutris, both from Damascus. They were not only successful practising physicians, but were also good teachers and taught the standard works on medicine to aspiring students. Maulana Hamid was, in particular, an effective teacher, and specialised in the teaching of Avicena's *Qanun* and its abridgment, *Qanuncha,* and "other works on medicine." He was a practising Sufi also. Barani mentions

(b) For details, see Chapter I.

a few other names, including the Hindu physician Man Chandra, Raja Jarrah (surgeon) and 'Ilm-ud-din Kahhal (eye doctor), but it appears that physicians from Syria, which was an important centre of Greek sciences, were dominant.

The earliest work on medicine, of which an imperfect manuscript copy has survived, was written in 730 A.H. (1329-30) in the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. Its author Zia Muhammad was sent to Deccan under the orders of the Sultan and after a prolonged illness prepared his book, *Majmu'a-i-Zia'i* based on a number of earlier medical works. The author drew not only on *Qanun* and other books prepared in Central Asia, but received great help from an earlier indigenous work, *Majmu'a-i-Shamsi*, written by Shams-ud-din Mustaufi in Balban's day. Zia Muhammad's book gives local counterparts of Arab medicines, and several prescriptions based on the work of the Hindu physician Naga Rajan and other *Yogis* and *Vaids*.

The succeeding ruler Firuz built many hospitals for the public, and amongst the medical works composed in his reign was *Tibb-i-Firuz Shahi* named after him. *Rahat-ul-Insan*, a work on popular medicine composed in 1376, was also dedicated to him. The death of Firuz was followed by the decay of the Sultanate but important medical works continued to be compiled in regional kingdoms. Two important books—*Kifaya-i-Mujahidiyya* and *Tashrih-i-Mansuri*—were composed in the reign of Zain-ul-'Abidin, the enlightened ruler of Kashmir (1420-70). Of these, the first book which is more comprehensive, is dedicated to Zain-ul-'Abidin, while the second is dedicated to a grandson of Timur. Both these works are still in use, and were lithographed during the last century. In the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat (1459-1511), *Vaghbit*, a collection of eight Sanskrit pamphlets, was translated into Persian under the title, *Shifa'-i-Ahmadi*.

As *Majmu'a-i-Zia'i*[c] shows, Muslim writers on medicine were drawing on Hindu sources practically from the beginning, and the translation of *Vaghbit* was an important link in this chain. The most important medieval work of this type was *Ma'dan-ush-Shifa'-i-Sikandar Shahi*, also known as *Tibb-i-Sikandari*. This was completed in 1512-13 during the reign of Sikandar

(c) See *Hamdard-i-Sihat*, Karachi, November, 1959, pages 3-6 for an account of *Majmu'a-i-Zia'i* by Hakim M. 'Abdul Wahab Zubairi.

Lodi, by his *wazir* and court physician Mian Bhowa. The author states in the preface that he once represented to Sikandar Lodi that there were difficulties in the proper application of *Yunani* medicine to people living in India. The author prepared this book, based on the works of well-known Sanskrit writers like Susrat, Charak, Ras Ratnagar etc. and used local terminology in order to make the book useful to the residents of the subcontinent. *Tibb-i- Sikandari* has remained a standard text-book with students of Indo-Muslim medicine and has been lithographed at Lucknow[(d)].

The brief account given above is enough to show that the study and practice of medicine was not neglected during the Sultanate, and as in other spheres, material available in Hindu as well as classical Islamic works was utilised.

Literature.

Works of the poets of Iltutmish's days have perished. and only brief accounts of them and a few of their poems have been preserved in general histories. Their study shows that the imperial secretariat was a great repository of literary talent, and some of the prominent poets of the period were holding appointments in the secretariat. The general historians have naturally preserved only those poems which were written for special occasions, such as the poems of Dabir-ul-mulk Taj-ud-din *Sangreza* on the arrival of the patent of authority for Iltutmish from the Abbasid *Khalifa,* and his verses on the accession of Iltutmish's son or Ruhani's poem on Iltutmish's conquest of Ranthambhor. These poems have the usual limitations of "occasional" poetry, but other verses included in anthologies indicate high poetic skill.

The early men of letters naturally represented a trans-Indus tradition. Most of them had received their education beyond the border, and although they had settled down in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, indigenous tradition really began with Amir Khusrau. Of the early tradition, the two most important representatives were Sadid-ud-din Muhammad 'Aufi, and Muhammad bin Mansur Qureshi, generally known as Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. 'Aufi (circa 1172-1242) who was a native

(*d*) For a detailed description of the book, see M. Z. Siddiqi, *Studies in Arabic and Persian Medical Literature* (Calcutta University), 1959, pp. 90-109.

of Bukhara, visited many countries before coming to what is now West Pakistan. He first came to Lahore, but soon moved to Uch, where Qabacha was maintaining a brilliant court. 'Aufi completed the first extant collection of biographies of Persian poets (*Lubab-ul-Albab*) at Uch, and later moved to Cambay where he was appointed as *qazi*. Here he compiled the voluminous encyclopaedia of anecdotes, *Jawami'-ul-Hikayat* which apart from its literary interest "is an inexhaustible mine of curious and interesting information" relating to this and earlier periods. On the fall of Qabacha, 'Aufi moved to Delhi, where Nizam-ul-mulk Junaidi, the *wazir* of Iltutmish patronised him and persuaded him to finish his incomplete works. 'Aufi also wrote or translated a sequence of short stories entitled *al-Faraj ba'd-sh-Shiddat*.

The work of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, the author of *Adab-ul-Muluk* has already been discussed. The short-statured Secretary-General (Dabir-ul-mulk) of Iltutmish called *Reza* (the Atom) or *Sangreza* (the Pebble) was the first Persian poet of the period, who was born and bred in India. The most distinguished writer of the period, however, is Amir Khusrau. He was born in 1253 in Patiali (near Badaun) and died in 1325. His father was a junior Turkish officer under Iltutmish and had married a daughter of Rawat Arz, the famous war minister of Balban. Khusrau showed literary promise at an early age, and after spending some time at the provincial court of Oudh, became attached at first to Prince Bughra Khan, the governor of Samana and later of Bengal, and subsequently to Prince Muhammad, the heir-designate of Balban, who maintained a magnificent court at Multan. In 1285 the prince lost his life in a skirmish with the Mongols, and the poet had to move to Delhi. Balban's youthful successor, Kaiqubad was Khusrau's first royal patron, but his gay reign soon came to an inglorious end. Besides Balban, Khusrau saw seven different rulers on the throne of Delhi, but his position at the court remained unaffected. His own loyalty was to his muse, and it is doubtful whether he felt greatly hurt by the kaleidoscopic changes of royalty. Apart from lyrics, *qasidas*, five books written in reply to Nizami's *Khamsa* and completed in three years (1298-1301), he wrote poems relating to contemporary events. *Qiran-us-Sa'dain* completed in 1289, gives an account of the historic

meeting of Bughra Khan and Kaiqubad on the bank of the river Sarju, and contains an interesting description of Delhi of those days. *Miftah-ul-Futuh* (1291) is a versified account of the exploits of Jalal-ud-din Firuz Khalji. In *'Ashiqa* (1315) Khusrau gave an account of the romance of the Gujarati princess Dewal Devi and prince Khizr Khan, son of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji. The latter's conquests are the subject matter of *Khaza'in-ul-Futuh* (1311) in ornate prose, while *Nuh Sipihr* completed in 1318, celebrates the reign of Qutb-ud-din Mubarak Shah. In this book, Amir Khusrau challenged the poets of Iran, and sang of his native land, its hoary past, its love of learning, its flowers and its fair and intelligent people. The *Tughluq Nama* describes the successful expedition of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq against the usurper Khusrau Khan. Khusrau was also among the earliest writers of Hindi poetry, and though the origin of Hindu poems which are being now attributed to him is doubtful, he himself has referred to his Hindi verses in the introduction to one of his Persian *diwans*. He played a major role in the development of Indian music, and it is not without justification that Professor D. P. Mukerji has called him the "Leonardo da Vinci of India."

Hasan, a friend and companion of Khusrau, is the other important poet of the age, whose work has attracted attention outside India. Jami praised him in his *Baharistan*. He also wrote beautiful prose and his *Fawa'id-ul-Fuad*, a record of the table-talk of his spiritual guide, Nizam-ud-din Auliya, is a literary classic of the period. Equally interesting, though not so well known, was Zia Nakhshabi (d. 1350). He wrote on a number of subjects and was a master of simple and eloquent prose. His romantic *masnavi*, *Gulrez*, has been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and his *Silk-us-Suluk* is well-known in Sufi circles. Even more famous is his *Tuti Nama*, based on the Persian translation of a Sanskrit book. Nakhshabi's version or its summaries have been translated in Turkish, German, English and many Indian languages. He seems to have taken special interest in translations from Hindu sources, and his works include a translation of *Kok Shastra*, an old Indian book on sexology.

Historians.

There were many distinguished names in the realm of poetry and *belles-lettres*, but perhaps, the most important Muslim contribution of the period was in the field

of History. The Hindus practically produced no historical literature, and Muslims introduced the art of historiography in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Prof. Dodwell writes about these writings: "The advent of Islam begins a great series of Indian chronicles . . . the Muslim chronicles are far superior to our own (English) medieval chronicles. They were written for the most part not by monks but by men of affairs, often by contemporaries who had seen and taken part in the events they recount . . . . the Muslim period is one of the living men whereas the Hindu period is one of shadows."[5]

Historical literature is a valuable part of the heritage of Muslim India, but it is marred by serious deficiencies. The most serious defect of these chronicles is that they tried to paint a picture of Muslim conquest which is impossible to accept on closer study. All modern historians of the period, like Haig, Tripathi, Panikkar, Qureshi and Habibullah have had to warn against taking the accounts of these historians literally. Sir Wolseley Haig says : "The rhapsodies of Muslim historians . . . . might delude us into the belief that the early Muslim occupation of Northern India, was one prolonged Holy War waged for the extirpation of idolatry and the propagation of Islam, had we not proof that this cannot have been the case."[6] Of course, many of the chronicles were written specially for certain kings or nobles, and the historians tried to show that their patrons were actuated by unselfish and religious motives in extending their dominion. Even apart from this, these historians often wrote for the Muslim reader—in Muslim lands. Dr. Qureshi says about the histories of the Sultanate period : "At this particular period the Persian-speaking part of the Muslim world happened to be under the grinding tyranny of infidel, uncivilised Mongols ; hence the chroniclers saw an excellent opportunity for display by telling the down-trodden Muslims in other lands how powerful the faithful were in India. This propagandist tendency in the average Muslim chronicler of our period should be constantly kept in view in spite of the fact that it overshoots the mark and loses its effect."[7]

The historian with the most obvious bias is Zia-ud-din Barani (1285-1357). Otherwise the most gifted of the early historians, he wrote at a time when Muslim reaction againt the excesses committed by the companions of the half-converted Khusrau Khan was in full swing. The Tughluqs came to the throne with the battle-cry

of "Islam in Danger" and their era is naturally marked by religious enthusiasm, and Barani wrote for Firuz, the greatest champion of Islamic orthodoxy before Aurangzeb. Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi,* in fact represents a triple reaction—the reaction of the Tughluq period against the latitudinarian Khalji regime, of the legalist Firuz against the "experimentalist" Muhammad Tughluq, and even of Barani trying to "compensate", in a theologian-dominated age, for his own pleasure-loving and irreligious past. Barani had been, for seventeen years, a boon companion of Muhammad Tughluq, who presecuted the Sufis and the *ulama* and in the new reign, dominated by these classes, he had to adjust himself. He was out of favour with the new Sultan, who banished him from the court, and even imprisoned him for a time. During his exile, Barani wrote his book on government and history, hoping thereby to win the favour of the orthodox and religious-minded Firuz. This has inevitably given a peculiar point of view to *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* which we do not find in earlier histories or books like *Adab-ul-Muluk*. Apart from the atmosphere in which Barani composed his works, his attitude is coloured by the fact that he was a champion of Turkish supremacy. To him, indigenous or what he calls the low born Muslims were as much of an anathema as the Hindus, and the fact that his fulminations against the Hindus intended really for the preservation of Turkish supremacy, can get a religious justification, has also coloured his writings.

These peculiarities, however, should not obscure the historical and literary worth of these chronicles. They have their deficiencies, but very few western chornicles of the corresponding period are free from such shortcomings. No charge of suppression of truth has been brought against them and the peculiarities of method and language can easily be accounted for. The number of historical works of the Sultanate period, which have reached us is not large, but even then they possess a rich variety. The historians of the period include Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Hasan Nizami, Minhaj-us-Siraj, 'Afif, Khusrau, Yahya and 'Isami. Most of them occupied high official positions, and even write from personal knowledge, generally in a distinguished style. Barani is the most interesting amongst them. He is not very particular about dates (normally the strong point of the Muslim historians) and this naturally detracts from the value of his book,

He also had a definite political philosophy, which he tried to propagate. But he wrote history as an artist, selecting, and carefully arranging his material so that his book, instead of becoming a monotonous chronicle of events, emphasised the characteristics of various rulers and different reigns. He does not confine himself to the kings, but gives details about the political philosophies of different monarchs and leading men of the times, the literary and the religious history, the prices in the market and other matters of concern to the ordinary people. Even more interesting is the gallery of portraits which he has brought to life not only by a skilful analysis of the personalities with whom he has dealt, but by providing those significant small details which most Oriental historians omit and which could have delighted Lytton Strachey ; for example, the picture of the disciplinarian Balban, who never laughed in public and whom even his valet did not see without his shoes and stockings.

Hindu Thought and Culture.

With the end of the Hindu rule at Ajmer, Kanauj etc., Hindu culture was deprived of state patronage at many important centres. It suffered certain other handicaps also, but the impression gained from the study of the court chronicles that Hindu cultural activity ceased during the Sultanate is incorrect. Some sources of state patronage did dry up, but Hindu scholars and writers moved to other centres like Mithila, Gujarat and Rajputana. Places like Navadip in Bengal rapidly regained their importance as centres of Sanskrit learning, and on the whole Hindu intellectual and religious life does not seem to have suffered a serious setback. This was due to the fact that apart from the continuance of Hindu states in Rajputana, Bundhelkhand, Mithila etc., powerful Hindu landlords continued in rural areas and the economic power of the Hindu commercial classes remained undiminished.

Writing about Sanskrit literature of the period Panikkar says, "We have in Gujarat the great resurgence of Sanskrit associated with Hemachandra Suri and the magnificent and learned court of Viradhavala whose minister, Vastupala, himself a poet of eminence, revived the traditions of Bhoja in the west. Nor was Sanskrit less patronised in Rajputana. Apart from Prithviraja Vijaya of Jonaraja and Hammiravijaya of 'Ala-uddin's time, we have the outstanding figure of Kumbha whose court was a centre of learning and culture. Kumbha himself was

the commentator of Gita Govinda, and author of Sangitaraja, an encyclopaedic work on music, and numerous other poems in Sanskrit. What presumably happened was that with the conquest of the Gangetic valley, scholars and poets took refuge in the courts of Hindu rulers in distant areas and this would perhaps explain the sudden efflorescence of Sanskrit literature in places like Mewar, Kalinjar and Gujarat."[8]

Contemporary with the Sultanate was the great revival of Jainism, which produced teachers like Hemachandra Suri, "comparable only to Sankra" and who, according to Panikkar, "is one of the makers of modern Indian mind and takes his place with Valmiki, Vyasa and Sankara".[9] There were numerous other Jain writers of Sanskrit, some of whom were honoured by Muslim sultans like Muhammad Tughluq.

Hindu religious life found vigorous expression in the Bhakti movement with which we shall deal later. Equally interesting were the developments in the Hindu law. Islamic conquest posed new social problems, and led to legal adjustments. A large number of commentaries and digests of Hindu law were prepared during the period 1200 to 1500 A.D. "The great *Mitakshara* of Vijnaneswara cannot be placed earlier than the twelfth century. Kalluka, the most famous commentator of *Manusmriti,* lived early in the fourteenth century in Bengal. Chandeswara, who belonged to Bihar and who wrote numerous digests of Smritis, claims that he was a minister and had himself weighed in gold in 1314 A.D."[10]

In the early period, the cultural activity at Delhi was mainly Muslim. This was partly on account of the heritage of Ghazni and Lahore, and was also due to the fact that Delhi, which was a town of no importance immediately before the Muslim conquest and ranked second—below Ajmer—even in Prithvi Raj's kingdom, was essentially a centre of Muslim immigrants. Gradually, however, Hindu influences and an interest in Hindu culture became manifest. There was no al-Biruni, but Khusrau wrote Hindi poetry, and even in his Persian work *Nuh Sipihr* (1318), eloquently praised Indian sciences, religion and other products of the Indian genius. We have already referred to Zia Nakhshabi's versions of Sanskrit books. When Firuz Tughluq conquered Kangra in 1361, he came across Sanskrit books dealing with astronomy and music, Under the orders of the Sultan, they

were translated into Persian with the help of Brahman scholars. The book on astronomy is called *Dala'il-i-Firuz Shahi*, while the book on music is probably *Barah Sangata*, which was translated by 'Abdul 'Aziz Shams of Thanesar.

Another interesting development of Firuz's reign was the composition by a Muslim of a Hindi *masnavi* on a Hindu theme and its popularity with all classes of Muslims. Maulana Da'ud wrote the romance of Lorak and Chanda in the local language and dedicated it to Khan Jahan II, *wazir* of Firuz. The puritanical Badauni, who wrote his history at Agra two centuries later, says, "In view of the popularity of the book in those areas it needs no introduction. Makhdum Taqi-ud-din, the Muslim preacher in Delhi, used to recite verses from this book from the pulpit, and this used to have a wonderful effect on the congregation."[11]

Regional Languages.

Perhaps the most important cultural phenomenon of the pre-Mughal period and the greatest cultural contribution of Muslim rule to India was in the realm of the regional languages. The rise to the literary level of modern Indo-Pakistani languages was directly due to the encouragement given by the Muslim nobles and kings, as they were not hampered by the Hindu ban on the patronage of languages other than Sanskrit. For Hindus, Sanskrit was *Deva Bhasha* or the Language of Gods and the all-powerful Brahmans threatened with a Divine displeasure those who cultivated other languages. "If a person hears the eighteen Puranas of the Ramayana recited in Bengali, he will be thrown into the hell called Rourava hell."[12] Muslims were free from this crippling taboo, and freely encouraged the languages of the people. Dr. Sen, after explaining this, tersely remarks : "If the Hindu kings had continued to enjoy independence, Bengali would scarcely have got an opportunity to find its way to the courts of the kings".[13] So far as Hindi is concerned, Dr. Lachhami Dhar Krittivas says ; "It must not be forgotten that Muslims were the first to employ the indigenous language or Hindi for a literary purpose which, as we know was totally neglected by the Brahmins as a vulgar speech unworthy of attention".[14] The same was true, in a varying degree, of the other regional languages.

The Muslim rulers of Bengal engaged scholars to translate the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* from Sanskrit into Bengali.

"Thus Sultan Nusrat Shah of Gaur had the *Mahabharata* translated into Bengali. Vidyapati says much in praise of this Sultan and also of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din, whose Bengali version of the *Ramayana* has been regarded by some as the Bible of Bengal, enjoyed the patronage of a 'King of Gaur.' Maladhar Vasu translated the *Bhagavata* into Bengali under the patronage of Sultan Husain Shah and received from him the title of Gunaraja Khan. Husain Shah's general, Paragal Khan, caused another translation of the *Mahabharata* to be made by Paramosvara, also known as the Karindra, and Paragal Khan's son, Chuti Khan, governor of Chittagong, employed Srikara Nadi to translate the *Asvamedha Porvo* of the *Mahabharata* into Bengali."[15]

In the distant Kashmir Hindu literature, philosophy and arts were studied enthusiastically at the court of Zain-ul-'Abidin. *Rajatarangini* was translated from Sanskrit into Persian, and a supplement was prepared to bring the account up to date. Other works on music and mathematics were composed by Hindu scholars at the Kashmir court. In the south, the Muslim rulers of Golkonda and Bijapur employed Hindus as ministers, and maintained the state records in Marathi language.

Cultural histories of provincial governments are yet unwritten, but a similar process was at work everywhere although the scale of activities varied and at different centres different activities were given prominence.

Painting.

There are some indications that the art of painting was not completely neglected during the Sultanate. There are references to ornamental figures, both animate and inanimate, painted on walls. The orthodox Firuz forbade the practice of decorating the walls by coloured representations of living objects. This would confirm the view suggested by references in literary works that such decorations were not unknown. Dr. Goetz, who has made a special study of Indian painting, says : "To judge from late indications, painting seems to have followed what is commonly called the Baghdad School of the thirteenth century."[16]

Music.

Though the art of painting did not come into its own until under the Mughals, the art of music was well-developed during the earlier period. The Indians had already developed the art of music when the Muslims came

to this subcontinent, but the newcomers were neither new nor indifferent to this art. Arab music had flourished at Damascus, Baghdad and Granada, and serious thinkers and philosophers like al-Farabi and Ibn Sina had written learned books on the subject. We have already referred to Dr. Halim's views on the impact of Indian music on the Perso-Arab system during the Abbasid period, and the affinities between the two systems. When Muslims came to India, they were not only heirs to the rich Arab heritage in music, but had also benefited by the development of this art in Iran and Central Asia. They brought a number of new musical instruments and new rules and regulations. In course of time, thanks to the work of masters like Amir Khusrau and Sultan Husain Sharqi, the two streams of Perso-Arabic and Indian music mingled more closely than was possible at Baghdad, and a new school of music arose, which is today for all practical purposes, the national music of India. Writing on the history of Indian music, a Hindu scholar says: "Just after Sharangdev,[c] *i. e.* soon after the close of the thirteenth century, the Muhammadans invaded the Deccan and overthrew the dynasty of the Yadavas of Devagiri. This had its own reactions on Indian music, as on other aspects of culture. Persian models began to be introduced into Indian music, evidently widening the gulf between the Northern and the Southern schools. The Northern school later on adopted a new scale as its model or *Shudda* scale, while the Southern school retained the traditional one. Scholars believe that this change in the Northern school was wholly due to our contact with the Persian art, of which Amir Khusrau was the pioneer."[17]

Dr. Halim says, "The time of Sultan 'Ala-ud-Din Khalji may rightly be considered as the period of assimilation of the Indian system by the Muslims and even importing a certain individuality of their own to the Indian system. Thus Amir Khusrau himself introduced into Indian music nearly a dozen Perso-Arabic airs like *aiman, ghara, sanam, ghamam, sazgari,*

(c) He was a Kashmiri Brahman, who migrated to the Deccan, and became attached to the court of the Raja of Devagiri. He is the author of *Sangit Ratnakar*, an important work on music, which was composed towards the end of the thirteenth century, and shows the position regarding Indian music, just before it came under Muslim influences.

firudast, zilaf, ush-shaq, muwafiq sarparda, etc. The Hindus, for the first time, conceded to a Muslim, Amir Khusrau, the coveted title of Nayak (one proficient in the theory and practice of the music of the past and the present), a title which was denied to Tan Sen, who was only a Gandharb (one proficient in the practice of music)."[18]

While this far-reaching process of assimilation was going on, unalloyed Perso-Arabic music continued to flourish at the royal court—as it continued to do until the days of Shah Jahan—side by side with the Indian system.

Amir Khusrau started the process of synthesis, and raised the prestige of the art in the eyes of the local Muslims. The interest of the Chishti Sufis in the art and its practical cultivation by them further ensured its popularity. The next important stage was reached during the establishment of the independent Muslim kingdom at Jaunpur, not far from Benares and Kanauj, the old centres of Hindu arts. Here music received special attention, both at the royal court and in the Sufi monasteries. The two most important Indian Muslim musicians of the day were Sultan Husain Sharqi, the last king of Jaunpur, and the contemporary saint, Pir Bodhan of Barnawa, to whom Sultan Husain would send distinguished musicians of his court and his own compositions for advice and opinion. The monastery of the saint became a rendezvous of musicians from Delhi, the Deccan and Jaunpur and these traditions were more than maintained by his son and grandson. The contribution of Sultan Husain to the development of Indian music was, however, much more specific. He is regarded as the original founder of the *Khiyal* school of music, which slowly matured and took its final shape in the days of the later Mughals, particularly under Muhammad Shah. So far the traditional Hindu music consisted of *Dhrupad*, which was devotional in its aim and had invocation to Hindu gods and goddesses as its themes. *Khiyal*, though generally echoing Krishan's pranks with the *gopis*, was not devotional music, and its themes were secular or thinly veiled descriptions of human love and romance.

Another regional kingdom, where music was highly cultivated after the breakdown of Sultanate, was Gwalior. Here the ruler, Raja Man Singh (1486—1516) was a Hindu, but the chief musician at his court, Nayak Mahmud, was a Muslim under

whose leadership a band of musicians tried to re-systematise the Indian music in the light of changes it had undergone since the advent of the Muslims. This resulted in the compilation of *Man Kautuhal,* "which contains almost all the airs introduced by the Muslim musicians in the country."[19]

The independent kingdom of Jaunpur came to an end at the hands of Bahlul Lodi, but he appointed his nephew, Sikandar, to the viceroyalty of the newly conquered territory. Sikandar, during his stay at Jaunpur, became deeply interested in music and maintained that interest when he succeeded Bahlul on the throne of Delhi.[20] Students of art must deeply regret Sikandar's destruction of many architectural monuments of his predecessors at Jaunpur. He "was ready at one stage to destroy even the beautiful mosques built by the Sharqi kings in order to obliterate the memory of his foes, but was held back by the *'ulama.*"[21] He had a furious temper, but nevertheless he was the first orthodox Muslim king of Delhi to patronise music on a lavish scale, and his example was followed by his Mughal successors.

During the Sultanate period, Kashmir remained outside the control of Delhi, and in the realm of music developed special features of its own. "Kashmiri music is the product of diverse elements, which have blended with one another. But the chief contribution to its development was made by Persia and Turkistan. In fact, the main schools of music in the valley were founded by the Irani and Turani musicians in the time of Sultan Zain-ul-'Abidin.

"The classical music of Kashmir is known as *Sufiana Kalam,* mystic theme or poetry which borrowed its style from Persian music. It has about fifty-four *maqamat* (modes), out of which some are like the Indian *ragas* and bear Indian names like Bhairavin, Lalit and Kalyan, while other have Persian names, as for example, Isfahani, Dugah, Panjgah, Iraq, Rast-i-Farsi and Sehgah. The most prevalent *tals* are Sehtals, Nimdur, Dur-i-Khafif and Turki Zarb. These *tals* are different from those of India. The *bols* too are different. Moreover, unlike the Indian classical music, the *Sufiana Kalam* is always sung in chorus. In this respect Kashmiri music is unique. Formerly singing was done to the accompaniment of *Hafiz Naghma,* a dance which expressed the meaning of songs by physical movements. The accompanying instruments are *Dukra, Santur, Saz* and *Sitar.* Other musical instuments common were Mizmar (a kind of flute) and Tambur (lute or guitar) The.

most popular instrument used in folk music is the *Rabab* which was borrowed from Persia. *Ud*, which was introduced in the time of Zain-ul-'Abidin, is also common. The most popular types of folk music are the *Chhakkri, Tambur Naghma* and *Bacha Naghma*, all of which are sung in chorus with often a little dancing. Among these the most common is the first which is sung in spring to the accompaniment of the *Rabab*."[22]

Architecture.

Music attained a high level when the synthesis of Indian and Perso-Arabic music took place during the pre-Mughal period, but the main expression of the artistic genius of the Muslim rulers in India has been in architecture. In this, as in other spheres, they were able to effect without a "decisive break in the continuity of thought in India," a gradual "change and broadening of vision extending over a considerable transition period, which eventually had a far-reaching effect on all the human activities of the country."[23] Indian masons had for centuries been engaged on the erection of "great stone temples of exquisite designs," and had achieved great mastery in the art of handling stone, but as Percy Brown says : "During this long period (they) had neither invented important methods nor acquired any scientific building procedure, their technique having remained static through persistent isolation."[24] Muslims, on the other hand, came to India after Muslim architecture had already gained full maturity and the great mosques of Cairo, Baghdad, Cordova and Damascus had been long in existence. Muslim builders were able to draw on a rich store of experience, and using the Indian masons they were able to erect "more notable buildings than all the other countries that came under the influence of Islam."[25]

Architectural activity under the Sultanate commenced immediately with the establishment of the Muslim empire. In the same year in which Delhi was occupied, the foundations of the mosque of Quwwat-ul-Islam were laid by Qutb-ud-din Aibak "to commemorate the capture of Delhi, and dedicated, as its name implies, to the might of Islam." Aibak, however, spent most of his brief reign at Lahore, and the adornment of the new Muslim capital was essentially the work of his successor, Iltutmish. He more than doubled the size of the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, built the Qutb Minar, regarded by Ferguson, "as the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere," built the college known as Nasiriya Madrasa and, to meet the needs of the grow-

ing population of Delhi, excavated the great Hauz-i-Shamsi. He also effected changes in architectural style. In Aibak's days Hindu masons, and even Hindu material, had to be employed. The position had already changed by 1230, when Iltutmish extended the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, and used specially quarried material for the purpose, giving the extension a more distinctively Islamic look.

After the death of Iltutmish, there was a prolonged lull in architectural activity, presumably owing to Balban's preoccupation with the consolidation of the newly conquered areas, and it was not taken up on a large scale again, until the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji who made beautiful additions to the Quwwat-ul-Islam mosque, excavated a huge tank known as Hauz-i-'Ala'i extending over 70 acres, built the Madrasa-i-'Ala'i, and constructed many other buildings.

In architecture, as in other spheres of cultural life, early Muslims were helped by the indirect effect of the Mongol invasion. Writing about this great tragedy of human history during which "countries were obliterated, civilizations destroyed and whole populations exterminated," Percy Brown says, "Delhi fortunately escaped, and it seems fairly clear that artisans trained in the practice and traditions of the building art as evolved under the Saljuq rule, came and settled in the rising capital to find ready patronage at a time when by its architectural and other enlightened activities the Sultanate was aspiring to the position of a leading cultural power."[26] The newcomers also changed the pattern of Indo-Muslim architecture, and the Indian element ceased to be dominant.

The golden age of the Sultanate in architecture, as in other spheres, was attained after the arrival of these refugees. Other factors contributing to the flowering of the art were the vast resources which the Indo-Pak subcontinent offered to the newcomers, and the availability of skilled indigenous masons but as these things had been there even before the arrival of the Muslims, the fact that the available opportunities were exploited fully was due to the "remarkably good taste and to natural talent for building" which the newcomers had. "Doubtless, it was due," says Sir John Marshall, "in a great measure to this inborn artistry, coupled with a natural catholicity of taste, that the newcomers were so quick to appreciate the talent and adapt-

ability of the Indian craftsmen and to turn these qualities to account on their own buildings. Few things in the history of architecture are more remarkable than the skill with which, from the very outset, the Muhammadans transformed Hindu and Jaina temples into mosques for the Faithful, or the imagination which they displayed in employing Indian sculptors to adorn their edifices with designs incomparably more exquisite than their own. To create a successful building out of such alien materials, to reconcile two styles so characteristically opposed, without transgressing the standard formulas of Islamic art, might well have been deemed an impossible task."[27]

Indo-Muslim architecture derives its character from both Muslim and indigenous sources, but the degree of local influence varied with the period and the areas. The buildings at Delhi, where foreign Muslim builders were available in the largest numbers, display the traditional characteristics of Muslim architecture at its highest. Here Hindu craftsmanship had only a very limited play. "At Jaunpur, on the other hand, and in the Deccan, the local styles enjoyed greater ascendancy, while in Bengal the conquerors not only adopted the established fashion of building in brick, but adorned their structures with chiselled and moulded enrichments frankly imitated from Hindu prototypes. So, too, in western India they appropriated to themselves almost *en bloc* the beautiful Gujarati style, which had yielded some of the finest buildings of mediaeval India ; and in Kashmir they did the same with the striking wooden architecture which must long have been prevalent in that part of the Himalayas. But much as Muhammadan architecture owed to these older schools, it owed much also to the Muhammadans themselves; for it was they who, in every case, endowed it with breadth and spaciousness, and enriched it with new beauties of form and colour. Before their advent, concrete had been little used in India, and mortar scarcely ever; by the Muhammadans these materials were employed as freely as by the Romans and became two of the most important factors of construction. Thanks to the strength of their binding properties it was possible for the Muslim builders to span wide spaces with their arches, to roof immense areas with their domes and in other ways to achieve effects of grandeur such as the Indians had never dreamt of."[28]

Even at Delhi the styles varied with different periods. In the

buildings erected during the very first few years, when the new-comers had to make arrangments out of whatever was available to them—even the ruins of old Hindu temples—and when Muslim architects and supervisors were not yet available, the Hindu elements are more marked. But the reaction against the Indian style began almost immediately and the manifestations of true Islamic style can be clearly seen in Iltutmish's buildings. By the time of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, Muslim traditions had become firmly established on Indian soil, with the result that not only had methods of construction been revolutionised, but ornament had become an integral part of the scheme, rather than a quasi-independent accessory, as was the case in the earlier Hindu buildings. The Jama'at Khana mosque at the *dargah* of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, constructed in the reign of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, is the earliest surviving example in India of a mosque built wholly in accordance with Muslim ideas. Even more important from an architectural point of view is the 'Ala'i Darwaza, which even in an imperfect state of preservation is "one of the most treasured gems of Indian architecture." The tomb of Shaikh Rukn-i-'Alam at Multan, "one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the death", was also built during the Khalji period.

The Tughluqs introduced a new and austere phase in architecture as in other spheres. Muhammad Tughluq, who shifted his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad, had no interest in the old capital while many buildings erected during the reign of his successor Firuz show "a severe and puritanical simplicity," possibly due as much to the need for economy as Firuz's own strict orthodoxy. In the Tughluq architecture, Hindu influences were reduced to the minimum, but it suffered from some serious faults—"the monotonous reiteration of self-same features, prosaic nakedness of ideas and dearth of everything that might make for picturesque charm or elegance."[29]

Under the Lodis, there re-emerged a vigorous and catholic spirit of design, replete with creative energy and imagination and almost reminiscent of the Khalji period. With the conversion of the Mongols to Islam and the reduction of chaos in Central Asia, inspiration from the sources of Islamic art in Persia was now possible in architecture (as in literature). Full scope for this was, however, offered under the Mughals, who replaced the Lodis,

CHAPTER XIII

INTERACTION OF ISLAM AND HINDUISM

CHRONOLOGY

Kabir	1440—1518
Guru Nanak	1469—1538
Chaitanya	1486—1533
Vitthaleshwar	1516—1576
Tulsidas	1532—1623
Dadu	1544—1603

Spread of Islam.

We have dealt with the expansion of Muslim rule in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent and the work of Muslim generals and rulers. This was of great importance, but perhaps even more lasting has been the result of activities in the spiritual field. Muslim dominion came to an end in due course, but the spread of Islam in the subcontinent had consequences which are visible and vital even today.

For a long time it was held by western writers that Islam was spread by sword in India. This view has, however, now been abandoned in responsible circles, as apart from lack of other evidence in its favour, the very distribution of Muslim population in the subcontinent does not support it. If the spread of Islam in the subcontinent had been due to the might of the Muslim kings, one would naturally expect the largest proportion of Muslims in those areas which were the centre of Muslim political power. This, however, is not so. The percentage of Muslims is very low around Delhi, Agra, Lucknow, Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar, and Bijapur, which were the principal seats of Muslim political power. Even in Mysore, where Sultan Tipu is said to have forcibly converted people to Islam, the ineffectiveness of royal proselytism may be measured by the fact that Muslims are hardly five per cent of the total population of the state. On the other hand, Islam was never a political power in Malabar, but today, Muslims form nearly thirty per cent of its population; European observers like Arnold

have surmised that if in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had not put an end to the peaceful spread of Islam in this area, all its inhabitants would have become Muslims.[1]

These facts have now led even Western scholars to admit that the spread of Islam in this country has not been by the sword. "The position of the early Mohammadan dynasties," says William Crooke, "was too precarious to admit of any general propaganda. Even in the time of the early Mughals, the emperors were too much indifferent towards spiritual affairs, too much engrossed in schemes of conquest and administration to undertake the task of conversion in earnest. Their power was in a large measure dependent on links with the Rajput princes. The native princesses whom they married brought a strain of Hindu blood into the royal line and promoted tolerance of Hinduism."[2] Sir Alfred Lyall expresses a similar opinion in his *Asiatic Studies*. "The military adventurers who founded dynasties in northern India and carved out kingdoms in the Dekkan, cared little for things spiritual; most of them had, indeed, no time for proselytism, being continually engaged in conquest or in civil war. They were usually rough Tartars or Moghals themselves illgrounded in the faith of Mahamed, and untouched by the true Semetic enthusiasm, which inspired the first Arab standard-bearers of Islam."[3]

In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, the heaviest concentration of Muslims is in the two areas which now form West and East Pakistan. The spread of Islam in these regions have been studied by two eminent non-Muslim scholars, Maclagan and Qanungo. Both of them have come to the conclusion that the spread of Islam in these areas was the work of Muslim Sufis, and in the western areas, the process was greatly facilitated by the fact that in the thirteenth century thousands of Muslim theologians, saints and missionaries migrated to India to escape the Mongol terror.

(Sir) Edward Maclagan writes, in the *District Gazetteer of Multan*: "In one respect indeed the devastation of Khurasan and Western Iran was to the benefit of this part of India, for it led to the settling of a considerable number of pious and learned men, most of whom no doubt passed on towards Delhi but many of whom stayed to bless Multan with their presence. The preliminary disturbances of Ghori times had driven the Gardezi Syads to this district. A little later came a family of Kureshis from Khwarizm, which settled at Kot Karor near Leiah and which

gave birth to the famous Sheikh Baha-ud-din Zakaria or Bahawal Haqq, who,after traversing nearly the whole Muhammadan world, chose Multan as his place of residence. To Multan also about the same time came Pir Shams Tabrez from Sabzawar and Kazi Kutb-ud-din from Kashan: to Pakpattan came Baba Farid Shakarganj: to Delhi (by way of Multan) came Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiar Kaki : and to Uch came Saiad (sic) Jalal, the founder of many sacred families in Multan, Muzaffargarh and Bahawalpur.In the same period arose Sakhi Sarwar, whose father had emigrated from Bukhara to Sakot in this district (Multan). These holy emen, together with others too numerous to mention would seem to have set themselves seriously to convert to Islam the remaining Hindu agriculturists and nomads in this part of India, and it is to their persuasion and reputation, rather than to the sword of any conqueror, that the people of the South-West Punjab owe their faith in Islam. The lukewarmness of the population in previous times was roused into a keen fervour by the pagan invasions; an emperor's tomb was granted as the resting place of the body of the Saint Rukn-i-Alam, and from this time forward the holy men and holy shrines of Multan bestowed upon the city a unique reputation throughout the whole Mussalman world."[4]

About Bengal, Professor Kalike Ranjan Qanungo writes: "The Balbani regime in Bengal was not only a period of expansion but one of consolidation as well. It was during this time that the saints of Islam who excelled the Hindu priesthood and monks in active piety, energy and foresight, began proselytising on a wide scale not so much by force as by the fervour of their faith and their exemplary character. They lived and preached among the low class Hindus then as ever in the grip of superstition and social repression. These new converts in rural areas became a source of additional strength to the Muslim government. About a century after the military and political conquest of Bengal, there began process of the moral and spiritual conquest of the land through the efforts of the Muslim religious fraternities that now arose in every corner. By destroying temples and monastries the Muslim warriors of earlier times had only appropriated their gold and silver ; but the sword could not silence history, nor carry off their immortal spiritual treasure wherein lay rooted Hindu idolatory and Hindu nationalism. The

saints of Islam completed the process of conquest, moral and spiritual, by establishing *dargahs* and *khanqahs* deliberately on the sites of these ruined places of Hindu and Buddhist worship. This served a double purpose of preventing the revival of these places of heathen sanctity, and later on, of installing themselves as the guardian deities with tales of pious fraud invented by popular imagination. Hindus who had been accustomed for centuries to venerate these places gradually forgot their past history, and easily transferred their allegiance to the *pirs* and *ghazis*. The result of the *rapprochement* in the domain of faith ultimately created a more tolerant atmosphere which kept the Hindus indifferent to their political destiny. It prepared the ground for the further inroad of Islam into Hindu society, particularly among the lower classes who were gradually won over by an assiduous and persistent propaganda regarding the miracles of these saints and *ghazis*, which were in many cases taken over *in toto* from old Hindu and Buddhist legends. Perhaps the most notable example of the invasion of the sites of Hindu worship by Muslim saints is the transformation of the *Sringi-Rishi-kund* into the *Makhdum-kund* at Rajgir, and the translation of the miracle-working Buddha of the Deva-dutta legend into a venerable Muslim saint, Makhdum Sahib. We shall elsewhere discuss in detail the process of the spiritual conquest of Bengal by Auliyas and lesser saints whose tombs and *asthanas* lie scattered over the land."[5]

But the phenomenal spread of Islam in Bengal was not entirely due to the ability and efforts of the Sufi missionaries. It was greatly facilitated by certain local developments. In Bengal, the main factor in the spread of Islam "was a reaction of the lower classes against the strict Hinduism enforced by the Senas. It will be recalled that the indigenous Pala dynasty which ruled from the eighth to the twelfth century had been devoted to Buddhism, a faith under which the lower classes enjoyed practical freedom. In the twelfth century the Senas entering Bengal from the south, brought with them the severe rules of Hinduism, under which the lower classes were subjected to many onerous restrictions; and at the end of the same century, before these restrictions had become customary, Islam arrived, preaching freedom and culture for all, even if the equality was not always apparent in practice. In these circumstances, a mass movement

towards the new creed is so inherently probable that it is unnecessary to seek further afield for other hypothetical causes."[6]

The old Bengali literature contains echoes of the manner in which representatives of the older faiths which were suppressed under the Senas expressed their joy at the defeat of the Brahmins at the hand of the Muslims. "The followers of the *Dharma* cult, a modified form of Mahayanism, could hardly contain themselves with glee at the chastisement which their erstwhile oppressors suffered. In their sacred book entitled *Sunya Purana* and written in the eleventh century by Rumai Pandit, their is a chapter headed "The Anger of Niranjan" (Niranjanev Rukhm) and evidently interpolated in the fourteenth century, which refers to a free fight between the Muhammadans and Brahmins at Jaipur." After describing the sufferings of the Sat-dharmis (Buddhists) at the hands of the Brahmans, D. C. Sen says: "The Brahmins began to destroy the creation in the above manner, and acts of great violence were perpetrated on the earth. *Dharma,* who resided at *Baikuntha* was grieved to see all this. He came to the world as a Muhammadan."[7] Popular songs like *Dharma Gajan* and *Bada Januni* expressing the feeling of the lower classes, " bristle with spite and jealousy against the Brahmins " and the joy at the hope that the "caste dissensions will slowly be broken—for, behold, there's the Muhammadan in a Hindu family." These references indicate the highly favourable atmosphere in which Muslim missionaries worked in Bengal.

It is interesting to record that Islam gained its greatest successes in areas on the eastern and western fringes of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, where Buddhism had not yet been completely wiped out by the revival of Brahmanism, and where the steel-frame of the caste system had not yet gained its hold over society.

Another interesting fact about the spread of Islam in what is now West Pakistan is that some of the most active missionaries in this area with Isma'ili preachers sent from the Yemen and Iran. The modern Bohra sect has come into existence through the former's efforts, while the Khojas were converted by missionaries from Iran. But the work of Isma'ili missionaries is not to be assessed only by the numbers belonging to these two sects. There is enough evidence to show that in Sind and West Punjab Isma'ili doctrines were in an ascendency at one time. The

conquest of these areas by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and later by Muhammad Ghuri destroyed the political basis of Isma'ili influence, but quiet missionary work, particularly that directed from Iran, seems to have been intensified. Isma'ilis believed in secret propaganda, and allowed major adjustments to local conditions. The principal Khoja missionary, Sadr-ud-din, who died at Uch, on the border of the Punjab and Sind and wrote the basic texts of the Khojas, tried to show that Hazrat 'Ali was the long expected tenth incarnation of Vishnu. The doctrines preached by Isma'ili missionaries provided a sort of half-way house between Hinduism and Islam, and when the influence of Sunni *pirs* and rulers increased in these areas, the Isma'ili converts gradually moved closer to orthodox Sunni Islam.

The orthodox Hindu attitude towards religion facilitated the work of the Sufi and Isma'ili missionaries. Hinduism is not a missionary religion. On the contrary, with the ancient Hindus, spiritual enlightenment was a privilege of the few rather than a basic right of all. Under orthodox Hinduism, the large untouchable section of the population had no right to spiritual enlightenment and naturally they were only too glad to find somebody interested in the fate of their souls.

Social and Cultural Consequences.

By the end of the fourteenth century Islam had permeated all parts of India, and the process was fully under way which led not only to the conversion of a large section of the Indian population to Islam, but also resulted in far-reaching cultural and spiritual changes outside the Muslim society. The developments in the cultural sphere—development of regional languages, rise of Hindustani and the evolution of Indo-Muslim music and architecture—have been outlined elsewhere. Here, it is proposed to deal with the changes in religious activity which took place in Medieval India, largely as a result of the advent of Islam.

The social and cultural influence of Islam was on lines characteristic of the new religion. With its strong tradition of spiritual and social democracy, Islam presented a striking contrast to Hinduism, in which caste reigned supreme, and spiritual and intellectual enlightenment was the privilege of the higher classes. After contact with Islam, the character of Hindu society was materially changed. A new conception of human relationship began to grow, and in course of time reformers such as

Ramananda, Nanak and Chaitanya arose in Hindu society to denounce the rigidity of the caste and to emphasise the importance of good deeds rather than birth. In course of time poets and writers from the lower classes began to obtain a hearing, and although the caste system continued to maintain its hold over the Hindu society, its rigours were relaxed, and life became more bearable for the lower classes. The full measure of Muslim influence in this respect is realised if one compares the position in the extreme South, which practically remained outside Muslim rule, and where even towards the end of British rule, the lower castes were not allowed to walk on the public roads, with the positions in predominantly Muslim areas like Sind where, according to a Hindu scholar, writing in 1924, caste was "virtually absent" even amongst the Hindus.[8]

The other most important developments were in the sphere of religion. The best study of the subject, although admittedly incomplete, is Dr. Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*. So far as the South India is concerned, he has endorsed the views of European scholars like Barth and Fawcett, who held that the rise of neo-Hinduism under the great organiser Shankaracharya was directly and indirectly influenced by Islam. Shankara was born in the ninth century on the coast of Malabar where Islam had made considerable headway through Arab traders and settlers, and some scholars see in his teachings indirect traces of Islamic influences, and even attribute his revivalist fervour to the challenge presented by the new religion. As Fawcett says, Shankara's "country was in peril. Her king had been converted to Islam and that religion was gaining ground. Brahminism must be revived, so Siva was reincarnated in the child of a widow."[9] Dr. Tara Chand says on this subject : "Shankara was born at a time, when Muslims were beginning their activities in India, and if tradition is correct, when they had gained a notable success in extension of their faith by converting the king of the land. He was born and brought up at a place where many ships from Arabia and the Persian Gulf touched. If his extreme monism, his stripping of the *One* of all semblance of duality, his attempt to establish this monism on the authority of revealed scriptures, his desire to purge the cult of many abuses, had even a faint echo of the new noises that were abroad, it would not be a matter for great surprise or utter incredulity."[10]

Shankaracharaya's life and works are wrapped in a mist, but more is known about his successor Ramanuja, who is traditionally regarded as a bridge between the Bhakti movement of the south and the north. Through his influence the ideas and the characteristic features of the new movement were transferred to Northern India. Ramananda, who is recognised as the great leader of the Bhakti movement in the north, was a disciple of a teacher, who belonged to Ramanuja's Sri sect. Ramananda, who probably flourished during the last quarter of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century, was born at Allahabad and educated at Benares. He had an independent mind and travelled widely. According to Macauliffe, "It is certain that Ramananda came in contact at Benares with learned Musalmans."[11] As a result of his studies and discussions, he introduced many changes in Hindu social system. He admitted to his new sect, disciples from all castes and even from among the Muslims, and rejected the regulations of Ramanuja about the preparation and partaking of meals. Ramananda's teaching gave rise to two schools of Hindu religious thought, one conservative and orthodox, the other radical and cosmopolitan. To the first school belonged Tulsidas and Sur Das, while Kabir is considered the best known exponent of the second. We shall discuss Kabir separately, but the influence of Islam on Hinduism can also be seen, in a varying degree, in Nanak of the Punjab, Chaitanya of Bengal and Tukaram of Maharashtra.

Guru Nanak was born in November, 1469 in Central Punjab, an area where Islam was more dominant than in the south or even in the Gangetic plains. He studied Persian as well as Sanskrit, and counted both Maulvis and Pandits among his teachers. After a short period of service under a Muslim Nawab, he became a wandering *faqir*, and in the company of a Muslim minstrel, Mardana, and a Hindu companion, Bhai Bala, he is stated to have visited holy places not only in India but in Persia and Arabia. About Islamic influences on his teaching, Dr. Tara Chand says, "How deep Guru Nanak's debt is to Islam, it is hardly necessary to state, for it is so evident in his words and thoughts. Manifestly he was steeped in Sufi lore and the fact of the matter is, that it is much harder to find how much exactly he drew from the Hindu scriptures. His rare references to them lead one to imagine that Nanak was only superficially acquainted

with the *Vedic* and *Puranic* literature."[12]

Chaitanya of Bengal (1486-1533) does not show any deep acquaintance with Islam, but he also encountered Muslim *faqirs* in the course of his wanderings, and his teachings and practices show, at least, indirect effect of Muslim ideas. Some of his disciples were well versed in Islamic lore, and two of them (Rupa and Sanatana) knew Persian and Arabic well, had held high posts at the courts of the Muslim sultans of Gaur, and had, in the opinion of some Hindu scholars, even accepted Islam at one stage.

One would not expect any deep ifluence of Islam in distant Maharashtra at this period, but the writing of Namdev and Tukaram are not only full of Muslim ideas, but they also use a surprisingly large number of Muslim expressions. Namdev's writings contain a number of Persian and Arabic words, and the way Muslim ideas had permeated the writings of Tukaram may be seen from the following translation of two of his hymns :—

> "What Allah wishes that is accomplished,
> O ! my friend (Baba), the maker is the sovereign of all.
> Cattle and friends, garden and goods all depart.
> My mind dwells, O ! friend, on my Lord (Sahib) who is the Maker.
> I ride there on the back of the horse (Mind) and the self becomes horseman.
> O ! friend, meditate (zikr) on Allah, who is in the guise of all,
> Says Tuka, the man who understands this becomes a Darwish."[13]

and again:

> "First among the great names is Allah, never forget to respect it.
> Allah is verily one, the prophet (nabi) is verily one.
> There Thou art one, there Thou art one, there Thou art one, O ! friend.
> There is neither I nor thou."[14]

There were scores of other Hindu thinkers, poets, seekers after God, in whose teachings and writings the influence of Islam is clearly visible. Dr. Tara Chand has given an account of minor groups, showing these influences, but his list is far from complete. Besides, the successors of Kabir and Dadu, and sects like *Satnami,*

Laldasi, *Ram Sanehi*, *Shivanarayani* and *Swaminavayani* orders, there were a large number of Hindu mystics who wrote Persian and Indian languages echoing Sufi thoughts.

K. M. Munshi gives some information about another Hindu sect which came into existence in the thirteenth century as a result of "action and reaction" of Islam and Hinduism. He writes, "Hindu and Muslim saints, not unoften, had a common appeal to both the communities and sects of both religions, by way of action and reaction, and sometimes by way of challenge, influenced each other. The Mohanubhara sect, a non-idolatorous Krishna cult, founded by Chakvadharasvami (died in A.D. 1272) about the first Sufi saints settled in Aurangabad is a case in point."[15]

While tracing the influence of Islam on original leaders of the Bhakti movement, it is worth mentioning that most of the dominant elements in the teaching of Shankara, Ramanuja and Ramananda had appeared at one stage or another in ancient Hindu thought, but these elements in their totality and characteristic emphasis in Medieval India appear to indicate Muslim influence. The position changes considerably when we come to Kabir and Nanak and their successors, one of whom was a Muslim and the other a product of a predominently Muslim atmosphere. But while studying the mutual influence of Islam and Hinduism in relation to early Hindu thinkers, it must not be forgotten that according to European scholars like Nicholson, Islam and particularly Sufi thought had been exposed to direct and indirect Hindu and Buddhist influences earlier, and Hinduism was only receiving back in a revivified and elaborate form what it had already given. It is worth mentioning that most modern Hindus do dot share Dr. Tara Chand's views regarding influence of Islam on Hinduism, as Muslim writers object to what he quotes from Nicholson and others regarding Indian influences on Sufism. 'Aziz Ahmad has summed up the position by saying, "It would be as erroneous to over-rate the Muslim influences on Vedanta and the Classical Bhakti as to over-emphasize the elements borrowed in Sufism, directly or indirectly from Hindu-Buddhist mystical systems."[16]

Kabir and Dadu.

The religious thinkers we have discussed so far were Hindus, but some of the leading figures of the so-called Bhakti movement were Muslim. It is now generally recognised that Kabir was born in a Muslim *Jolaha* (weaver) family. His name as well as the name of his son, Kamal, is Muslim,

and he was a disciple of Shaikh Taqi and other Muslim Sufis. His grave at Maghar has always been in the keeping of Muslims, though the *Kabir Panthis* have also put up a *Samadhi* in the neighbourhood. The cult which Kabir preached was adopted mainly by the Hindu lower classes, and with the shift from the syncretic to the sectional approach during later centuries, Kabir's life story has been embellished with legends which obscure his origin and true self. In the light of recent studies as Rev. Westcott, Professor Kshitimohan Sen and Dr. Mohan Singh, however, the fair conclusion seems to be to regard him as a Muslim Sufi, who came under Ramananda's influence, accepted some Hindu ideas and tried to reconcile the Hindu and Muslim pionts of view. Much of what is attributed now to Kabir is not his[a] but he was all along critical of the formalities in religion emphasised by their rigid orthodox champions. Muslim biographers writing about Kabir during the Mughal period describe both the Hindu and the Muslim influences in his life, but have no hesitation in treating him as a Muslim Sufi. The author of *Mirat-ul-Asrar* (manuscript), writing during the days of Shah Jahan, says about Kabir and his son Kamal : " And another successor of Makhdum Bhika was Kabir, the *Malamatiya*. At first, he became a disciple of Shaikh Taqi, son of Shaikh Ramzan Hayk Suhrawardi, who is buried in the town of Jhusi near Allahabad. After that, he came in contact with Ramanand Bairagi, and undertook strenuous mystical disciplinary exercises. The cult of *Tauhid* dominated him, his discerning eye completely gave up any consideration for the people caring for externals, and began to speak without the veil. The superificial people linked him with heresy, but the agnostics with inner light considered him a sincere Muwahid.[b] He followed the free *malamatiya* mode of thought.

(*a*) "The teaching of Kabir has gradually become more Hindu in form. At any rate we have no right to assume that the teaching of Kabir was identical with that given at the present time by the Mahants of the Panth that bears his name." Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabir Panthis*, p. 28.

(*b*) "This term, Muwahid, was not, so far as I can learn, ever applied by Muhammadans to those they regard as idolators. It implies that he (Kabir) was a Theist, and not a Pantheist. The prevailing impression that Kabir was a Pantheist appears to be based upon two false impressions, (1) that he is responsible for all the teaching given by his Hindu followers at a later stage and (2) that all statements contained in the Bijak represent his personal views." Westcott, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

At last, he wore the garments of the *Firdausi* Order at the hands of the Makhdum Shah Bhika, and attained poise in the cult of Peace for All. His sacred tomb, in the town of Maghar, in Gorakhpur *sarkar* attracts many visitors." The book contains the following entry about Kabir's son: "Shaikh Kamal, son of Shaikh Kabir, the *malamatiya* received training under his father. He also followed the *Malamatiya* cult and was even more audacious than his father. He went towards the province of Gujarat, and was held in great esteem by Hazrat Shah 'Alam—peace be on him. After this, he achieved great fame and his tomb in Ahmadabad, Gujarat, is well-known."

According to the popular *Tazkira-i-Auliya-i-Hind* (Lives of Indian Muslim Saints), Kabir (1440-1518) was a disciple of Shaikh Taqi Suhrawardi, studied the art of Hindi versification under Ramananda and later became a disciple of Shaikh Bhika Chishti.

Mirat-ul-Asrar contains the earliest authentic biography of Kabir (though *Mu'araj-ul-Wilayat,* written slightly later, contains another account), but subsequently the history of this remarkable personality has been subjected to a strange process. Professor Kshitimohan Sen observes in this context: "*Sadhakas* of the Indian Medieval age were mostly from the lower strata of the society, but the sects which their teachings gave rise to, have tried afterwards to pass them as men of higher castes. Thus many sayings of such *sadhakas* had either to be left out or distorted.

"An enquiry into the family history of Kabir and Dadu will make this process very clear. The fact that Kabir was the son of a Muhammadan weaver has been sought to be obliterated by many absurd stories. But historical criticism has mercilessly exposed such frauds. It cannot now be doubted that Kabir was born in a Jolaha family."[(c)]

The same process has been at work for Dadu, the founder of Dadu Panth, whose life and teachings are the subject of an able monograph by the Reverend Orr. Dadu is stated by his later followers to have been the son of Nagar Brahman, but recent researches have shown that he was born in a family of Muslim cotton-carders. This is borne out by his own works and

(c) Kshitimohan Sen, *Medieval Indian Mysticism*, pp. vi-vii. For an authoritative discussion of Kabir's origin, see p. 2 of Dr. Mohan Singh's, *Kabir—his Biography*.

the fact that all the members of his family bear Muslim names. "His father's name was Lodi, his mother's Basi or Basiran. His sons were Garib and Miskin, and his grandson, son of Miskin, Faqir."[17] His teacher Shaikh Budhan, was a Muslim saint of the Qadri order, whose descendants at Sambhar continued prior to 1931, to send "a cotton robe, a turban and other articles of attire"[18] at the time of the installation of the new Mahant of *Dadu Panthis*. The early followers of Dadu were not disturbed by the knowledge that he was a Muslim by birth, but the new legend about his Brahmanical origin made its first appearance in a commentary on the *Bhaktamala,* written as late as 1800, by a Brahman. The Reverend Orr has no difficulty in declaring Dadu to be a Muslim by birth, and modern Hindu scholars have come to the same conclusion. Professor Kshitimohan Sen, after saying that, apart from other authorities on the subject, the researches of Chandrika Prasad Tripathi leave no doubt about this, and adds that "the keepers of these *Maths,* which furnished him with documents in the shape of old manuscripts, have now begun to burn, in their anger, those old and rare works."[19]

The metamorphosis to which the life-story and teachings of Kabir and Dadu have been subjected is not merely the work of those keepers of *Maths,* who were anxious to secure for their heroes high lineage and link them with Hinduism. It is really symptomatic of the general movement of separation, which about the seventeenth century, began to gain ground in dominant circles amongst both Hindus and Muslims. The success of the Naqshbandia Mujaddidia order and the increase of orthodoxy amongst Muslims led them to turn away from figures like Kabir and Dadu, who were absorbed more and more in the Hindu system of thought and sainthood.

Kabir's teachings have been analysed by Dr. Tara Chand who says; "The expression of Kabir's teachings was shaped by that of Sufi Saints and poets. In the Hindi language he had no precursor, and the only models which he could follow were Muslim ones, *e. g. Pandnama* of Farid-ud-Din 'Attar. A comparison of the headings of the poems of both brings that out clearly. He must also have heard the poems of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi and Sa'di besides the teachings of other Sufis, for there are echoes of them in his works."[20]

A number of books are attributed to Kabir, some of which,

like the *Das-Muqam-i-Rekhta* have never been published. With many of his works not available for study, and serious doubts existing about the genuinness of others, it is difficult to assess Kabir properly.

The sect which calls itself *Kabir Panthis* after him was founded by one of his followers, Dharmadas (the name whether original or adopted later is significant). This sect refers to itself as Hindu and the works of Kabir which have been published or utilised by modern writers have been in its custody. According to some of these works, Kabir's knowledge of Islam compared to that of Hinduism appears to be superficial and wanting in accuracy, but as pointed out by Dr. Yusuf Husain, Kabir's teaching "does not give preference to either Hindus or Muslims. He admires all that is good in the two cults and condemns all that is dogmatic."[21] He often uses Hindu or rather Hindi nomenclature (*e.g.* Rama) for God ;[(d)] and is equally at home in Hindu as well as Muslim religious thought, but there is no doubt that the most salient feature of his teachings is "a campaign against polytheism, idolatry and caste." He is equally unsparing in his condemnation of Muslim formalism, but this he shares with most Muslim Sufis and even poets like Hafiz and. Sa'di. Kabir did not confine his spiritual education to Muslim teachers; he certainly was influenced by Ramananda, though, as has been stated by Dr. Tara Chand, "Ramananda passes out of Kabir's legends quite early and leaves only a shady impression upon the development of his ideas." He also had no attachment for formal Muslim religion and his constant effort was to break down the barriers that separated Hindus from Muslim.

Dadu was deeply influenced by Kabir's teachings, but he was a man of a different temperament. "In Dadu there is less of the fierce iconoclast, and more of the quiet mystic ; less fondness for the bold conceit and startling paradox, and more for the great simple truths that shine by their own light; less delight in the keen battle of wits, the rapier thrust and skilful parry, and more in the patient undermining by instruction, warning, and appeal,

(*d*) Dr. Qureshi says about Kabir, "He adopted popular word Rama for God but his Rama had nothing to do with the hero of *Ramayana* and the incarnation of Vishnu. He said explicitly...." *The Muslim Community*, p. 113.

of the false defences in which the soul is tempted to take refuge." Dadu, who was born in Hindu Rajputana, shows less influence of Islam in the background of his religious thought, but according to Orr, "his fierce intolerance of caste and idolatry,...his vivid consciousness of God as Creator, Ruler, and Judge, and his emphasis on moral freedom and responsibility, are part of his Muslim inheritance."[22]

We have referred to the writings of Hindu *Bhagats*, and to the influence of religious teachers like Kabir and Dadu. Perhaps even more important than the influence of the individual teachers has been the permeating effect of Muslim conception of God on Hindu masses, especially in Northern India. The learned Brahmans might be the votaries of Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma, but for the common masses the ancient belief in the Hindu Trinity is overshadowed by the consciousness of an omnipotent, universal creater, remembered by different names, Ishwer, Permeshwar, Hari, etc. Even the personal name Ram is really a symbol for transcendental divinity. Thus subtle but basic change in the Hindu concept of Godhead was not a little due to the influence of Islam and of teachers like Kabir.

The So-Called Bhakti Movement.

It is usual to group various religious and cultural activities, which gained momentum as a direct or indirect result of contact with Islam under the heading "Bhakti Movement." But is this correct? Are there any solid historical links between such movements in various areas? Did Chaitanya, Kabir and Nanak have the same objectives or outlook?

If the writing and activities of these teachers are carefully studied and analysed, it will be found that Hindu thinkers and religious leaders of the period had two different, almost opposite, points of view with regard to contemporary Muslim thought and institutions. One group accepted what was congenial to it in the new spiritual system, while the other group adopted a few elements from the spiritual structure of the dominant power in order to strengthen Hinduism and to close a few fissures which had widened and to make it better able to withstand Islam. The two trends are similar to the growth of the tolerant, cosmopolitan Brahmo Samaj and the militant Arya Samaj, when Hinduism was confronted with a similar problem in relation to Christianity in the nineteenth century. Guru Nanak, Kabir, Dadu and other

founders of syncretic sects belong to the first group while the movement in Bengal mirrors the second tendency.

A full study of the movement in Maharashtra has yet to be made, but it appears that the religious attitude there was closer to that of Kabir and Nanak than to that of the Bengal Vaishnavas. We have already quoted from Tukaram's hymns. The attitude of the Marathas to Muslim saints was one of respect and goodwill. As Duff records in his *History of the Marathas*, Shivaji's grandfather had great faith in a Muslim saint of Ahmadnagar, Shah Sharif, and named his two sons, Shahji and Sharifji—which are not Hindu names—after the saint whose prayers were believed to have been responsible for the gift of these sons. Writing about Shivaji's grandfather (Malloji), Duff writes, "He had no children for many years, which is considered a great misfortune amongst Hindoos. He was a rigid votary of the deity Mahdeo, and the goddess Dewee Bhowanee of Tooljapoor was the Koolswamy of his family; but both deities had been invoked in vain to grant an heir. A celebrated Mahomedan saint or peer, named Shah Shureef, residing at Ahmednugur, was engaged to offer up prayers to this desirable end; and Mallojee's wife having shortly after given birth to a son, in gratitude to the peer's supposed benediction, the child was named after him, Shah, with the Mahratta adjunct of respect, jee; and in the ensuing year, a second son was in like manner named Shureefjee."[23] Kincaid, following the *Shivdigvijaya* and *Shedgavkar Bakhars*, states that Malloji and his wife prayed at the tomb of Shah Sharif, who had long been dead. Grant Duff's statement, however, is supported by Mankar in his introduction to the *Sabhased Bakhar* (of Krishnaji Anant) in the words: "At last a renowned Musalman saint, named Shah Sharif from Ahmadnagar, was engaged to offer his devotions for the birth of an heir".[24] Efforts are being made in modern times by Brahman writers to obscure and blur the original Maratha attitude, but the true position seems to be that the Hindu reaction in Maharashtra, led originally by the ancient landowning and ruling groups found expression in political action, rather than in the field of religious revivalism and separatism. With spiritual and literary activities which characterised the new movement, and new developments in Hindu religious life in which the masses could enthusiastically participate, a new life was created in the area, and the intellectual and the spiritual

basis for the rise of the Marathas was provided. The reasons which made the followers of Nanak, the Hindu teacher closest to Islam, the most uncompromising enemy of the later Muslim rulers were of a different nature, and we shall deal with them separately, but there is considerable justification for Garrett's remark that but for the religious movements of the fifteenth century "it is most improbable that either the Marathas or the Sikhs would have formed themselves into the powerful combinations which they afterwards became."[25]

Chaitanya's movement revivalistic and not syncretic.

On the other hand, Chaitanya's movement in Bengal was a revivalist and not a syncretic movement. A good deal of work has been done on this movement, by Bengali scholars, and it appears safe to infer that it was essentially a defensive movement against the sweeping success which Islam was having in the area. Thinking Hindus could only see with dismay that their policy of denying spiritual food to the lower classes was, in the changed conditions, driving them into the Muslim fold, and they also realised that the Sufi approach, with its institutions like *Qawwali,* producing religious ecstasy and fervour, as also the congregational prayers of Muslims made more powerful appeal to the masses than the meditations of the Hindu *rishis. Qawwali* was therefore answered by *kirtan* processions, which engendered a new spiritual fervour in the Hindu countryside, and all castes amongst the Hindus and even non-Hindus were admitted to the new spiritual life. With the great organising genius of Chaitanya and able men like Rupa and Sanatana whom he was able to inspire, the movement soon passed from the defensive to the offensive and according to a modern Hindu writer, "Vaishnavas who took the lead in converting Muslims achieved considerable success."[26]

Growse, the historian of Mathura, has dealt at length with the problem with which Hinduism was faced owing to Muslim success and the manner in which the Hindu religious leadership reacted. His statement is worded in the offensive language in which Western writers spoke of Islam and Muslims till very recently, but it brings out clearly the role of Hindu Bengal and is worth reproducing at length. He says :—

"Similarly in the East, the Muhammadan invasion and the consequent contact with new races and new modes of thought

brought home to the Indian moralist that his old basis of faith was too narrow ; that the division of the human species into the four *Manava* castes and an outer world of barbarians was too much at variance with facts to be accepted as satisfactory, and that the ancient inspired oracles, if rightly interpreted, must disclose some means of salvation applicable to all men alike, without respect to colour or nationality.... In Upper India the tyranny of the Muhammadans was too tangible a fact to allow of the hope, or even the wish, that conquerors and conquered could ever coalesce in one common faith ; but in the Dakhin and the remote regions of Eastern Bengal, to which the sword of Islam had been scarcely extended, and where no inveterate antipathy had been created, the contingency appeared less improbable. Accordingly it was in these parts of India that the great teachers of reformed Vaishnava creed first meditated and reduced to system those doctrines, which it was one object of all their later life to promulgate throughout Hindustan. It was their ambition to elaborate a scheme so broad and yet so orthodox that it might satisfy the requirements of the Hindu and yet not exclude the Muhammadan, who was to be admitted on equal terms into the new fraternity ; all mankind becoming one great family and every caste distinction being utterly abolished."[27]

The attitude of the Bengal Vaishnavas towards Islam and Muslim was a complete antithesis of the attitude advocated by Kabir and Nanak. As Professor T. Ray Chaudhuri says : "That there was an element of opposition to Muslim influence in Chaitanyaism seems almost certain. The *Premayilasa* referred to Muslim rule as the root of *Advaitaprakasa*, the spread of Muslim ways of life was deplored. Jayananda mentioned the adoption of Muslim habits by Brahmins as one of the aspects of the manifold degradations characteristic of Kali age."[28] Even economic pressure was brought against Muslims. "Sayamananda, who converted a number of Muslims......asked the Raja of Narayonaged not to employ Muslim porters as was the usual custom there."[29] Even those Vaishnavas whom the Muslim rulers had exalted to the highest offices in the state regarded their patrons as "Mlechchas" and considered themselves as fallen because of their contact with the Muslims. Rupa and Sanatana, one of whom was *Dabir-i-Khas* (Private Secretary) of Sultan 'Ala-ud-din Husain Shah of Gaur abstained from visiting the temple of

Jagannath because of such considerations."[30]

A modern Hindu scholar has summed up the difference between Chaitanya's movement and the movement in Northern India, "Faith in the unity of the Deity, tolerance and respect for Islam and an open challenge to the caste system were the most important" features of the movement associated with Namdeva, Kabir, Nanak and Dadu. "These, however, were not in any way the strong points of Chaitanyaism. Unity of the godhead—in the sense in which either the Upanishads or the Quran preached it—was no part of Bengal Vaishnavaism. the Chaitanyaites, on the contrary, were eager to prove the superiority of Krishna to other gods and godesses of the Hindu Pantheon. As regards their attitude to Islam it was one of contempt, if not of positive hostility. Their attitude to caste, though much more liberal than that of the orthodox both in theory and practice, never constituted a direct challenge to the age-old social organisation of Hindu India."[31] As a matter of fact, the movement in Bengal was "marked by a comparative indifference to social problems and inequities which were among the chief concerns of the movements originating from the composite influences of Hinduism and Islam."[32]

Bengali Vaishnavaism was a Hindu revivalist movement, a counter-attack against Islam and was able to slow down the process of conversion of Hindus, particularly in West Bengal. "In West Bengal the very classes whose counterparts in the east were converted to Islam in large numbers, remained within the Hindu fold, due no doubt to a great extent to Vaishnava influence."[33] But the Vaishnava success was even greater. They not only arrested the spread of Islam in West Bengal, but what was perhaps even more remarkable, the spiritual and the literary renaissance created by the Vaishnava *sadhus* and poets created an atmosphere in which the local Muslims as contrasted with those in the distant north, where a different situation prevailed, came under Hindu influences, and outside the cities, Muslim orthodoxy did not spread till the nineteenth century.

An attempt to group together revivalist movements and syncretic efforts under the same name "Bhakti" has inevitably

Indian Medieval Renaissance.

obscured the true nature of these movements. It has hindered an objective study of the subject in other ways also. It was confined to what

purports to be a story of "composite influences" of Hinduism and Islam to the work of Hindu seekers after God only, or at best to Muslims like Kabir and Dadu, who in order to conform to the Bhakti requirements have undergone a transformation, necessitating a falsification of history. The extensive non-missionary approach of Muslim Sufis or common Hindu-Muslim approach to spiritual problems which prevailed in centres like Manakpur, and paved the way for the rise of Kabir, have also been ignored.

An even more serious drawback resulting from adopting narrow nomenclature has been that the phrase "Bhakti Movement" is taken to include all the spiritual and cultural activities in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent which gained prominence primarily as a result of interaction of Hindu-Muslim civilisations. Professor Mukerjee has stated that in view of the influence which the "Bhakti Movement" had on religion, the development of regional literature, and the growth of Indian music, it may almost be compared to the "European Renaissance."[31] The Indian medieval renaissance differed in several respects from its counterpart in Europe, or from the modern Indian renaissance, brought about by the impact with the West. Similar forces operating in different periods and areas seldom produce identical results. In India, owing to the local traditions, activity in spiritual sphere was predominant, and although there was a great loosening of the bonds of traditional thinking, there was not the same mode of the freeing of the intellect, associated with the European Renaissance. Professor Mukerjee is, however, justified in emphasising the broad and general aspects of the Indian movement. Apart from the freedom from traditional thinking and loosening of the old bonds of social organisation, there was the same general intellectual and spiritual ferment, the same rise of the new vernaculars, the growth of new literatures, the development of new forms of music, bold experiments in architecture, which we see in Europe during the Renaissance. Amongst general historians, Messrs Moreland and Chatterjee have not failed to sense the wider and the deeper significance of what is popularly called the Bhakti Movement. They pointed out that the subject had not been adequately studied and did not suggest a new nomenclature, but in a brief general history of India they brought out, more clearly than had been done before, the importance of the developments which took place in the 15th and the 16th centuries. In the chapter headed "The

Results of the Turkish Rule", after dealing with the spread of the doctrine of Bhakti, they wrote, "The story of this development is not known in detail, but the fifteenth century was marked by an extraordinary outburst of devotional poetry inspired by these doctrines, and thus stands out as one of the great formative periods in the history of northern India, a period in which on the one hand the modern languages were firmly established as vehicles of literary expression, and on the other the faith of the people was permeated by new ideas."[35] They further explained the far-reaching changes which took place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "On the literary side then, this epoch furnished all over northern India the great bulk of the poetry which, read or recited in the villages, has ever since formed the basis of the imaginative life of the people. On the religious side it furnished new ideas which permeated, rather than superseded, the sacrificial cults of the temples ; and, when we take both sides into account, the effect of the literature produced during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may justly be compared to that of the Bible in the life of England—for the common people the one great accessible source of inspiration as of consolation. The peasant may still follow scrupulously the ancient ritual appropriate to the worship of this diety or that ; but in his mind, or rather in his heart, there is the idea of something larger and more universal, and when his feelings find expression, it is in an appeal to Parmeshwar, the one Supreme Being, whom he had been led by this literature to know and love."[36] Dr. K. M. Munshi has referred at some place to the "Bhakti Renaissance", but generally the importance of this great formative period has been obscured by treating the widespread religious, intellectual and cultural activity of the Middle Ages as the "Bhakti Movement". It has resulted in lack of attention to non-spiritual activities, and to the contribution of those who were not *bhaktas*. Did not the laity—the rulers, who patronised regional languages, the poets, the musicians, and their patrons like Raja Man Singh of Gwalior and Sultan Husain Sharqi of Jaunpur—make any contribution to this renaissance ? The truth is that the activities in the Middle Ages covered a wide field and were the result of the activities of large groups of people, of *bhaktas* and Sufi saints, of lay people, of poets, of musicians, of builders, and of some worldly rulers, who responded to the call of the times. A comprehen-

sive and objective study of the subject can only be on broad and general lines, and will really begin after scholars approach the subject not merely as a study of the Bhakti Movement, which is only one facet of a general renaissance.

Influence of Hinduism on Islam.

The interaction of Islam and Hinduism did not operate in one direction only. Muslim society was also deeply influenced and purely local influences left a mark, at least temporarily, on Islam in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Some Western writers have even stated that Islam was influenced more by Hinduism than was Hinduism by Islam. They seem to assume that Islam in India was originally pure and orthodox, but due to Hindu influences absorbed many un-Islamic features. This, however, was not the historical order of things. The peculiar features were not incorporated at a later stage, but were the result of what may be called the original incomplete conversion. Indian Muslims did not start with orthodox Islam, but began by taking only a few things and only in the course of centuries, particularly during the last two centuries, have they become more orthodox. The process is not absolutely complete in some lower classes, or those groups which like the Khojas adopted a composite form of religion, but as Rev. Titus says, the "situation today is far better than it was a century ago, as a result of the reform efforts of Muslim preachers, the more general diffusion of education, and the extensive revival of Islamic spirit and learning in connection with the modern reform movements."[37]

According to Goldziher and Von Kramer, Islam was subjected to Indian influences even before Muslims came to Lahore and Delhi. "Many Indians held posts in the financial department at Basra under the early Umayyads; the Caliph Muawiya is reported to have planted an Indian colony in Syria, especially at Antioch and Hajjaj is said to have established them in Kashgar. The black-eyed and olive complexioned Hindus were brushing their shoulders against those of Muslims in the cities of the Caliphate. The eastern dominions of the empire, that is Khorasan, Afghanistan, Sistan and Baluchistan were Buddhist or Hindu before they were converted. Balkh had a large monastery (Vihara), whose superintendent was known as the Barmak. His descendants became the famous Barmakide *wazirs* of the Abbasid Caliphate."[38]

After the Arab conquest of Sind, there were closer contacts between the Hindu scholars and the Abbasid Baghdad. The results of these contacts have been described elsewhere, but other features like the consideration given to caste by Indian Muslims were due to local influences. Foreign writers have commented on the way the Indian Muslims classify themselves as *Sayyid, Shaikh, Mughal* and *Pathan*, but the loose manner in which this operated even in the seventeenth century, was commented on by Bernier. He said, in the heyday of the Mughals, that anybody who put on a white turban began to call himself a Mughal. An old saying underlines the same process ."Last year, I was Julaha (weaver); this year a Shaikh; and next year, if the harvest be good, I shall be a Sayyid." This would show that even in the past, the caste system was not such a binding factor among Indian Muslims. Besides, although the system may have counted for something in social relations, when it came to worship, all influences of Brahmanical origin disappeared, and in the mosque, the Islamic ideals of brotherhood and equality remained triumphant.

Muslims in India also adopted the Hindu practices of early marriages and the Hindu objection to widow remarriage. Some social ceremonies connected with births, deaths and marriages may also be traced to a Hindu origin. But the reform movements initiated by Shah Wali-Ullah, Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi and by the Wahabi preachers have concentrated on the eradication of these usages, which are disappearing. Some writers think that reverence for *pirs* and their graves, a marked feature of popular Indian Islam, is a carry-over of Hindu indolatrous practices. This seems to ignore the fact that even outside India *pirs* and their tombs are objects of great attention and veneration.

Limited results of Mutual Interaction.

During the middle ages there was considerable interaction of Islam and Hinduism, but as pointed out at length by Prof. R.C. Majumdar, it touched merely the fringe and the external elements of life and even as such,[(e)] the influence was confined to a small

(*e*) The impact of Islam on Hindus was not so small as Prof. Majumdar thinks. For example, Hindu devotion to Muslim saints was not uncommon till recently. In the Census of 1891, as many as 5.78% of the total Hindu population of the North Western Provinces and Oudh (*i.e.* modern U.P.) had "returned themselves as worshippers of Muhammadan saints". *Census of India 1891*, Vol. XVI, Pt I, pp. 217, 244, Quoted in Arnold's *The Preaching of*

section of Hindus and Muslims of India. Taken as a whole, "there was no *rapprochement* in respect of popular or national traditions, and those social and religious ideas, beliefs, practices, and institutions which touch the deeper chord of life and give it a distinctive form, tone, and vigour. In short, the reciprocal influences were too superficial in character to affect materially the fundamental differences between the two communities in respect of almost every thing that is deep-seated in human nature and makes life worth living. So the two great communities, although they lived side by side, moved each in its own orbit, and there was as yet no sign that the 'twain shall ever meet."[39]

In the beginning of the eleventh century, al-Biruni had made a fair and sympathetic study of Hindu society, but even he was constrained to remark regarding their attitude towards the foreigners. "All this fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them *mlechha i e.* impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted."[40]

This was the Hindu attitude towards all foreigners. It probably arose during the invasions of the Huns, Sakas, and other invaders from Central Asia, and had fully crystallised by the time of al-Biruni, *i.e.* long before the establishment of the Muslim empire at Delhi. The gulf which divided the Muslims from the

Islam, (2nd ed.) p. 289. This was the position in what is now the United Province. The devotion of Hindus to Muslim saints in areas like Punjab and Sind was even more widespread. A typical case is of the *Sultanis i.e.* the Hindu followers of Sultan Sakhi Sarwar, regarding whom the District Gazetteers of Jullundur and Ludhiana give a good deal of information. According to the *Ludhiana District Gazetteer* (1907), the *Sultanis*, "make up the greater part of the Hindu Jat population. These are the followers of the Muhammadan saint, Sakhi Sarwar Sultan, whose tomb is at *Nigaha*, in the Dera Ghazi Khan District" (p. 82). The Gazetteer adds that from Western Punjab the *Sultani* creed, "spread eastwards in the 15th and 16th centuries and that at the time of Guru Govind Singh most of the Jats held it, the conversions to Sikhism being from it. The Sultanis are nominally ordinary Hindus, worshippers of Shiv or of Devi: but it is characteristic of popular Hinduism that the saint and his shrine, being something more tangible than the deity, have entirely excluded the latter, and that the saint should have been a Muhammadan". (pp. 82-83) The *District Gazetteer of Jullundur* gives further details regarding the *Sultanis*.

Hindus was bigger than what separated the latter from most other foreigners. To quote al-Biruni again: "The Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect." Firstly there was the difference of language. "Secondly they totally differ from us in religion, as we believe in nothing in which they believe, and vice versa......In the third place, in all manners and usages, they differ from us to such a degree, as to frighten their children with us, with our dress and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be the devil's bread, and our doing as the very opposite of all that is good and proper."[41] This aversion increased manifold, when Muslims conquered the country. Fair and impartial al-Biruni writes ; "Mahmud ruined the prosperity of the country and performed wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."[42]

This was the position in 1030, when *Kitab-ul-Hind* was completed. Nearly 300 years later another traveller, Ibn Buttuta, visited the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and although he was not a trained scientist and scholar like al-Biruni, he was a fair and humane observer. He records two occasions, when Muhammad Tughluq ordered the executioner to inflict punishment on certain Hindus brought before him. On one occasion Ibn Buttuta turned away his eyes while the punishment was being inflicted, and on the other he left the place on the pretence of saying his prayers. Professor Majumdar remarks, "Ibn Buttuta's attitude on both the occasions does credit to him." These were not the only occasions, when Ibn Battuta indicated his sympathy and appreciation for the Hindus. He pointedly remarks that when he reached the camp of the Muslim ruler of Ma'bar, he found that he had to appear at the court in full stockings. He did not possess any, and it was a Hindu who provided him with the same. He comments, "there were a number of Muslims there and I was astonished to find an infidel show greater courtesy than they did."[43] There is no doubt that Ibn Battuta's account of the conditions in the subcontinent is that of a fair-minded and large-hearted, impartial observer. The state of the relationship between the Hindus and the Muslims, which he describes, however, shows that the situation, if anything, had worsened since the days of al-Biruni. The Hindus and the Muslims lived in separate quarters and as entirely separate communities. The Hindus maintained no

social intercourse with the Muslims by way of inter-dining or inter-marriage. They regarded the touch of the Muslims or "even the scent of their food as pollution." If an innocent child happened to eat anything of which Muslim had partaken, the Hindu elders "would beat him and compel him to eat cow's dung which according to their belief purifies."[14] Ibn Buttuta who suffered serious inconveniences from the Hindu attitude towards Muslims during his journeys in the Hindu areas, gives many instances of the treatment he received and contrasts it with the behaviour of the non-Muslims of Ceylon.

In such an atmosphere, a real *rapprochement* between the Hindus and the Muslims was impossible. A "Chinese wall" divided the two communities, in spite of the work of the saints, the Sufis and savants like Amir Khusrau. The number of people directly affected by the Sufi and mystic movements was not very large. "The number dwindled very appreciably in course of time and the two orthodox religions showed no visible sign of being seriously affected by the sudden intrusion of radical elements. They pursued their even tenor, resembling the two banks of a river, separated by the stream that flows between them. Attempts were made to build a bridge connecting the two, but ended in failure. Even if there were any temporary bridge, it collapsed in no time." Dr. Qureshi says, "In the political and administrative sphere, in so far as the Bhakti movement strengthened the forces of conciliation between the rulers and the ruled, it rendered great service." It also made it possible to communicate the main message of Islam to the Hindu masses, but the sum-total of its achievements was limited. The efforts of the reformers ended in the rise of a few, small sects, some of which even turned against Islam. The path of sincere syncretism also ended in a blind alley. The way for Hindu-Muslim harmony was not through integration but through peaceful co-existence. The path which was followed by al-Biruni a few centuries earlier and was to be shown by Mazhar Jan-i-Janan and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, few centuries later, alone had any possibilities. It recognised the separateness of the two cultures but was also based on knowledge and understanding. Essentially it was this approach, which Mujaddid, disgusted with Akbar's ill-advised attempts at syncretism, advocated, "The Musalmans should follow their religious ways. The Quranic verse: 'For you your religion and for me my religion illustrates this."

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Book II

THE MUGHAL PERIOD

CHAPTER XIV

THE EARLY MUGHALS

CHRONOLOGY

Birth of Babur	... ...	1483
Babur's conquest of Kabul	... ...	1504
First Battle of Panipat	... ...	April 21, 1526
Babur defeats Rana Sangha	... ...	March 16, 1527
Babur's death and Humayun's accession	...	December, 1530
Humayun defeated at Chausa and Kanauj	...	1539 1540
Humayun leaves for Iran	... ...	1543
Humayun recovers the throne of Delhi	...	June, 1555
Death of Humayun	... ...	January, 1556

The Mughal Period.

There is a broad continuity in Muslim history of the subcontinent, but with the foundation of the Mughal empire in 1526 we reach a political and cultural watershed. The succeeding three centuries differ, in many important respects, from the Sultanate. For one thing the Mughal period is much better documented. There was, also, a much greater continuity in administration, as members of the same dynasty sat on the throne for more than 300 years, while Mughals also ushered in an era of a much richer cultural life. They were the first Muslim rulers of Delhi to patronise and encourage painting and music, and in the realm of architecture their monuments challenge comparison with similar activity anywhere in the world.

These features mark off the Mughal period from the earlier regime. But the differences went deeper, and extended far beyond material and visible developments. As Professor Spear has said, "the Mughal era had a personality and an ethos of its own". It was marked by a different atmosphere and breathed a different air. Partly the difference in atmosphere arose out of a greater cultural refinement. But it was even to a greater extent due to the broad, large-hearted basis on which the foundation of the Mughal system of administration was laid.

Babur (1526-1530).

Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire, was a Chughtai Turk, who claimed descent from Timur on his father's side and from Chingiz Khan on his mother's. He became the ruler of Farghana, a petty principality in Central Asia at the age of eleven. He was driven out of Farghana soon after accession and was continually engaged in a struggle thereafter to repossess himself of his ancestral kingdom. He captured Samarqand, which he claimed as it had been the capital of his ancestor Timur, but was ultimately driven out of Central Asia by the Uzbegs, and in 1504 established himself in Kabul. In 1514, after the final destruction of his hopes of reconquering Samarqand, he turned his eyes towards India, the north-western part of which had once been included in Timur's empire, but before entering on a military conquest of the Punjab, he wisely spent a number of years in consolidating his position in Kabul. In 1524 Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab, sought his help against Ibrahim Lodi, the ruling sovereign at Delhi. Babur welcomed the opportunity and marched into the Punjab, but Daulat Khan turned against him and Babur did not consider it opportune to advance further. He returned to Kabul and continued his preparations. In November 1525, he left Afghanistan and shortly thereafter occupied Lahore. He desired to conquer Delhi and in this he appears to have been encouraged by Rana Sangha and some other Indian chiefs, who thought that like his grandfather, Timur, he would pay India only a flying visit. Babur met Ibrahim at the historic battlefield of Panipat on 21st April, 1526. His army was smaller in numbers but had the advantage of a fine artillery, and the Lodi king suffered a decisive defeat. Ibrahim died on the battlefield, and Delhi and Agra fell to the victor. This was followed by the occupation of Gwalior, Kanauj, and Jaunpur. Shortly thereafter Babur had to deal with the Rajputs. The combined Rajput forces headed by Rana Sangha met him on 16 March, 1527 at Kanwaha, and in spite of the heavy odds against him and the advice of his companions to return to Kabul, he decided to take the risk and made arrangements to fight the enemy. He realised, all the same, that a supreme effort was called for, and displayed his gifts as a great leader of men in dealing with the situation. He made an inspiring speech before his troops, in which he appealed not only to their bravery, but vividly portray-

ed the eternal damnation, which would be their lot if they weakened on the battlefield of *jihad*, and the rewards in this world and the next, if they were steadfast. He also took a vow to give up drinking and appeared before his soldiers as a true leader of *jihad*. His army fought with enthusiasm and Rana Sangha's forces were routed. The place came to be known as Fathpur Sikri (Sikri, the abode of victory), in commemoration of the successful battle. Next year Babur occupied Chanderi and then turned to the Afghan chiefs in Bihar and defeated them on May 6, 1529 on the banks of the Gogra. Babur's career of triumph was, however, cut short by failing health. Next year he fell ill and died in Agra on December 26, 1530. Although Babur was successful in laying the foundation of an empire in India and was aware of its enormous resources, the cultural and social conditions there did not impress him. He started laying gardens and founding cities in his newly won empire, but he chose for himself a resting-place in Kabul, where his body was ultimately taken and buried in a beautiful garden.

Babur possessed a very attractive personality. He was not only a born leader of men, a brave soldier and a skillful general, but a man of wide culture, deeply interested in architecture, painting and literature. He wrote both prose and poetry and his *Tuzuk* or *Babur Nama* has been regarded as one of the great autobiographies of the world.

Humayun.

Humayun, who succeeded Babur at the age of twenty-three, was faced with many serious difficulties. Some of these were due to his tenderness towards his three younger brothers—Kamran, Hindal and Askari,—all of whom were constantly plotting against him. The dangers from outside were even more formidable. Babur had conquered northern India, but the country was far from settled. The Lodis and other Afghan chiefs were not reconciled to their loss of power and soon found a new leader of genius who was more than a match for Humayun. Bahadur Shah, the powerful king of Gujarat, also entertained designs of becoming supreme in northern India. Humayun was of an amiable disposition, scholarly and intelligent He had done quite well under the watchful eye of his father, but he lacked Babur's vigour and toughness, and was for the time being overwhelmed by the difficulties confronting him.

Humayun's first conflict was with Bahadur Shah, the ruler of

Gujarat, who had extended his power to Malwa and parts of Rajasthan, and had given shelter to some of Humayun's hostile relatives and leaders of Afghan resistance. In 1534-35, Humayun invaded Malwa, defeated Bahadur Shah and drove him out of his eastern possessions. He showed unusual activity at this time, and hotly pursued Bahadur into Gujarat, and distinguished himself by reckless bravery in taking the strong fortress of Champanir by assault in August, 1535. But he failed to press home the advantages he had gained. This enabled Bahadur to collect another army. In the east Sher Khan Sur became a threat to the rising Mughal power, and therefore, Humayun had to abandon the conquered territories in the west and turn his attention to the east. Here, he was far less successful. Sher Khan Sur had defeated Mahmud Shah of Bengal in 1538, but he did not oppose Humayun on his arrival and even allowed him to pass through his territory and occupy Gaur, the capital of Bengal. Humayun was charmed by the lush scenery of Bengal, gave Gaur the name of Jannatabad (the abode of Paradise), and gave himself up to pleasure. In due course the monsoons brought torrential rain, and epidemics spread in the Mughal army. Humayun started withdrawing towards Agra, but now Sher Khan Sur blocked his communications and defeated him at Chausa (1539). The Mughal army was completely routed, all the imperial household and treasures falling into Sher Khan's hands. Humayun saved his life by crossing the river on a waterskin lent by a water-carrier, whom he rewarded years later by sharing the throne with him for one day. In May, 1540, the armies of the Mughals and the Afghans once more met at Kanauj, but as Mirza Haider, the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and an eye-witness of the battle recorded the Mughal army was so much demoralised that on Sher Khan's advance they broke into a panic, and Humayun's last chance of making a stand against the bold Afghans was gone. He fled towards Rajputana and Sind, and at one time turned towards Qandhar where his brother Kamran was in power, but he received no help and had to seek refuge with the Shah of Persia. Northern India came under the sway of the Suri Afghans, and it was only fifteen years later, less than a year before his death, that Humayun was able to return and re-establish himself at Delhi and Agra.

Babur and Humayun were in the Indo-Pak subcontinent for

less than thirteen years, but their reigns have a great political and cultural significance. Apart from laying the foundations of the Mughal empire, soon to be consolidated under Akbar, they introduced a new, vigorous, and aesthetically beautiful culture into the subcontinent. Babur and his descendants are generally called Mughals (a variation of 'Mongol') but they were directly descended from Timur, a Central Asian Turk, and were only remotely connected with Chingiz Khan, the Mongol "Scourge of Asia." Babur disliked the Mongols and as Beveridge has stated, "it would make him turn in his grave to know that his dynasty was called Mongol, or Mughal, for he hated the name and the tribes who bore it" but it is too late to alter the universally accepted nomenclature. It is, however, worth remembering that the Mughal dynasty was Turkish in origin, and the cultural tradition which Babur imported into the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent was the one which, under Timur and his descendants, had flourished on the banks of the Oxus.

The Genesis of Mughal Culture.

Timur denuded India, Iran and Asia Minor of men and material to enrich his capital and "sought deliberately to make Samarqand the centre of Muslim civilisation." He attracted a large number of poets, musicians, and philosophers to his brilliant court, and built and embellished his capital in a truly magnificent style. After Timur's death in 1405, these cultural traditions were more than maintained by his descendants. One of them was Shah Rukh (1405-1447), Timur's favourite son, who had his capital at Herat, but whose kingdom included the whole of Persia. He was himself a scholar and a poet, and took special interest in keeping himself informed of the achievements of other countries. He sent well-equipped missions to China and to India, with instructions to the members that they should keep a journal in which everything noteworthy seen by them should be recorded. He was the first Timurid prince to maintain painters at his court. He was succeeded by several princes of the house of Timur, who equalled if not excelled him as patrons of learning, and under them Astarabad, Bukhara, Samarqand and Merv became great centres of art and learning. All these princes employed a large number of artists in copying or illustrating manuscripts. They included patrons of learning like Shah Rukh's two sons, Ulugh Beg, "the astronomer-king", (who ruled at Samarqand) and Baysanqar,

"one of the greatest biblophiles of the world", who was governer of Astarabad, but the prince who achieved greatest fame as patron of art and literature was Sultan Husain Mirza, who ruled Khurasan with his capital at Herat for thirty-eight years (1468-1506). He was the great-grandson of Timur's son, 'Umar Shaikh, and at his court were gathered renowned poets such as Jami and Hatifi, and historians such as Mir Khwand and his grandson Khwandamir. His talented minister Mir 'Ali Shir Niwa'i was not only a great patron of learning, but was himself a writer of distinction. Towering above all this brilliant gathering was the famous painter Bihzad, usually called the "Raphael of the East". Not only was Bihzad a great artist himself, but he had a large number of pupils and followers who carried on his tradition. His great speciality was in portraiture, and "it was in the subject of portraiture, one of the most striking developments of the Mughal era, that the Indian School shows its closest affinity with the productions of Husain's protege". In 1506, Sultan Husain died and Bihzad entered the service of Shah Isma'il, the founder of Safavid dynasty in Persia, and Timuri tradition merged into that of the Safavids.

This was the atmosphere in which Babur grew up. He was on friendly terms with Sultan Husain, (who summoned him for help against the Uzbegs), and was acquainted with the cultural activities carried on by other Timurid princes in Central Asia. He held these traditions dear, and was disappointed when on arrival he found conditions completely different. His description of what he was, although one-sided and based on incomplete information, is worth quoting as giving the reactions of one accustomed to the refinement and elegance of Herat and Samarqand. He wrote :

> "Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-

> melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick. Instead of a candle and torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows, whom they call *divatis*, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the top of a candlestick; they fasten a pliant wick, of the size of the middle finger, by an iron pin, to another of the legs. In their right hand they hold a gourd, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these *divatis*. This is the way in which they supply the want of candles and candlesticks. If their emperors or chief nobility, at any time, have occasion for a light by night, these filthy *divatis* bring in their lamp, which they carry up to their master, and there stand holding it close by his side."

Babur attempted to transplant into his new kingdom the amenities and the gracious life which he missed, but he did not live very long. His work was, however, continued by his descendants, under whom Agra, Lahore and Delhi became worthy successors of Samarqand and Herat.

His successor Humayun may not rank high as a general or as a ruler, but he played an important role in the cultural history of the subcontinent. Persian culture from his reign had a far greater influence in moulding Indian Muslim civilisation than at any previous period of Indian history. He spent almost fifteen years in wandering beyond the frontier, and was for a whole year at the court of Shah Tahmasp, under whose patronage the Safavid school of painting had come into existence at Tabrez and Shiraz. At Tabrez, Humayun met Mir Sayyid 'Ali, whose father was a pupil of Bihzad, and who himself followed the same tradition, and Khwaja 'Abdus Samad, another rising artist. To both these young and promising artists Humayun seems to have held out prospects of employment, when he was in a position to maintain a court of his own, and in 1550 both of them joined him at

Kabul, which he had occupied prior to his re-conquest of India. Humayun entrusted the two artists with various commissions including the illustration of the famous Persian classic, *Dastan-i-Amir Hamza,* of which portions have luckily survived. Both of them accompanied Humayun to Agra, and were later retained by Akbar as his court painters. They formed the nucleus around which the Mughal School of Painting grew, and by training local talent and attracting others from abroad a school of painting was established, which was to shed lustre on Mughal rule.

It is interesting to recall that *Nasta'liq* script in which Urdu and Persian are normally written in the Indian subcontinent was developed about the same time. Its earliest master was Khwaja Mir 'Ali Tabrezi, who was a contemporary of Timur. There may have been some earlier writing in this script but it was he who laid down its principles and rules. Later the script was improved by the caligraphists of Herat and Meshhed. All the four sons of Timur were excellent caligraphists, and Babur himself was specially interested in the art. With Babur and Humayun *Nasta'liq* gained popularity in the subcontinent and replaced *Naskh,* the earlier script.

This was the genesis of the Mughal culture, as introduced by Babur and Humayun. To this Perso-Turkish basis, Akbar added other elements like the Indo-Muslim music, Hindu philosophy and Hindi literature which had received very little official support during the heyday of the Sultanate, but which had flourished in the regional kingdoms. The intellectual and philosophical basis of the new cultural life was provided during Akbar's reign by the immigrants who brought the fruits of the contemporary intellectual activity in Iran and Central Asia. Muslim East was not to produce another Avicenna or al-Biruni, but after the effects of the Mongol holocaust had blown over, there was a revival of learning. On a smaller scale men like Dawwani, Hakim Sadra and Mir Ghiyas-ud-din Mansur filled the gap, and the fifteenth century saw a new era of intellectual activity in Shiraz and other centres of Iran. Akbar reaped the fruits of this minor intellectual renaissance. He attracted to his court Mir Fathulla Shirazi and several other intellectuals of Iran, who transplanted the new traditions to the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Their efforts were augmented by logicians and intellectuals, whom 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg had exiled from Transoxiana, and who found a refuge in India.

With this broadened basis, the Mughal culture assumed a pattern, which left a permanent mark not only on the cultural life of the Indian Muslims but of the entire subcontinent.

Movements of Population on the Frontier.

When Babur was laying the foundation of the Mughal Empire, developments were taking place in the north-west which were later to alter the demography of the area and also to pose many a problem for Babur's successors. The final picture of the history of the Pathans has not yet emerged. Presumably they have been in occupation of some of their present areas—*e g*. Gandhara—since ancient times, but it is also certain that in the fifteenth century large-scale immigration of Pathans, particularly Yusufzais, took place into many other areas now occupied by them. According to the Yusufzais, they were originally settled in the neighbourhood of Qandhar and slowly made their way to the Peshawar valley, by way of Kabul. Their rivals, the Khalils and the Mohmands are also said to have come from the same neighbourhood, north of Qandhar. Many other tribes moved about the same time and after sanguinary conflicts and a process of gradual tribal displacement occupied their present position on the frontier.

Babur, who had a Yusufzai wife (Mubarakah), and spent much time in the area preparing a dependable base for his operations in Hindustan, refers to 'Bajaur', 'Swat', 'Peshawar' and 'Hashtnagar' in his autobiography, and states that the area "had now been entirely occupied by Afghan tribes and was no longer the seat of the government."

The other important development in the area was the land settlement associated with the venerated Shaikh Malli. He was the Chief Mulla of the Mandaur tribe, and after taking into account various factors and occupation of lands by various tribes, he made a settlement, which remains up to the present day, the basis of tribal land tenure all over the country north of the Kabul River. There was much activity in the Afghan areas at this time. An Afghan dynasty—the Lodi—was on the throne of Delhi and Bahlul, its founder, had taken special steps to attract Pathan immigrants from the land of Roh. This led to the migration of a large number of Pathan families to India. Other factors also helped this process. For example, Khweshgis have a tradition that they came from Peshawar with Babur's army and were

granted lands in the Central Punjab as a reward for co-operation with the Mughal emperor.

The Baluchs also moved to the east about this time. When Sher Shah expelled Humayun and came to Khushab towards the end of 1540, he was met not only by thousands of Pathan tribesmen of Roh, but also received a visit from the Baluch chiefs, Isma'il Khan, Fath Khan and Ghazi Khan, the three founders of Dera Isma'il Khan, Dera Fath Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan, collectively known as the Derajat.

CHAPTER XV

THE SUR DYNASTY

CHRONOLOGY

Birth of Mahdi Jaunpuri.	1443
Birth of Sher Shah.	1489
Death of Mahdi Jaunpuri.	1505
Sher Shah proclaims himself emperor.	1539
Humayun defeated at Kanauj.	May, 1540
Sher Shah's death.	1545
Islam Shah Sur.	1545-1554
Humayun's re-conquest of Delhi.	June, 1555

Sher Shah (1539-1545).

Sher Khan Suri, who proclaimed himself emperor under the title of Sher Shah 'Adil after his victory at Chausa (1539), was the son of a petty Afghan *jagirdar* in Bihar. He was ill-treated by his stepmother, and left at an early age for Jaunpur, where he applied himself to serious study. He soon acquired a good command of Arabic and Persian, and knew the Persian classics, *Gulistan, Bostan* and *Sikandar Nama* by heart. He was especially interested in history, and was fond of reading the accounts of great rulers of the past. Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* was one of his favourites. He displayed such ability at Jaunpur that his father had to show greater interest in his neglected son, and entrusted him with the administration of his *jagir*. Sher Khan, who was originally known as Farid, managed the *jagir* very well, but the enmity of his stepmother once again drove him away. Now he took service with the governor of Bihar, and impressed his master by his talents. He later joined Babur and was rewarded for this by the grant of his father's *jagir*, but he was not impressed by Mughal valour and military organisation, and took advantage of the disturbed conditions to gain supremacy in Bihar. This, however, did not satisfy him and by the end of February, 1536, he appeared at the gates of Gaur, the capital of

Bengal, and returned after receiving a large payment from the local ruler. Next year he again marched eastwards and entered Gaur in triumph, but on the return of Humayun from Gujarat, withdrew towards Bihar, and fought against the Mughals in the area he knew best. The manner in which he chased Humayun out of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has been outlined earlier.

Sher Shah was on the throne of Delhi for not more than five years, but his brief reign is a landmark in the history of the subcontinent. After driving Humayun into exile, Sher Shah quickly conquered Malwa, Sind, Marwar, and Mewar. He subjugated the country of the turbulent Gakkhars in the north-west Punjab and built a strong line of the fortifications to guard against an attack by the Mughals. Sher Shah was killed by an explosion of gunpowder in 1545, while laying siege to the stone fort of Kalinjar.

Sher Shah's Administrative Reforms.

Sher Shah's reign is like a bridge between the Sultanate and the Mughal rule. His deep knowledge of earlier history and practical experience of the working of the system evolved by the Delhi sultans enabled him to pick out what was good in the system, to improve upon it and by making many brilliant new additions, to pave the way for the final phase of Muslim administration under Akbar and the later Mughals. Professor Qanungo, in his study of Sher Shah, has referred to a number of administrative reforms which were originally introduced by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji (like the creation of a powerful standing army officered by the nobles of the Sultan's choice, use of *jarib* for survey and assessment, and introduction of *Dak Chauki*). Sher Shah improved on these and left them to his successors in a more organised and efficient form. Even the basis for his revenue system was provided by earlier experience, and in the Tughluq regime we come across titles of many officials and administrative divisions, popularly associated with Sher Shah. He, however, introduced improvements, and was lucky to have a record of his re-organisation better preserved than was the case with the administrative arrangements of Balban, 'Ala-ud-din Khalji and Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq.

Sher Shah preserved what was sound in the earlier system, but he made major additions and improvements to the earlier

arrangements. For example, the Khokhars in the Northern Punjab had been a constant menace during the Sultanate, and had never, for any length of time, been under the control of Delhi. The proximity of the area of Kabul, now under Mughal sway increased its dangers for Sher Shah, but within his brief reign, he found time to deal effectively with the problem. The keystone of the defences in this area was a magnificent fort which Sher Shah built to the west of the Jhelum river, and named *Rohtas-i-Nau* (the New Rohtas) after his favourite fort in Bihar. The construction of the fort was entrusted to a competent Hindu officer, Todar Mal, and when the Khokhars made a vow amongst themselves not to provide labour for the construction of the fort, Sher Shah asked Todar Mal to push through the project, regardless of expenses. Todar Mal was able to recruit labour by offering phenomenal wages, and when the original boycott broke down, reduced the scale of payment. Sher Shah's ablest general, Haibat Khan Niazi, was placed in charge of the area.

Sher Shah also applied his vigorous mind to administrative problems in Bengal, which had been in a state of chronic revolt under the Sultanate. 'Ala-ud-din Khalji had shown the way by dividing the unwieldy province, which during his reign included Bihar and parts of Orissa and was extensive enough to be a kingdom, into three provinces, but Sher Shah went much further. He reduced the unwieldy bulk of Bengal, and instead of placing the whole province under one military governor, created several smaller governorships. To preserve the administrative unity of the whole area, he appointed Qazi Fazilat as the head of the province, but he had very little executive authority and bore the title of *Amin-i-Bengala* (Trustee for Bengal) and not *Hakim-i-Bengala* (the Viceroy of Bengal).

The principal reforms for which Sher Shah is remembered are those connected with land revenue administration. The agency which he built up, and which with further improvements under Akbar and the British continue to the present day fulfils many functions. It is entrusted with the recovery of government dues and collection of data regarding the villages, the holdings of the cultivators, and their general economic position. In this Sher Shah drew on the past, and his own experience of the detailed administration of a *pargana* of his father's *jagir* was a great help, and he was able to evolve a system of which many

features were adopted by Akbar. The main improvement which he effected in the system of land revenue was that instead of relying on the method of estimation, the method of measurement was introduced. The cultivated land was measured every year, and one-third or one-fourth of the average produce of good, middling and bad lands was taken as land revenue.

Closely linked up with the principle of revenue assessment was the question of the units of local administration. The smallest administrative unit was a *pargana i.e.*, a group of villages. To each *pargana* Sher Shah appointed an *amin* responsible for the general administration, a *shiqdar*, who supervised the assessment and collection of the revenue, a treasurer and two clerks to keep accounts, one in Persian and the other in Hindi. The next unit was a *sarkar*, or a revenue district, which had a chief *shiqdar* and a chief *munsif*, "whose duty it was to see that the revenue was collected in full, but that the cultivators were not oppressed."

An important feature of the system was Sher Shah's emphasis on fair dealing with the peasants, and recognition of the fact that the interests of the ruler and the ruled were basically identical. He tried to secure this not only by issue of specific orders, but the designations of officers like *amin* and *munsif* in revenue administration were significant, and underlined the policy which these officers were to follow in the discharge of their duties.

Sher Shah is also remembered for his roads. He devoted special attention to the expansion of trade, and to facilitate this (as well as for strategic reasons) linked up various parts of his empire by an efficient system of roads. Of his four great roads, one connected Sonargaon (near modern Dacca) in Bengal, through Agra, Delhi and Lahore, with the Indus; others connected Agra and Mandu, Agra Jodhpur and Chitor, and Lahore and Multan. Fruit trees were planted on both sides of the roads and at short intervals caravansarais were set up with separate lodgings for the Muslims and the Hindus, and servants to supply food to the travellers of each religion. The safety of the highways was ensured by penalising the officials of the adjacent villages for incidents on the roads passing through their areas. Internal trade was also facilitated by the abolition of vexatious tolls. Sher Shah made a clean sweep of all internal customs, and allowed the levy of duties only on the frontier

or the place of sale within the empire.

Sher Shah was a pious and orthodox Muslim, but he treated all his subjects alike. The Hindus held high positions in his army and Todar Mal, who later gained renown under Akbar, was originally in his service. One of his best known generals was Brahmajit Gaur, whom he sent in pursuit of Humayun, and Raja Ram Singh of Gwalior is also said to have been in his service. His army included a contingent of Rajputs.

Islam Shah Sur (1545-1554).

Islam Shah, who succeeded Sher Shah, was on the throne from 1545 to 1554, and made an effort to preserve the institutions of his father. He kept the fortifications in good repair, increased the number of caravansarais and ordered the compilation of a detailed Book of Government Regulations, extracts from which were read every Friday in meetings of government officials of each *sarkar*. He was, however, unable to keep rebellious nobles in check and his reign did not see any expansion of territory.

Mahadawiya Movement: Persecution of Shaikh 'Ala'i and Shaikh Niazi.

Islam Shah's reign was also marked by religious unrest amongst Muslims which added to confusion and disorder. At this time the millennium of the migration of the Holy Prophet from Mecca was approaching, and many people believed that the appearance of a Mahdi who was to convert the whole world to Islam and to fill the earth with equity and justice, was about to take place. Sayyid Muhammad (1443-1505), a leading scholar and saint of Jaunpur, encouraged this expectation and later in 1495, claimed to be the Mahdi. Those who accepted his claims and followed his injunctions were known as Mahadawis. After an active career during which he visited Mecca for Hajj, and in the course of his journeys impressed many rulers and scholars with his sincerity, Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri died at Farah (now in Afghanistan) in April 1505, but his doctrines were kept alive. In Sher Shah's reign Shaikh 'Ala'i, son of a leading religious teacher of Bengal, made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and on his return established himself at Bayana, where he came under the influence of Shaikh 'Abdullah Niazi, an Afghan follower of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri. The two leaders confined their preaching, marked by rigid puritanism and asceticism, to the poor, and in fact, the Mahadawiya movement had an economic basis. They kept no

property or means of livelihood and encouraged others to do the same. They admonished everyone who committed unlawful or irreligious acts. They and their followers kept themselves armed and permitted no interference with their actions by officials. This defiance of the authorities brought them into conflict with the established government. In particular, Maulana 'Abdullah of Sultanpur, entitled Makhdum-ul-Mulk, who held the office of *Sadr-us-Sudur*, took strong objection to the new cult and used his influence with Islam Shah to punish those who believed in its doctrines. Shaikh 'Ala'i was a pious and sincere person, and his preachings impressed many powerful and important personalities. Amongst those whom he converted at one time or another were the governors of Khwaspur (in Rajputana) and Handiya (on the banks of the river Narbada), and Shaikh Mubarak of Nagaur, the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi. Makhdum-ul-Mulk, however, was tireless in opposing the new doctrines, and the rudeness of Shaikh 'Ala'i and Shaikh 'Abdullah in the royal court facilitated his task. Shaikh 'Abdullah refused to salute Islam Shah when he appeared at his court and Shaikh 'Ala'i who had appeared at the court earlier with a large band of ragged and shabbily clothed armed followers exhibited similar indifference and want of tact. On this Shaikh 'Abdullah was so severely flogged that he died, but recovered from his injuries and after wandering for some time, settled at Sirhind, where he renounced the Mahadawi creed, became an orthodox teacher and in 1592 died at the advanced age of 90. The king who was not happy at the course advised by Makhdum-ul-Mulk referred the case of Shaikh 'Ala'i to a leading scholar in Bihar, who was unwilling to condemn the Shaikh but whose sons wrote a letter in his name recommending that the advice of Makhdum-ul-Mulk, "the most distinguished jurist of the day" should be followed. The Shaikh was given an opportunity to recant but he refused and was handed over to Makhdum-ul-Mulk who sentenced him to flogging. He was, however, so ill and weak that at the third cut he breathed his last (1548).

The Mahadawi movement gradually lost its importance in Northern India, but it flourished longer in the south and the Mahadawi doctrines have been held by some important persons in Hyderabad Deccan (including the late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang). Even in Northern India, the struggle which it

generated and the conflict which ensued between Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Mubarak had their effect on the religious history of Akbar's day.

Islam Shah's death took place in 1554, and after a disputed succession Muhammad 'Adil Shah assumed sovereignty. He was a worthless ruler and the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of his able Hindu minister, Himu. Revolts, however, broke out and two other princes of the Sur family set up themselves as kings in Northern India. "The authority of 'Adil Shah extended over Agra and Malwa and as far east as Jaunpur ; that of Sikandar Shah from Delhi to Rohtas in the Punjab and that of Ibrahim Shah from the foot of the Himalayas to Gujarat in the Punjab." This confusion gave Humayun, who had established himself at Kabul, the opportunity for which he was waiting. He invaded India and after the defeat of Sikandar near Sirhind, entered Delhi on July 23, 1555, thus bringing to an end the short-lived but memorable rule of the Sur dynasty. Humayun, however, did not long enjoy his triumph, as six months later he fell down the stairs of his library at Delhi and died as a result of his injuries.

CHAPTER XVI

AKBAR, THE CONQUEROR AND RULER

CHRONOLOGY

Akbar born at Umarkot (West Pakistan).	November 23, 1542
Enthronement of Akbar.	February 14, 1556
Second Battle of Panipat.	1556
Early Conquests.	1564-1576 Gondwana (1564) Chitor (1568) Gujarat (1572-73) Bengal (1575-76)
Building of Fathpur Sikri.	1569-76
Rebellion in Bengal and Bihar.	1580
Akbar marches against Hakim.	1581
Akbar resident at Lahore.	1585-1598
Expansion in the north-west.	1586-1595 Kashmir (1586) Southern Sind (1591) Baluchistan (1594) Qandhar (1595)
Fort of Ahmadnagar stormed.	1600
Death of Akbar.	October 27, 1605

Initial Problems.

Akbar was born in November, 1542 and was a little more than thirteen, when on the sudden death of his father, he ascended the throne on February 14, 1556. The boy-king was faced with even bigger difficulties than those which had confronted his father or grandfather. After his wanderings beyond the border for fourteen long years, Humayun was in the country for barely eight months when death overtook him, and the Mughal rule was left very insecure. It was confined to the Punjab, Delhi and Agra. "The Kabul territory, administered in the name of Akbar's younger brother, was practically independent. Bengal, usually under the rule of Afghan chiefs, had been independent for more than two centuries ; the Rajput clans of Rajasthan had recovered from the defeat in-

flicted by Babur and enjoyed unchallenged possession of their castles ; Malwa and Gujarat had thrown off allegiance to Delhi long ago ; the wild regions of Gondwana, the modern Central Provinces, obeyed only their local chieftains who recognised no sovereign lord ; and Orissa acknowledged no master. Farther south, the Deccan States of Khandesh, Berar, Bidar, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur were governed by their own Sultans, to whom the name of Padshah of Delhi was a matter of absolute indifference. The far south, that is to say, the peninsula from the Krishna (Kistna) and Tungabhadra rivers to Cape Comorin, was held firmly in the grasp of the sovereigns of Vijayanagar, then at the zenith of their power, who ruled a realm so wide as to deserve fairly the name of an empire. Goa and several other ports on the western coast were strongly occupied by the Portuguese whose ships held command of the Arabian Sea.

"In the north, the border states of Kashmir, Sind, and Balochistan, with many others, enjoyed perfect freedom from all superior control."[1]

Soon the Surs recovered Delhi and Agra, and the young Akbar was left only with the Punjab. But he had a great asset in the person of his regent, Bairam Khan, who was "one of the best and most faithful soldiers of the time", and had been Humayun's friend, philosopher and guide in the days of adversity. He guided Akbar's footsteps in the early days and was in fact the ruler of the realm during the first four years of the new reign. He was in command of the Mughal army which defeated Himu, the commander-in-chief of the Surs, at Panipat on November 5, 1556, and he led the vigorous pursuit of the enemy which ended in the capture of Delhi and Agra.

The young king spent his time in hunting, elephant fights and other youthful pursuits, while the Regent administered and extended the kingdom. He reduced the stone fortress of Gwalior, annexed the rich province of Jaunpur and was planning operations for the conquest of Malwa when, in 1560, events brought about his downfall. Bairam Khan had become overbearing and his appointment of a Shi'a to the key ecclesiastical appointment of *Sadr-us-Sudur* offended the Sunni nobles and members of the royal family. The young emperor also, on entering his eighteenth year, felt that the time had come when he could take

the reins of government into his own hands. His foster mother, Maham Anaga, and other relations, fanned the flames of the royal ambition and the king decided to dispense with the services of the great minister. Akbar sent a suitably worded message to Bairam and fixed a *jagir* for him, but Bairam Khan, after a half-hearted show of defiance, left for Mecca, and was murdered on the way by a man who bore him a personal grudge. The king married the Regent's widow and brought up his infant son 'Abdur Rahim, who rose to be Khan Khanan like his father, under his own protection.

The next few years have been called the period of "petticoat government", when Akbar's foster mother and other relations were supreme. This also came to an end in 1562 when Akbar was so enraged at the repeated excesses and cruelty of his foster brother, Adham Khan, that when he and his companions murdered Akbar's principal minister, Akbar had Adham Khan thrown from the palace terrace. Maham Anaga did not long survive her son's death, and henceforth the emperor was master of his own affairs.

Conquests.

Meanwhile some of the features for which Akbar's reign was to be famous were becoming manifest. A period of vigorous conquest had started under Bairam Khan, and the process was kept up when in 1560 an expedition was sent to Malwa under the command of Adham Khan and Pir Muhammad. The royal generals were successful, but their victory was marred by such savage cruelty that Akbar had to take action against Adham Khan. The first of Akbar's alliances with the Rajputs took place early in 1562 and was a landmark in the development of Akbar's religious policy. In 1564 he abolished the *Jatra*-tax, earning the gratitude of the Hindu pilgrims, who visited numerous *tiraths* (places of pilgrimage) in the Mughal empire. Next year he took a more important step, namely the abolition of the *jizya*, which helped him in gaining the loyalty and support of his Hindu subjects. There is no evidence that *jizya* was normally levied during the Sultanate and the amount involved was not large, but remission of a tax is always welcome. Its abolition was warmly welcomed by the Hindus, and does not seem to have offended the Muslim jurists, who were so far influential at the court.

The next year was marked by another development, which further freed the emperor to pursue his policies. Khan Zaman 'Ali Quli Khan, the leader of the Uzbeg nobles, had rendered services to the Emperor second only to those of Bairam Khan, but he and his party were unhappy about Akbar's administrative policy. The Uzbegs disliked the "Persianised ways" of the Mughal court and were equally opposed to the Emperor's policy of centralisation. They desired the royal authority to be confined to the vicinity of Delhi, leaving the feudatories a free hand in their territories. This was contrary to Akbar's policy. "A centralised rule as Akbar desired and the feudal aristocracy such as that of which Khan Zaman was the representative could not co-exist." The matter came to a head in 1565, but the Uzbeg nobles were not finally crushed until June, 1567, when 'Ali Quli Khan was killed on the battlefield.

All initial hurdles to the young Emperor's freedom of action had now been passed, and he embarked on a remarkable career of conquest which, with a short break, continued almost until his death. Akbar had conquered Gondwana in 1564. In 1567, he reduced the fortress of Ranthambhor, and this was soon followed by the surrender of Kalinjar. Gujarat was annexed in 1573.

Bengal.

Akbar now turned his attention to Bengal, which since the days of Sher Shah had become "the happy hunting ground" of the Afghan adventurers driven away by the Mughals from the north-west. In 1574 Tanda, the then capital of Bengal, was occupied by Mun'im Khan, but the Mughal conquest of Bengal was not completed for some years. After occupying Ghoraghat (in modern Rangpur district), Satgaon and Burdawan, the Mughal forces faced the Afghans in the fateful battle of Tukaroi (March 5, 1575), in which Da'ud Khan, the Afghan ruler of Bengal was defeated. He made his submission before the Mughal commander, sent hostages to Akbar's court, and was allowed to retain parts of Orissa. Mun'im Khan, shortly thereafter, moved his headquarters to Gaur, the ancient capital of Bengal, but the place was soon visited by such a devastating pestilence that the greater part of the population, many Mughal officers and a large number of troops lost their lives. The ancient capital was now deserted for ever and Mun'im Khan returned to Tanda, but died shortly thereafter (October 1575). Da'ud Khan, profiting by this turn of

events, reasserted himself, and the remnant of the Mughal army had to withdraw to Bihar. Khan Jahan Husain Quli Beg was entrusted with the reconquest of Bengal, and by July, 1576, was able to occupy Tanda and send the head of Da'ud "the treaty-breaker" to Fathpur Sikri. Bengal was now incorporated in the Mughal dominions, but in 1580 a large section of Mughal officers and soldiers in Bihar and Bengal revolted, partly on account of the new measures introduced by Akbar for the resumption of unauthorised alienations of land and for controlling false musters by the branding of horses, and partly on account of disaffection caused by reports regarding Akbar's religious views. Khan A'zam quelled the rebellion in Bengal, but he soon left the province (May, 1583). The Afghans took advantage of this confusion, and in Orissa their power revived under Qutb Lohani. In 1590, Man Singh was sent as governor, and though he was able to defeat the Afghans in Orissa, Sulaiman and 'Usman, the surviving nephews of Qutb Lohani, moved over to East Bengal and joined hands with 'Isa Khan Masnad-i-A'la, the powerful *zamindar* of the Dacca district. 'Isa Khan died in September, 1599, but Man Singh's energetic and prolonged efforts for the consolidation of the Mughal rule were not wholly successful, and this task had to be accomplished by Islam Khan in the next reign.

North-West Frontier.

For thirteen years (1585-1598), Akbar had to remain in the north, with Lahore as his virtual capital, to deal with a threat from beyond the mountains. The Uzbegs, who had driven Babur out of his home in Central Asia, had reorganised under 'Abdullah Khan, a capable leader, and were a danger to the north-western frontier of Akbar's empire. The tribes on the border were also restless, partly on account of the hostility of Yusufzais of Bajaur and Swat, and partly owing to the activity of the Raushaniyas, Mughal forces sent against the Yusufzais met with disaster in February, 1586, in which the inept commander, Raja Birbal, lost his life and peace did not return to the frontier till 1588. The death of 'Abdullah Khan in 1598 enabled Akbar to leave Lahore, and proceed to the Deccan, but his stay in the north-west was not unfruitful. Kashmir became a part of the Mughal empire in 1586. Sind followed suit in 1591, when Mirza Jani Beg, the ruler of Thatta, after his defeat at the hands of 'Abdur Rahim,

Khan Khanan, the viceroy of Multan, became a Mughal *mansabdar* and was appointed governor of his old territory. In 1594 Baluchistan, with the coastal region of Makran, was added to the empire, and in the following year Qandhar was surrendered by its Persian governor.

Deccan.

These conquests brought the whole of the north-west under Akbar's control and greatly reduced the danger from Central Asia. Akbar was, therefore, free to extend the empire in the south. In 1591, he had sent envoys to the Sultans of the Deccan asking them to recognise his suzerainty, but they refused and imperial troops were ordered to march upon Ahmadnagar. For some time the heroic defence of Chand Bibi saved the city, but in 1599, Akbar appeared in the Deccan in person and Ahmadnagar was captured. In January, 1601, the stone fortress of Asirgarh capitulated and the conquered territories of Ahmadnagar and Khandesh were organised as a province of the Mughal empire.

Death.

In May, 1601, Akbar returned to Agra, but his career of conquest was now over. His last years were troubled by unhappy relations with his son, Prince Salim, who had the royal favourite, Abul Fazl, assassinated by the robber chief, Bir Singh Bundhela. In August, 1605, Akbar fell ill and the physicians were not able to diagnose the disease properly which was even suspected to be due to a secret irritant poison, probably diamond dust. He died on Thursday, October 27, 1605.

Administrative Reorganisation.

Akbar was not only a great conqueror, but also a capable organiser and a great administrator. He was the real builder of the Mughal empire and laid down principles and formulated policies which except for occasional modifications and minor adjustments, remained not only the basis of the Mughal polity, but after elaboration, modernisation and improvement became the basis for the British administration. Vincent Smith's study of Akbar is hardly sympathetic or even impartial, but he has to admit that in several matters, Akbar's institutions provided the foundation for the system of the administration which operated in British India. After tracing the subsequent history of the working of the machine which Akbar had "constructed and set in motion", he continues, "But from the time of Warren Hastings

in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the newly constituted Anglo-Indian authorities began to grope their way back to the institutions of Akbar. They gradually adopted the principal features of his system in the important department concerned with the assessment of the land revenue, or crown share of agricultural produce, known in Indian official language as the Settlement Department. In several provinces of the existing Indian empire the principles and practice of the Settlement Department are essentially the same as those worked out by Akbar and his ministers. The structure of the bureaucratic framework of government also still shows many traces of his handiwork. His institutions, therefore, are not merely of historical and antiquarian interest, but are in some degree the foundation of the system of administration now in operation."[2] The fact that Akbar's institutions formed the basis of the British district administration has been generally recognised. Stanley Lane-poole, writing in 1903, stated in the introduction to his *Medieval India*, "English Collector-Magistrates follow much the same system, in essential outline, as that which Akbar adopted............"

Main features of the Mughal administration will be dealt with in a separate chapter, but a few principles of policy, which are particularly associated with Akbar may be mentioned here.

Akbar is often considered the first Muslim ruler to have employed the Hindus in positions of responsibility. This is not correct. Even Mahmud of Ghazni about whose iconoclastic activities so much has been written, had a strong contingent of Indian troops under Indian officers and some of them were amongst the senior most generals of the Ghaznavid army. Earlier, Muhammad bin Qasim, the Arab governor of Sind, had entrusted the administration of the territory to local officers. It is true that the Turkish Sultans of Delhi, with a highly developed class-consciousness, were generally opposed entrusting high offices to anybody except a Turk, and the bitterness resulting from the Muslim conquest of the heart of Hindustan created an atmosphere different from that prevailing under the Arabs in Sind and early Ghaznavids in the Punjab. Muslims were universally referred to as *Mlechhs* (unclean) by the Hindus and, to judge from a quotation in Firishta, for a long time Brahmans

were reluctant to accept service under Muslim rulers. Writing about Gangu, the prime minister of the first Bahmani ruler of Deccan, he says ; "It is generally held that before him the Brahmins would not accept jobs under Muslim rulers, and by engaging themselves in acquisition of knowledge, particularly astrology, lived simple lives in villages, in out of way places and on the banks of rivers. Considering the service of the wordly people, particularly Muslims, as degrading, they did not accept posts and jobs, and if by chance, anybody associated with the people of position, on account of knowledge of medicine, astrology, or preaching or story-telling, he would accept rewards or *farmans*, but would not put the yoke of service round his neck. The first person, from the sect of Brahmins to accept the service of Muslim kings was Pande Gangu."[3]

The Khaljis had broadened the basis of administration by breaking the Turkish monopoly, and under them converted or half-converted Hindus obtained the highest offices of the state. Muhammad Tughluq appointed a Hindu as governor of Sind and gave important posts to others, but the main change came with Sher Shah and his descendants. Sher Shah had a number of Rajput soldiers, and at least one of his most trusted generals was a Hindu. The position changed still further under his grandson whose prime minister and commander-in-chief, Hemu, was a Hindu. In fact, referring "to the ascendency of Hemu and his lieutenants like Ramya and Bhagwan Das foreshadowing the future eminence of Raja Man Singh and Todar Mal", a modern Hindu historian says that "it would be no exaggeration to say that but for the reign of Sur Kings there would have been no age of Akbar."[4] Thus before Akbar came to the throne, the tradition of employing Hindus in the highest positions was already established.

One practical difficulty in the large-scale employment of the Hindus was the language. The court language of the Muslim government was Persian, which Hindu administrative classes were at first reluctant to learn. The Brahman opposition to the cultivation of regional languages (like Bengali) is well-known and their attitude towards the language of the *Mlechhs* can be easily imagined. But by the time Akbar came to the throne, this difficulty had also been overcome. Under the Lodis, when the strength of central government was re-established after

the chaos which overtook it following the death of Firuz Shah and it became evident that Muslim rule had come to stay, the Hindus and even Brahmans started learning Persian.[5]

Thus by Akbar's time all the traditional and practical obstacles to the large-scale employment of the Hindus had been removed. Akbar took full advantage of this situation, boldy enunciated the principle of *Sulh-i-Kul* – universal tolerance, or rather Peace with All—and made it a pivot of his state policy. He broadened the basis of administration and entrusted highest positions to Rajputs and Hindu revenue officers like Todar Mal.

The detailed measures which Akbar took to build up an efficient system of administration are no less indicative of a great constructive genius. He adopted what was vital in Sher Shah's administrative system and greatly increased its effectiveness. He insisted on maintaining a high level of administration, and to ensure this, drew on talent from all available sources—the Mughals, the Uzbegs, the Rajputs and other Hindus like Raja Todar Mal, and of course, the Turanis and the Persians. He organised superior services on the *Mansabdari* basis and by a judicious selection of personnel, their training in different fields, and by providing suitable opportunities to them, was able to build up an efficient officers' cadre. Satisfactory arrangements for the assessment and recovery of land revenue, and their integration in the general administrative system set the patten for revenue administration which has been followed ever since. Akbar also preferred payment of cash salaries to the grant of *jagirs*. These measures, coupled with the general improvement in education and a brilliant spurt of expansion and conquest, enabled Akbar to build up an efficient administrative machinery, centralise administration and unify the country to an extent which had not been hitherto possible for any length of time.

Akbar's role in building up an enduring system of administration has been generally recognised. What is not equally well-known is that he brought the same constructive approach to other important fields of national activity. The step, which, for example, he took to build up new industries in the empire are noteworthy. Akbar took special interest in the development of indigenous industry. He was directly responsible for expansion of silk weaving at Lahore, Agra, Fathpur Sikri and in Gujarat.

He opened a number of *Karkhanas* at important centres and imported master weavers from Persia, Kashmir and Turkistan to train local artisans. He also sent envoys to the foreign countries to bring products for copying. Haji Habibullah was sent to Goa and a number of craftsmen were sent along with him to acquire the arts of the Europeans. Akbar took so much interest in indigenous handicrafts and industry that he would frequently visit the workshop near the palace and sit and relax while watching the artisans at work. This naturally encouraged the craftsmen and their status was raised in the eyes of others. Akbar went further in his efforts to build up various industries, like shawl and carpet weaving. "In order to foster a demand for such goods, Akbar ordered the people of certain ranks to wear particular kinds of locally woven coverings – an order which resulted in the establishment of a large number of shawl manufactories in Lahore ; and inducements were offered to foreign carpet-weavers to settle in Agra, Fathpur Sikri and Lahore, and manufacture carpets to compete with those imported from Persia." On a varying scale the personal interest and encouragement of the emperor was available to the workers in other fields also—like the painters and the translators. Akbar even enjoyed giving a helping hand to the masons building Fathpur Sikri and, at times, would carry stones with them. An eye-witness remarked on his amazing diversity of interests, "At one time he would be deeply immersed in state affairs, or giving audience to his subjects, and the next moment he would be seen shearing camels, hewing stones, cutting wood, or hammering iron, and doing all with as much diligence as though engaged in his own particular vocation." The natural result of all this was that a healthy respect for honest work of all types was created, and there was a general raising of standards.

Another characteristic of Akbar which the foreign visitors had noted was his parsimony—Monserrate calls him "rather penurious and retentive of money." He presided over a big empire, and was a man of grand vision. His activities, inevitably involved large expenditure, but Akbar also knew the value of money. He made one major mistake—in building up Fathpur Sikri which had to be later abandoned—but normally he avoided unnecessary expenditure and concentrated on useful items. The result was that not only was he able to leave a full treasury to his

successor but there was not the same pressure of state demand on the public as became the case later.

Muslim rule produced a large number of able administrators and some of them, like 'Ala-ud-din Khalji and Sher Shah Suri, introduced administrative measures which survived them, and became a part of the country's administrative heritage. The basic pattern of government and the fundamental constitutional position, however, underwent very few changes. In earlier parts of this book, we have outlined the basis of Indo-Muslim policy as laid down by Iltutmish, and its transformation at the hands of Balban, who introduced something similar to the ancient Iranian concept of monarchy and centralised system of government. The pattern adopted by Balban became the norm for Muslim India, and was adopted by subsequent rulers, with only minor changes of policy.

Mughal Kingship.

The Mughal theory of kingship, as it emerged under Akbar, is rooted in the basic pattern laid down by Balban, but has important features of its own. In the Mughal system the king remained supreme and all powerful, but he was not an autocrat of the type symbolised by Balban. Akbar who embodied the new concept and Abul Fazl who expounded it, introduced new spiritual elements in the basis provided by Balban. The best exposition of the Mughal theory of rulership is provided by Abul Fazl in his introduction to *Ain-i-Akbari.* The first two paragraphs dealing with the need for a king—to maintain order and suppress crime and injustice—echo Balban's views on the subject, as narrated by Barani. Then Abul Fazl goes on to deal with the divine elements in kingship. "Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, and the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls it *farr-i-izidi* (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it *kiyan-i-khwarah* (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of anyone and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission."[6]

Further, Abul Fazl gives the requisite elements of Mughal kingship :—

"(1) A paternal love towards the subjects. Thousands find rest in the love of the king and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the king will

understand the spirit of the age and shape his plans accordingly.

(2) A large heart. The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment. His courage steps in. His divine firmness gives him the power of requittal, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it......

(3) A daily increasing trust in God......

(4) Prayer and devotion......"[7]

There is much that is purely rhetorical in the statement of the court historian, but the course of the Mughal history and the pronouncements of various rulers show that during Mughal rule an attempt was made to approximate to this ideal. The paternal concept of government was constantly emphasised by Akbar and his successors. The foreign travellers and observers have also pointed out that the Mughal kings "reigned rather than ruled", and were like a father to their subjects. Similarly, magnanimity of spirit, which was the second requisite of a king according to Abul Fazl, was valued highly by the Mughal rulers, and was expected from them by the public. The same applied to the other two requisites.

The important difference between Balban's concept of kingship as recorded by Barani, and Akbar's view-point as outlined by Abul Fazl, lies in the latter's emphasis on spiritual qualities and elements. All the four requisites of the ideal king as laid down by Abul Fazl have a spiritual basis.

Akbar's and Abul Fazl's views on government have been attributed to various sources. It has been stated that this view of government "was influenced by Shi'i teachings and by ideas mediated from classical Greece by Muslim philosophers."[8] Essentially these ideas were an expression of Akbar's own personal view-point, and a solution of the political problem posed by the composition of religious groups in the subcontinent. The old Islamic references to the ruler being the shadow of God (*Zill-Allah*) and the writings of Muslim philosophers (like Jalal-ud-din Dawwani) and mystics strengthened it. Abul Fazl repeatedly refers to this, and says that just as God Almighty bestows his mercy on all his creatures, irrespective of their creed, colour or race, similarly the king, "who is God's shadow on earth" should confer his favours without any distinction. This, in fact,

became a central point of Akbar's policy and was kept up by his successors, in a greater or smaller degree.

To some extent, the paternal concept of kingship was also based on the old indigenous notion of the ruler being the *Ma'i Bap* (Mother and Father) of the people, and it is not impossible that Akbar and Abul Fazl may have been influenced by Hindu political theory. According to Manu, "kings are vastly superior to other created beings, because they are made of the essence of gods."[(a)] Elsewhere he says about the kings : "They are gods in human form, and, therefore, they who wish to be prosperous, must worship the gods as they would Indra."[9] Whatever may be the sources of their inspiration, Akbar and Abul Fazl by introducing spiritual elements, transformed the very nature of kingship. Akbar's religious experiments were productive of little good, but the acceptance of the spiritual point of view by the ruler, had certain necessary practical concomittants in the administrative field. They softened the autocracy of the absolute monarch and in fact transformed its very nature. This resulted not only in a kindly and humane system of government, but also made it possible for the ruler to regard all his subjects as deserving of his personal solicitude. The Mughal *Badshah* was not primarily or even mainly, an autocratic Sultan or an *Amir-ul-Mo'minin,* but a father to all his people and a trustee for their welfare. This ideal was not always achieved, and Aurangzeb's reign was marked by deviation in some matters, but by and large the *Ma'i Bap* concept was accepted by the rulers and the ruled, and became part of the Mughal pattern of government.

Dealing with the impact of the Mughal rule on Indian society, Percival Spear has stated, "Previous dynasties had been overthrown as soon as their strength decayed and had been forgotten in a generation. Respect for the Mughals lingered on after all reasons for it had vanished and reverence for the office (continued) after all power had been lost. It still existed at the time of the Mutiny of 1857, though the effective empire had been dead nearly a hundred years. In some quarters it had not quite died by 1947."[10] Spear attributes this to the influence of the *Din-*

(*a*) Dealing with Muslim theory of kingship (as distinct from *Khilafat*), Ashraf has suggested "that perhaps ancient Persia was the common source of both Hindu and Muslim political ideas from which both of them borrowed at different intervals." (Ashraf, p. 132, Ft. Note 2.)

i-Ilahi and the veneration shown therein to the Emperor. This, however, seems to be a mis-reading of the situation, and is a result of the usual confusion of the political policy of *Sulh-i-Kul* with the religious innovations of the *Din-i-Ilahi*, although they were two distinct aspects of Akbar's activities. The impact of the Mughal rule was due to its ethical ideals and the policy of *Sulh-i-Kul* rather than due to the half-baked theories and fantastic ceremonies connected with the *Din-i-Ilahi*, which never gained general currency and were unpopular both with the Hindus and the Muslims. The Mughal rule left deep and happy memories because as pointed out by Dr. Ishwara Topa, "The new Mughal State as the creation of Akbar was above race, caste and creed. It functioned for the protection and well-being of the people. It was an active lever for their social, religious, and cultural uplift."[11]

Abul Fazl, Faizi and Shaikh Mubarak.

Akbar's success was not only due to his exceptional gifts of leadership and his ability to bring out the best in men. It was also due to the very high quality of the men who surrounded him. To some extent this was a part of his good fortune and Aurangzeb frequently regretted that persons of the kind which were available to Akbar were not to be found in his days, but mainly it was due to the efforts specially made by him to attract good people, and to train up others. Akbar had, at his court, administrators like Khan-i-A'zam, Khan Khanan, Mir Fathullah Shirazi, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Khwaja Mansur and scholars like Faizi, Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi and the historian Badauni, but the person who represents Akbar's age and policies most vividly was Abul Fazl He did not have a high *mansab*, and was only in charge of the Correspondence Office—*Daftar-ul-Insha*—,but owing to his loyalty, courtly tact, scholarship and industry, he secured a great hold over Akbar and became his "friend, philosopher and guide."

Abul Fazl who was born on January 14, 1551, came from a distinguished family of scholars who hailed originally from Sehwan in Sind. His father Shaikh Mubarak was a great scholar and a mystic, and after studying under a pupil of Jalal-ud-din Dawwani, a prominent later day philosopher and writer of Iran, settled down as a teacher at Agra. He was attracted, at that time, by the Mahadawiya movement, and was persecuted by the

court theologian, Makhdum-ul-Mulk for his non-conformist views. His two distinguished sons, Faizi the poet-laureate and Abul Fazl inherited his free thinking, and were held in great esteem by Akbar for their intellectual gifts, loyalty to the ruler, and community of views. In 1574, Abul Fazl was presented at the court and soon won the emperor's favour. He was placed in charge of the royal *Dar-ul-Insha* (Correspondence Office). Akbar's celebrated letters to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg and other rulers and to the Portuguese authorities at Goa were drafted by him.

For many years, Abul Fazl basked in the sunshine of royal favour. He was the court chronicler, drafted the emperor's letters, acted as his deputy (*Khalifa*) for training the royal disciples and was un-official royal adviser and confidant. The other courtiers naturally became envious and the fact that Abul Fazl often became the mouth-piece of Akbar's unorthodox views, gave a religious basis to this jealousy. They joined hands and found means to render him ineffective.

All the moves and counter moves in this game have not been recorded—Badauni was dead by this time—but they can be pretty clearly traced in the pages of the *Akbar Nama* and Abul Fazl's letters. The first recorded estrangement between Akbar and his favourite occurred in the middle of 1598, when Prince Salim was the instrument of the hostile group. Abul Fazl was so thoroughly absorbed in serving the emperor that he neglected showing due courtesy to others, including Prince Salim. To quote him : "He was unable to perform fully the outward service of attending upon the Prince Royal, awkward explanations were not successfull."[12] Salim became angry, and complaints were taken to Akbar, who "gave some heed (to these speeches)." On May 21, 1598, Abul Fazl was so vexed at the prevailing situation that he stopped attending the court and shut his "door in the face of both stranger and acquaintance." Akbar's summons to him to attend the court brought sulky replies, and the offer "to enter the furnace" along with his "accuser". Abul Fazl was so upset, that he says : "Sometimes I meditated my own destruction, and sometime I thought of becoming a vagabond."[13]

After a time Abul Fazl relented and started attending the court again, but soon his opponents found a way of removing him from the royal presence. He records in the *Akbar Nama* : "Inasmuch as the writer of the noble volume always held to his

own opinion without respect of persons and represented in an eloquent manner what was good for the State, those who sought an opportunity and were crooked in their ways represented their own interested views. In consequence of their intrigues I was sent off on 5th January, 1599 to bring Prince Salim & Murad (from the Deccan)."[14] After his departure from the royal court, Abul Fazl had an audience with the king when he visited the Deccan (March 20, 1600) and received occasional royal gifts, but he was never to be allowed by his enemies to set foot in the capital again.

In the spring of 1602, relations between Prince Salim and his father deteriorated, and Abul Fazl's enemies used this opportunity further to poison the prince's mind against him. "Evil minded persons represented that the aversion of his father was due to the efforts of the Shaikh, and that the latter was endeavouring to have him disgraced and distrusted. This had such an effect on the prince......that he set himself to take the life of the unique one."[15] Akbar had at this time summoned Abul Fazl from the Deccan. This gave Prince Salim his opportunity and he asked Bir Singh Bundhela, whose territory was on the way, to put an end to Abul Fazl.

Abul Fazl had only an academic knowledge of warfare, but the manner in which he met his death shows that he was a bold and courageous soldier. In fact, it was his boldness and desire to play a heroic role which cost him his life. When Bir Singh's troops were sighted, and had captured Shaikh's banner from his vanguard, his Pathan attendant [b] held up the reins of his horse, and advised him to escape ; but how could a man conscious of the grandeur of the empire which he represented, give way to fear ? According to the contemporary Hindi poem, *Bir Deo Chainta* recording the glory of the local hero Bir Singh, the Shaikh replied :—

"How can I run away ?
A warrior must die where he is molested.
Bir has taken away my horse-tail banner.
It will be a shame to run away."

The Pathan well-wisher replied, "It is also the duty of the warriors to kill their enemy before dying. You have lost the

(b) In the supplement to *Akbar Nama*, his name is given as Gadai Khan Afghan.

banner. If you escape unhurt, many such banners will be made for you." To this the Shaikh said ;

"The Emperor has full confidence in me.
How can I run away home ?
If I follow your advice after losing the banner,
What explanation shall I give to the Emperor ?
If my battle-drums are taken away from me,
What shall I beat, when I reach home ?"

When the Pathan persisted in his remonstrances, the Shaikh gave his final reply :

"You say, run away.
The enemy is thundering on all sides.
If I am killed running away,
What will people say of me ?
Both in running and fighting death is certain.
I shall run away, if I can,
But I have the fetters of honour on my feet,
And the burden of the Emperor's love on my head." (c)

Saying this, the Shaikh drew his sword, and fell upon his numerous and well-armed foes, to die bravely.

Abul Fazl's elder brother Faizi, who was also one of the *Nau Ratan*—nine jewels—of Akbar's Court, was a scholar and the poet-laureate. His writings give some indication of the intensity of the conflict which tore the hearts and minds of the intellectuals of the age. Faizi was introduced at the court of Akbar in September 1567, when he was a young man of 20.

In his love poems, he covers the common ground of Oriental poetry, with great vigour and freshness, but his favourite themes were two. One is his spiritual conflicts, and the other his exaltation and joy and the desire to create a brave new world—mirroring the hopes and ambitions of Akbar's day. In one of his *ghazals*, he writes:—

Glad tidings for the world, that a new day has dawned !
And one who rises earlier than the sun has been born.
The luckless ones of the night of separation woke up,
As an auspicious dawn beautified the world,
You who want a glimpse of the sun of good fortune.

(c) See "Bir Singh Deo and the Death of Abul Fazl as described in Contemporary Hindi Literature" by Lala Sita Ram (*Calcutta Review*, May, 1924).

Open your eyes and see, a new sun has arisen.
The wanderers of the path of *taqlid* were perplexed,
Thank God, that a guide has appeared for this caravan!
Faizi! how long can there be the dismal gloom of the
night of separation?

Some of Faizi's contemporaries accused him of heresy. It is, however, common to grant considerable licence to poets, and not to take their imaginative poetry literally. Faizi was a restless intellectual. In his verses, he expressed dissatisfaction with orthodox Islam, but in his voluminous prose commentary on the Quran, written without a single dotted word, he has completely adhered to the orthodox point of view, and his *Nal Daman* contains an exquisite poem in praise of the founder of Islam.

Abul Fazl and Faizi had fundamental differences with the conservative *ulama*, and have been accused of heresy by Badauni and others. There is, however, much solid evidence to the contrary. Abul Fazl's writings are extant and indeed formed a staple part of the curriculum of the Muslim educational institutions for centuries. They do not strike one as the work of a heretic. Faizi wrote a long commentary on the Holy Quran, in writing of which such a champion of orthodoxy as Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani collaborated. The *Tafsir* is completely free from any taint of heterodoxy, and contains a long passage on the importance of the Prophethood and the praise of the Holy Prophet.

The accusations against the religious views of Abul Fazl and Faizi may be exaggerated or even untrue, but there is no doubt that they and their father were consummate flatterers and were, at least, partly answerable for the difficulties of Islam during Akbar's reign. We have elsewhere commented on the ugly results of Akbar's ambition to set himself up as the *Jagat Guru*. There is evidence to show that this idea was originally planted in his mind by Shaikh Mubarak, the father of Faizi and Abul Fazl. When on 3rd June, 1573, Akbar returned from his conquest of Gujarat to Fathpur Sikri, Shaikh Mubarak offered his congratulations in a speech of welcome. Therein he said, according to the *Akbar Nama*, "that God hath bestowed upon us such a great boon and sublime blessing (*i.e.* Akbar)...... in order that by his (Akbar's) wide capacity and good administration of the outer world, he may become the Primate (Peshwa) of the spiritual kingdom, and it is for this purpose that such glorious victories have been unveiled".

Akbar evidently took the idea to heart as Abul Fazl records that the emperor "often called the weighty announcement to mind and referred to it with his holy lips." According to Badauni, Shaikh Mubarak drafted the Declaration of 1579, which conferred certain powers on Akbar as *Imam-i-'Adil* and signed it with greatest satisfaction, but while giving the names of the signatories, Abul Fazl omits that of his father. Was this due to the fact that Abul Fazl did not approve of the use which was made of this document? Shaikh Mubarak himself wrote *Mamba'-ul-'uyun*, a *Tafsir* of the Holy Quran, in four volumes, of which copies were sent to Iran and Turkistan. A copy of this *Tafsir* is preserved in *Kitabkhana-i-Majlis* at Teheran and according to a scholar (Dr. Ja'fri) who has seen it, does not contain any objectionable material. Abul Fazl's own real views may be judged by the fact that according to the contemporary author of *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, Abul Fazl's enemies created a rift between him and the emperor by conveying to the latter—through Prince Salim—the information that while Abul Fazl claimed to be his disciple, at home he had engaged a number of *Katibs* to transcribe the Holy Quran. Other evidence, coming from even hostile sources, (*e.g*. Badauni) shows that Abul Fazl and Faizi were large-hearted patrons of all scholars. In spite of these factors, the forces which were let loose by their family became a great threat to Islam. They proved harmful not only to the Muslim community, but to Akbar's own interests and have greatly impaired his reputation.

Fathullah Shirazi and the New Education.

Abul Fazl and Faizi have achieved a high place in the literary annals of Muslim India, but neither of them could claim to be the greatest scholar or intellectual of the age. He was Amir Fathullah Shirazi about whose pre-eminence contemporaries, as far apart as Abul Fazl and Badauni, were unanimous. Badauni calls him "the most learned of the learned men of his times", while Abul Fazl wrote: "If the books of antiquity should be lost, the Amir will restore them." Akbar was very fond of him. "Next to Abul Fazl, Faizi, Bir Bal, the Amir was perhaps most loved by Akbar."

Shah Fathullah was born in Shiraz which was witnessing a new revival of learning. His teachers included Amir Ghiyas-ud-din Mansur Shirazi, the well-known philosopher, and Jamal-ud-din Mahmud, a pupil of the celebrated Jalal-ud-din

Dawwani.[(d)] Hearing of Fathullah's reputation as a sage and an intellectual, 'Ali 'Adil Shah of Bijapur sent money to Iran and invited him to come and stay at his capital. After 'Ali 'Adil Shah's death, Akbar invited him to Fathpur Sikri. Amongst other assignments, he collaborated with Todar Mal in the evolution of Akbar's revenue administration. After some time he became the Chief Sadr of the realm. He was also responsible for some extraordinary mechanical inventions.

According to Badauni, he was "thoroughly versed in all those sciences which demand the exercise of the reasoning faculty, such as philosophy, astronomy, geometry, astrology, geomancy, arithmatic, the preparation of talismans, incantations, and mechanics, and in this department of learning, he was such an adept that he was able to draw up an astronomical table as soon as the Emperor demanded one from him. He was equally learned in Arabic studies, interpretation of the Quran and rhetoric and was the author of

(*d*) Dawwani's book *Akhlaq-i-Jalali* continues as a standard text-book on ethics in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, and his pupils and other beneficiaries played an important role in the intellectual history of the area. He was born in 1427 in the village Dawwan and became a teacher at the Orphans' College at the nearby Shiraz where he passed most of his life. He died in 1501. During his lifetime his fame spread beyond Iran and amongst those who patronised him were Sultan Mahmud Begarah of Gujarat, to whom he dedicated two books and Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din of Malwa to whom he dedicated another pamphlet. His pupils included Abul Fazl Gazruni, under whom Shaikh Mubarak, the father of Abul Fazl and Faizi, studied at Ahmadabad, and a teacher of Fathullah Shirazi.

Many of his religious works, like *Shar' 'Aqa'id*, became text-books and subject of commentaries during the Mughal period, but his most famous work is *Akhlaq-i-Jalali* which is even at present prescribed as a text-book for Munshi Fazil examination at Lahore and has been translated into English by W.F. Thomson under the rather misleading title *The Practical Philosophy of the Mohammadan People*. The book is divided into three main parts, dealing with the ethics of the individuals, the domestic state and the political state. It contains considerable elements of Greek thought and ethics, being based on Tusi's *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, which was practically a translation of *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq* of Ibn Maskawah, (which followed very closely *Tabzib-ul-Akhlaq* written by a Syrian Christian, and an epitome of Greek ethical thought) and included two appendices giving the testaments of Plato and Aristotle. Dawwani, though a theorist and a philosopher, was highly practical in his outlook. In one of his verses, he says:

At last I came to know in the light of experience.
A man is respected for knowledge, and knowledge is
respected for wealth,

some excellent works"[16]. Teaching was his favourite hobby. "He became devoted to teaching the children of the Amirs, and every day he would go to the houses of the coutiers, and would act the elementary teacher, first of all to the servant of Hakim Abdul Fath, and at another time to the son of Shaikh Abdul Fazl, and to other children of Amirs of seven or eight years of age, and taught them to point and draw straight lines and curves and even taught them the alphabet."[17] Badauni who hated the Mir for his Shi'a views criticises him for his harshness as a teacher which discouraged prospective pupils. They, however, including Mulla 'Abdus Salam of Lahore who devoted nearly sixty years to teaching and had a number of distinguished pupils, included Mulla 'Abdus Salam of Dewa who spread the system of education he had learned in the more congenial soil of *Purab* (eastern U.P. and Bihar).

Fathullah Shirazi completed Dawwani's commentary on the important work of logic, *Tahzib-ul-Mantaq*, and also wrote a *Tafsir* of the Holy Quran. His lasting contribution, however, was as an educationist. According to Mir Ghulam 'Ali Azad, "he brought the works of the later scholars of Iran, like the philosopher Dawwani, Mir Sadr-ud-din, Mir Ghiyas-ud-din Mansur and Mirza Jan and introduced them in the syllabi. Large numbers benefited from association with him, and from that period the mental sciences (*Ma'qulat*) achieved a new popularity."[18]

This was the great change in the curricula which is noticeable from the days of Akbar. Some works of the later Iranian philosophers and scholars had been introduced earlier in the days of Sikandar Lodi but apparently, they did not gain general currency. Now the fruits of the new philosophical era of Iran were introduced by someone who had studied them under the Iranian masters, and was himself the foremost intellectual of the realm and the Chief Sadr. Other factors favoured the new trends in education. In Akbar's reign, there was a general emphasis on reason, intellect and philosophy, and works on these subjects were generally encouraged.

Fathullah Shirazi was not alone in these efforts to broaden intellectual horizons. Hakim Abdul Fath Gilani who migrated to India with three distinguished brothers also wrote a commentary on *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri* and a summary of Avicenna's *Qanuncha*. Certain scholars who had been driven out of Samarqand and Bukhara by 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg also encouraged the taste for

logic and other mental sciences (*Ma'qulat*). The efforts of these scholars, Akbar's own preference for the mental sciences and the general impetus to the spread of education given in his reign, placed the new learning on a firm footing. *Ma'qulat* became so popular in the Mughal empire that when a century later educational curriculum was standardised at *Dars-i-Nizamiya,* these sciences and not the Islamic subjects like *tafsir, hadis* etc. occupied the pride of place in that syllabus. These sciences were formal in nature, and with the passage of time, the old text-books have naturally become out of date now, but their study in the Mughal period stimulated intellectual interest, facilitated mental discipline and provided the intellectual basis for the splendid Mughal cultural life.

About Fathullah it is worthwhile recording that although as an intellectual, philosopher and man of sciences, he was far superior to Abul Fazl and Faizi, professedly the great intellectuals and rationalists of the age, he remained completely immune from the religious heterodoxy generally attributed to these two brothers, and was a strict orthodox Muslim. According to Badauni : "Even in the state hall he said with the greatest composure his Shi'a prayers, a thing which no one else would have dared to do. His Majesty, therefore, put him among the class of the bigots, but connived at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments and practical knowledge".

The taste for philosophy spread very rapidly in Mughal India. In his letter, dated 30 October, 1616, Sir Thomas Roe wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "The Mohammadan Mullahs know somewhat in philosophy and the mathematics, are great astrologers and can talk of Aristotle, Euclid, Averroes and other authors".

Akbar—Conflicting Estimates.

Akbar enjoyed a high reputation during the Mughal period. When he was alive, the expression *Iqbal-i-Akbari* (Akbar's good luck), became proverbial owing to his unbroken series of victories and great achievements. His great grandson, Aurangzeb who differed from him in many things, always spoke of him with respect. His religious policy was unpopular with the Muslims even in his lifetime, but they appreciated his political and administrative ability. In *Hazrat-ul-Quds,* a well-known history of Naqshbandi saints written by a favourite disciple of Hazrat Mujaddid speaks of Akbar as *Qad-*

wat-us-Salatin (the Chosen One of the Rulers). Akbar continued to enjoy this reputation during the British period. Will Durant calls him "one of the wisest, most humane and most cultured of all the kings known to history."[19] Sir Wolseley Haig implies this when he says that some Muslim writers are at pains to prove that Akbar never ceased to be a Muslim, because they are "loth to deprive Islam of the adherence of so great a man as Akbar."[20] Admiration for Akbar was not confined to the British or the Hindu authors. Shams-ul-Ulama Azad devoted his voluminous masterpiece *Darbar-i-Akbari* to him, his institutions and his courtiers. Iqbal, in early days, wrote verses praising him. Perhaps even today, he is the best known of the Indo-Muslim rulers in the outside world.

Recently, however, not only his religious innovations but his political policy also has been subjected to severe criticism. The most thorough-going censure is from the pen of Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, who has held Akbar's policy to be the prime cause of the fall of the Muslim empire. Both in view of Dr. Qureshi's eminence as a scholar and the fact that this opinion is extensively held in Pakistan, it would be desirable to quote from him at length. Dealing with the causes of the decline of the Muslim political power,[d] Dr. Qureshi says, "The most obvious reason was that Akbar had changed the nature of the policy profoundly. The Muslims were still the dominant group in the state, but it had ceased to be a Muslim Empire. It was no longer enshrined in their affections as their main responsibility. The identity of views and interests between the community and the monarch was gone; he was no more as dependent upon their support as other sultans had been. Now the Muslims were only one of the communities in the empire which controlled the

(*d*) It is usual to date the decline of Muslim empire and the revival of Hindu military power from the beginning of the eighteenth century. A careful study will place Hindu revival much earlier. The year 1336 when Muslims were excluded from the South and Vijayanagar empire was established is a very significant date; "thenceforward on the whole Islam steadily lost ground in India till 1526, as much by the break up and mediocrity of the Delhi Empire and the rise of the Hindu States, as by Hindu religious and cultural revival". During this period Hindu power revived in Rajputana almost as much as in the extreme South. In Bengal Raja Ganesh captured power. Hindu generals and officers were becoming dominant even in Muslim kingdoms. Under 'Adil Shah Sur whom Akbar replaced at Delhi and Agra, Hemu occupied a position which no Hindu ever got under Akbar.

councils and the armed might of the state. In the beginning they saw with satisfaction and even pride that the Hindu had started 'wielding the sword of Islam'; they soon learnt that the sword would not always be wielded in the interests of Islam. Akbar had so weakened Islam through his policies that it could not be restored to its dominant position in the affairs of the state."[21] Apart from the position which the Hindus got under Akbar, Dr. Qureshi refers to what he considers the unfortunate influence of the arrival of the Shi'as from Iran. He says, "The community also lost its sense of solidarity by the importation of the Shi'as from Iran, because sectarian and group jealousies began to undermine the unity of the Muslims."[22] He elaborates this point and goes on to say, "In seeking support from dissident elements Akbar only weakened the foundations of his empire."[23]

The force of Dr. Qureshi's gravamen is partially lost by his acknowledging that Akbar only accentuated the process which was already in existence. Admitting the need for securing "the neutrality of large masses of people by looking after their interests," he remarks, "this is what the sultanate had achieved through its agrarian policies, its encouragement of trade, its employment of Hindu soldiers and officers, its creation of a class of Hindu bureaucrats and liberal treatment of Hindu vassals."[24] He also acknowledges that the liberal policy followed during the Mughal period has been its main glory. "It may be argued with great justice that Akbar set standards of liberalism unheard of in those days. This is true that the main glory of the Mughal Empire in the perspective of history is its tolerance and liberalism, if we forget that Akbar was unfair to the faith of his forefathers,"[25] but regrets that 'this liberalism was not tempered with sufficient realism."

Dr. Qureshi complains of the tensions resulting from "the thoughtless policies pursued by Akbar" but has the fairness to add; "Even if these tensions had not been created or had not of themselves arisen in course of time, the empire could not have endured very much longer. The rise of the West because of its spirit of inquiry and adventure and its progress in technology with its consequent accession to power would have sooner or later overwhelmed the Mughal Empire, which would have succumbed to European imperialism."[26]

Extensive quotations have been given from Dr. Qureshi's book to bring out his point of view. The difficulties in its acceptance may also be pointed out. For one thing, the mere fact that the Mughal empire continued to flourish not only during Akbar's long reign of 49 years but for another 100 years after his death makes it difficult to hold him responsible for what happened so many generations later. Besides, although theoretically it is correct that the sword which the Hindus had started to wield need not always have been "wielded in the interests of Islam," it is relevant to see what actually happened in practice. Akbar enlisted the co-operation of the Rajputs, who incidentally were already wielding the sword. Did they start wielding this sword against Islam and were they responsible for the fall of the Muslim empire? The historical truth is that although in Aurangzeb's reign the loyalty of the Rajputs was severely strained, they never turned against the Mughals and continued to play a constructive role even during the decline of the empire, when they joined hands with the Muslim forces to put down Banda. Even with regard to the Shi'as, Dr. Qureshi's views will raise many questions. It is true that before Shah Wali-Ullah and, later, the 'Aligarh leaders had prepared the basis for Shi'a-Sunni harmony, the sectarian differences posed problems on some occasions, particularly during the eighteenth century. But was there any planned "importation of the Shi'as from Iran"? They arrived in large numbers during the Mughal period but the process was in full swing before Akbar. When he came to the throne, Bairam Khan was the Regent and Shaikh Gadai, a Shi'a theologian, was the *Sadr* of the empire. The arrival of the Shi'as in large numbers, really took plack with the return of Humayun from Persia; but can we complain against the presence of a group which has given to Muslim India men like Ghalib, Syed Amir Ali and Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah?

It is difficult to endorse Dr. Qureshi's main thesis but there is every justification for holding the balance even and bringing out Akbar's limitations and weaknesses also. His greatest blunder, —indeed his crime—was in the religious field with which we shall deal in the next chapter. Even as a ruler he had his blind spots. The Mughal empire had to pay a very heavy price for his failure to develop a powerful navy after the Mughal conquest of the ports on the West coast and his supine acceptance of Portuguese

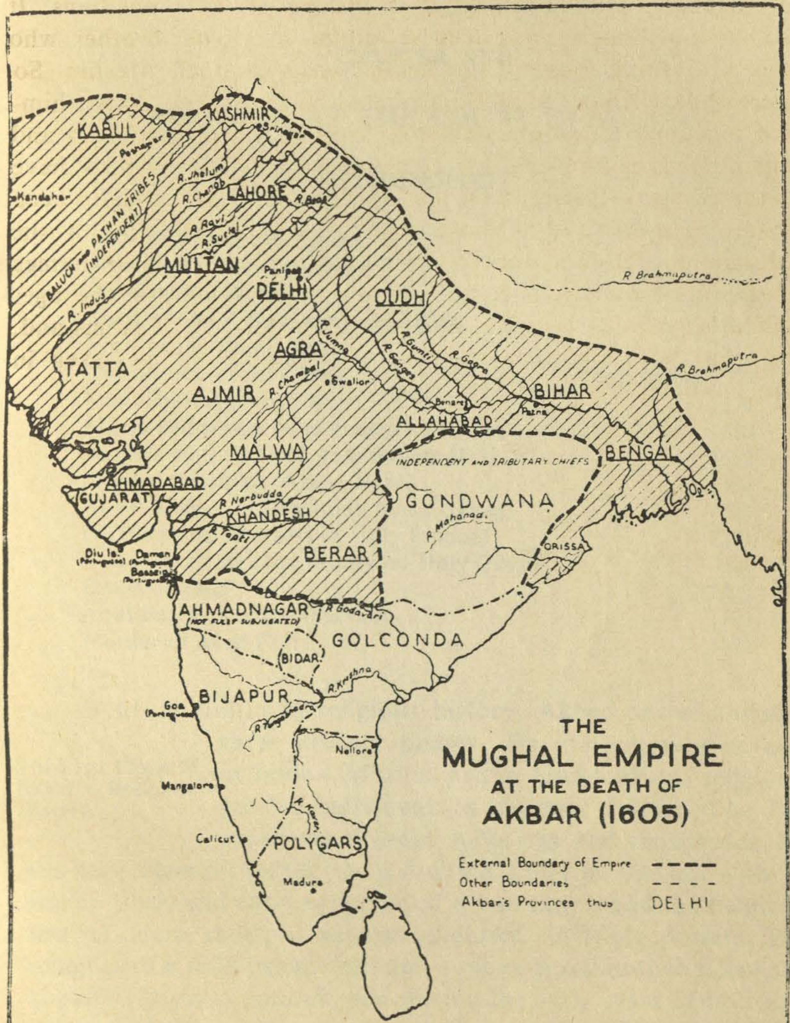
supremacy in the Arabian Sea. This was one of the major causes of the inability of the Mughals to withstand the foreigners from across the seas. Akbar was progressive and forward looking but even this was subject to many qualifications. He was greatly interested in the promotion of learning but curiously enough failed to grasp the importance of the printing press, which revolutionised the spread of knowledge in the West. It was introduced by the Portuguese during his lifetime, and in 1577, *i.e.* 28 years before his death, the first book was printed in India. Some printed books were, even, brought to his notice[27] but—possibly repelled by the crude printing of those days – he showed no interest and a great opportunity for the rapid spread of knowledge was missed. Besides, as Hodiwala points out, "Akbar prided himself on being a rationalist but he had his own superstitions and seemed to have belief not only in astrology, dreams, omens from birds and beasts, and presages from the shoulder-blades of sheep but magic and incantations".[28]

Dr. Qureshi's views, although open to certain criticism, will find many supporters in Pakistan. Conditions in Pakistan, where Muslims are in such an overwhelming majority and which is being developed as a Muslim homeland, are totally different from Akbar's India, in which Muslims formed a small minority. It is, therefore, somewhat natural that Akbar's policy may be seen here in a different light from what it appeared in Mughal India. Even then, it would appear that many ingredients of Akbar's policy of *Sulh-i-kul*, *i.e.* universal tolerance and protection under the law for all inhabitants, are enshrined in the constitution of Pakistan. No *Jizya* is imposed here and a non-Muslim holds the highest judicial office in the state. Partly this is due to the general liberalisation of political institutions in the modern world but the truth is that there can be no other policy in a multi-group society, if peace and orderly progress are to be secured.

Akbar will remain a controversial figure, but perhaps it is easy to exaggerate a ruler's importance. Akbar's age is often referred to as an age of heterodoxy, but is this correct ? At one stage Akbar introduced innovations which will be considered heterodox by many but he was not the only influential figure of his age. His was also the age of Khwaja Baqi Billah, of Mujaddid and of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis. If Abul Fazl

and Faizi represented one point of view in literature, there were Badauni and Naziri to represent the other. There was no dearth of staunch and stout-hearted Muslims in key positions. If Akbar's orthodoxy was open to doubt, his foster-brother who was also the Deputy of the Realm was a staunch Muslim. So were Qulich Khan, Shaikh Farid and many others. Akbar himself remained a devout, orthodox Muslim for several years and again towards the end, his religious vagaries seemed to have withered away. At any rate, the Muslim nobles were able to keep them in check and Khwaja Baqi Billah could write to the Mujaddid, "Do not bother about the king". It is these divines and nobles who were really effective and dominated the age. Akbar's religious vagaries, however, offended the Muslims and, this has, naturally, influenced their estimates of Akbar—even in the political field.

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KABUL
KASHMIR
Srinagar
Peshawar
Kandahar
BALUCH AND PATHAN TRIBES (INDEPENDENT)
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
LAHORE
R. Beas
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
MULTAN
Panipat
DELHI
R. Indus
OUDH
R. Brahmaputra
R. Jumna
R. Gumti
R. Ganges
R. Gogra
AGRA
TATTA
AJMIR
R. Chambal
Gwalior
BIHAR
Benares
Patna
ALLAHABAD
MALWA
INDEPENDENT AND TRIBUTARY CHIEFS
BENGAL
AHMADABAD
GUJARAT
R. Nerbudda
KHANDESH
GONDWANA
R. Mahanadi
R. Tapti
ORISSA
Diu Is. (Portuguese)
Daman (Portuguese)
Bassein (Portuguese)
BERAR
AHMADNAGAR (NOT FULLY SUBJUGATED)
R. Godavari
GOLCONDA
BIDAR
R. Krishna
BIJAPUR
Goa (Portuguese)
Nellore
Mangalore
Calicut
POLYGARS
Madura
THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AT THE DEATH OF AKBAR (1605)
External Boundary of Empire
Other Boundaries
Akbar's Provinces thus DELHI

CHAPTER XVII

RELIGION AT THE COURT OF AKBAR

CHRONOLOGY

First pilgrimage to Ajmer.	1562
Abolition of taxes on *Jatris*	1563
Abolition of *Jizya*	1564
Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi appointed *Sadr*	1565
Erection of *'Ibadat Khana*	1575
Declaration of the *Ulama*	September 1579
Last pilgrimage to Ajmer	1579
Prince Salim sent on pilrimage to Ajmer	1580
Akbar's aunt and wife return from Hajj	1582
Murder of Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi	1584
Akbar's letter to 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg	1586
Faizi's poem in praise of Holy Prophet	1591
Faizi writes his commentary on Holy Quran	1593
Death of Faizi	1595
Abul Fazl out of royal favour	1598
Murder of Abul Fazl	1602

The First Phase of Akbar's Religious History.

In his tumultuous religious history, Akbar passed through three distinct phases. He started as a devout, orthodox Muslim and a God-fearing, religious-minded individual. In his early childhood he had experienced great sufferings and vicissitudes. He was born when his father was a fugitive. Later he was left with an unkind uncle and early experienced the weakness and the helplessness of mere mortals against mightier, invisible powers. The influence of a religious mother and a pious grandmother deepened Akbar's religious outlook, and during the early years of his reign he behaved like a pious and orthodox Muslim. He said all the five prayers in congregation, would often recite the call for prayers and occasionally swept the palace mosque with his own hands.[1] He showed great respect for the two principal religious leaders at the court, Makhdum-ul-Mulk, who was already a power

under the Surs, became more powerful in the early days of Akbar, and the Emperor conferred an authority on Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi, who was appointed the *Sadr-us-Sudur* in 1565, which no predecessor or successor of his ever enjoyed. Occasionally he would go to his house to hear him explain the sayings of the Prophet, and placed Prince Salim under his tutorship. According to Badauni, "For some time the Emperor had so great faith in him as a religious leader that he would bring him his shoes and place them before his feet."[2]

In his twenties, Akbar became devoted to Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din, the great Chishti saint of Ajmer. In January, 1565, he made his first pilgrimage to the tomb of the saint. It became an almost annual affair, and if there was a perplexing problem or a particularly difficult expedition to undertake, Akbar would specially go to Ajmer and pray at the *dargah*. He would get down on foot some distance before reaching Ajmer, and in furtherance of some vows—*e.g.* in 1568 and 1570—travelled all the distance from Agra to Ajmer on foot.

Discussions at the 'Ibadat Khana.

Devotion to the great Chishti saint was probably responsible for Akbar's interest in Shaikh Salim Chishti, a contemporary saint who lived at Fathpur Sikri. All Akbar's children early died in infancy, and he approached Shaikh Salim to pray for a male child with a long life. Early in 1561, he sent his expectant wife to the hospice of Shaikh Salim and it was here that his successor to the throne was born, and was originally named Salim after the saint. Akbar was so happy at the birth of a son, and so grateful to the saint that in 1571, he started building a new capital at Fathpur Sikri, where, in 1575, he built a grand edifice called *'Ibadat Khana,* near the tomb of Shaikh Salim who had died in the meanwhile. Akbar set apart this building for religious discussions, and every Friday, after the congregational prayers, scholars, *dervishes,* theologians and courtiers specially interested in religious affairs would assemble in the *'Ibadat Khana,* and discussions on religious subjects took place in the royal presence.

Akbar had arranged for the assemblies of the *'Ibadat Khana* out of sincere religious zeal, but ultimately they drove him away from orthodox Islam. This was partly the fault of those who attended these gatherings. At the very first session there were disputes on the question of precedence, and when they were re-

solved, a battle of wits started amongst the participants to display their importance and scholarship, and expose the ignorance of the others. All sorts of silly questions were asked to belittle rivals, and soon the gatherings degenerated into religious and intellectual battlefields. The two great theologians of the court were arrayed on opposite sides, and so mercilessly attacked each other that Akbar lost faith in both of them, and, in the end, became disgusted with the institutions they represented. Of the two, Makhdum-ul-Mulk was a great jurist and had received the title of Shaikh-ul-Islam from Sher Shah Suri. His influence had increased under Sher Shah's successors and Akbar, and he used this influence for two main purposes—to persecute the unorthodox and to accumulate unlimited wealth. Badauni says that when he died, thirty million rupees were found in cash in his house and there were several boxes containing gold nuggets buried in a spurious tomb. The other ecclesiastical dignitary, Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi, who was the *Sudr-us-Sudur*, was not personally accused of graft, but his subordinates were stated to be corrupt. He was a strict puritan, and on the question of lawfulness of music had sharp differences with his father, who had disinherited him. In the discussions at the *'Ibadat Khana*, Makhdum-ul-Mulk spared no opportunity of attacking the *Sadr* on these and other grounds.

Conflict between the Church and the state.

The differences and mutual recriminations of the *ulama* disgusted the Emperor, but the real cause for the break lay deeper, and was quite comparable to the conflict between the church and the state, with which students of European history are familiar. The interpretation of Islamic law, which was the basic law of the state, was the responsibility of the *ulama*. This conflicted with Akbar's plan of concentration of all ultimate authority in the state in himself. Besides, with Akbar's organisation of the empire on new lines, problems were arising for solution of which the old theologians were not a help to the Emperor. The issue came to a head in 1577. Akbar had introduced a new policy of religious toleration, but he was far ahead of his times and there was an insufficient understanding of his policy even amongst those for whose benefit it had been initiated. As we shall see later, Akbar's attitude of friendliness towards the Hindus did not lead to the growth of general tolerance amongst different religions in his dominions.

While his religious innovations offended the orthodox Muslims, his general policy encouraged certain sections amongst the Hindus to take up an aggressive attitude. In 1577, a complaint was lodged before the *Sadr* by 'Abdur Rahim, the *Qazi* of Mathura that a rich Brahman of his locality had forcibly taken possession of building material collected by him for the construction of a mosque, aud utilised it for building an idol-temple. When the *Qazi* attempted to prevent him, he had, "in presence of witnesses opened his foul mouth to curse the Prophet (on whom be peace), and had shown his contempt for Muslims in various other ways."[3] The question of a suitable punishment for the Brahman was discussed before the Emperor, who tortured by conflicting considerations gave no decision and the Brahman languished in prison for a long time. Ultimately Akbar left the matter to the *Sadr* who had the offender executed. This led to an outcry. Many Courtiers like Abul Fazl expressed the view that although an offence had been committed, the extreme penalty of execution was not necessary or appropriate, and based their opinion on a decree of Imam Abu Hanifa, the founder of the Hanafi shool of Islamic law. The *Sadr's* action was severely criticised by the Hindu courtiers and Akbar's Rajput wives.[4] Akbar was unhappy not only at this incident, but about the general legal position which gave so much power to the *ulama* and placed him at their mercy in such a vital sphere. He explained his difficulties to Shaikh Mubarak, the father of Faizi and Abul Fazl, who had come to the court on some business. The Shaikh who had suffered at the hands of Makhdum-ul-Mulk, and was liberal minded and independent in his views, stated that according to the Islamic law, if there was a difference of opinion between the jurists, a Muslim ruler had the authority and the right to choose any one view, and his choice would be decisive.

The Declaration of 1579.

The Shaikh drew up a brief but important document, supported by quotations from the Holy Quran and traditions of the Prophet. It read as follows:—

"Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers, have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now we, the principal *'Ulama*, who are not only well-versed in

the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning, first of the verse of the Quran: "Obey God and obey the prophet, and those who have authority among you," and secondly, of the genuine Tradition: "Surely the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment is the *Imam-i-'adil*; whosoever obeys the Amir, obeys Thee; and whoever rebels against him, rebels against Thee," and thirdly, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sultan-i-'adil* is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of *Mujtahid*.

"Further, we declare that the king of Islam, Amir of the Faithful, shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fath Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Padshah Ghazi* (whose kingdom God perpetuate), is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing king. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regard-ing which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions, which exist on that point, and issue a decree to the effect, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

"Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think it fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, provided always that such order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Quran, but also of real benefit to the nation; and further, that any opposition on the part of his subjects to such an order passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of property and religious privileges in this.

"This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God and the propagation

of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal *'Ulama* and lawyers, in the month of Rajab of the year nine hundred and eighty-seven."[5]

The Declaration of 1579 which has been erroneously designated by Vincent A. Smith as "The Infallibility Decree" did not confer unlimited powers on the king, but confined his authority to the steps "which were in accordance with some verse of the Quran" and were of "real benefit to the nation." About the central thesis enunciated in this important document, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote:

"Basically the view was correct, and in reality, the *khalifa* of the day and those in charge of affairs, and their advisers have the right of *ijtihad* at all times and in all ages, and its denial has been responsible for all the misfortunes of Islam."[6]

Dr. I. H. Qureshi says with regard to the Declaration of 1579, "It enunciated the well-known Islamic principle that where the injunctions of the Quran and the authentic traditions of the Prophet are not clear in their application to a situation and the doctors of the law are divided in their interpretation, 'a just Sultan' has the right to accept any of the interpretations offered. The next part of the ruling was not in accordance either with the previous practice or the spirit of the Muslim law. It said that Akbar was such a ruler, therefore had such a right."[7]

Besides, the limitations regarding Quranic authority as laid down in the Declaration itself were not observed by Akbar, and in practice it became an excuse for the exercise of unrestrained autocracy. Soon the gatherings of the *'Ibadat Khana* were exposed to new and more anti-Islamic influences. Before long, in addition to the Muslim scholars, Hindu *pandits*, Parsi *mobeds* and Jain *sadhus* began to attend the gatherings. They expressed their own points of view and Akbar, ever ready to adopt new things, was attracted by some of their practices. The influence of Birbal seems to have been particularly substansive. A serious complication arose with the association of the Jesuit Fathers, whom the king invited from Goa. They did not confine themselves to the exposition of their own beliefs, but attacked Islam and the Prophet in unrestrained language.

Opposition.

When the news of these discussions and the new decrees promulgated by the king became known, there was serious disaffection amongst the Muslims. The

first to criticise the new developments was Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the *Shi'a qazi* of Jaunpur, who declared in 1580 that the king had ceased to be a Muslim and the people should rise against him. Even some courtiers, like Qutb-ud-din Khan Koka and Shahbaz Khan Kamboh criticised the king in the court, but Akbar was able to deal with the dissident elements. He sent for Mulla Muhammad Yadzi and Mu'iz-ul-mulk, the Chief Qazi of Bengal, and had them put to death by drowning. He took penal action against a few others, but something like an open rebellion started against him in 1581 which is considered "the most critical year in the reign of Akbar."[8] Akbar's enemies did not confine themselves to sporadic outbursts and regional risings, but made an attempt to dethrone Akbar and place his brother Mirza Muhammad Hakim, who was the ruler of Kabul, on the throne. Akbar's brilliant *diwan,* Khwaja Shah Mansur, was executed for alleged complicity with Mirza Hakim, and Ma'sum Khan, the fief-holder of Jaunpur, who was also in correspondence with the ruler of Kabul. Mirza Hakim came up to Lahore but he was no match for Akbar and had to retreat to Kabul, pursued by his victorious brother.

Akbar's Religious Innovations.

Vincent A. Smith in his voluminous book on Akbar says that after the emperor had successfully quelled the opposition to his religious views and had returned victorious from Kabul, he summoned "a General Council", and persuaded it to agree to the "formal promulgation" of *Din-i-Ilahi,* his new religion. Sri Ram Sharma has objected to this and has pointed out that the Portuguese Fathers, who were in India about this time and even a little later (*e.g.* Monserrate in 1583 and Pinheiro in 1595), had not heard about the proclamation of any new religion. This difference of opinion regarding the alleged proclamation of a new religion by Akbar is general, and extends to other aspects of the subject. Not only Smith, but Blochman, and indeed most English writers are of the opinion that Akbar abandoned Islam and attempted to establish a new religion. Sri Ram Sharma in his *Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors,* Makhan Lal Roychoudhury in his *Din-i-Ilahi,* and almost all other Hindu scholars have held that Akbar lived and died a Muslim, though he followed a liberal and tolerant policy. Muslim historians are almost evenly divided.

These differences of historians do not represent only differing judgments inevitable about a personality making fundamental

departures from established practices, but extend even to the assessment of relevant facts. This is basically due to the conflicting contemporary accounts of Akbar's religious ideas (*i.e.* by Abul Fazl, Badauni, and the Jesuit Fathers), but erroneous translations of Persian texts and the unscientific handling of the subject by Blochman and Smith have greatly increased the confusion.

The foundation for the misrepresentation of Akbar's religious views was laid by Blochman (an imperfect Persian scholar) who, in the introduction to his translation of *Ain-i-Akbari*, set the pattern for relying on Badauni, and not on Akbar's own spokesman Abul Fazl, for the study of Akbar's religious ideas. He grossly mistranslated important terms and phrases, and so interwove the later "hearsay" of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* with contemporary accounts that the picture became confused and distorted. The crucial question about Akbar's religious activity is whether he established a new religion or only a new spiritual order. The expression which both Abul Fazl and Badauni normally use in this connection is *iradat* or *muridi* (discipleship) but Blochman habitually mistranslates these expressions as "Divine Faith", and converts a religious order (or even a bond of loyalty) into a "Faith". Occasionally his mistranslation borders on fabrication. While translating the relevant chapter in *Ain-i-Akbari* (p. 77), he translated the expression *Ain-i-iradat gazinan* which correctly means "Rules for the (royal) disciples" as the "Principles of Divine Faith", and gives the sub-section (p. 175) a heading "The Ordinances of the Divine faith" although there is no such heading in the original text. Similarly, he omitted important qualifying phrases (*taqlidi wa majazi*) while translating Mirza Jani Beg's fulsome "Confessions" of faith (p. 203). It is not surprising that those who do not know Persian and have to rely on Blochman's translation have been misled. [a]

The sharp difference between the viewpoints of Abul Fazl and Badauni is obvious, but our study of the subject has revealed a surprisingly large area of common ground between them, and if the present divergence of opinion about Akbar's religion is to be resolved, more attention will have to be given to what is common ground between these two principal sources of informa-

(*a*) The references are to the first edition of the translation of *Ain-i-Akbari* in Bibliotheca Indica Series (Calcutta).

tion. It appears that the modern historians, fascinated by the wit and sarcasm of Badauni, have paid scant attention to Abul Fazl's informative sections on Akbar's religion contained in his *Akbar Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. Akbar's regulations which were not of an ephemeral or tentative character, have been preserved in the voluminous *Ain-i-Akbari*, and it would be unreasonable to suppose that important royal regulations, which were to be given general currency in the empire have been omitted from this Book of Regulations. A study of the *Ain* confirms this view. It contains much that would shock an orthodox Muslim, and to judge by its contents and the nature of the information which is sought, the *Ain* appears to be the most dependable source of information regarding Akbar's religious innovations and the practices introduced by him.

According to the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the Emperor discouraged people from becoming his disciples but the person whom he accepted for initiation approached him with his turban in his hand and put his head on the feet of the king. [b] This procedure was intended to express, according to Abul Fazl, that the novice had "cast aside conceit, selfishness—the root of so many evils." The king then stretched out his hands, raised up the disciple and replaced the turban on his head. The novice was given a *shast* (token) containing *Ism-i-A'zam* and the king's symbolic motto *Allah-o-Akbar*. When the desciples met each other, one would say "*Allah-o-Akbar*" and the other responded "*Jalli-Jalalhu*." "The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation, is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in their fresh, lively and gateful remembrance."[9] The disciples were to endeavour to abstain from flesh and not to make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishermen and birdcatchers. Each disciple was to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday and to bestow alms. Dinners customarily given after a man's death were to be given by a disciple during his lifetime. The royal disciples were to endeavour to abstain completely from meat, but Akbar tried to regulate its consumption even by others.

For students of history, general orders intended for compliance by all, are more important than the regulations

(*b*) Badauni says that Akbar discouraged Muslims from becoming disciples, but encouraged others. Badauni, Vol. II, p. 339.

framed for the royal disciples. According to Abul Fazl, the *kotwals* were asked to ensure that no ox or buffalo or horse or camel was slaughtered, and slaughtering of animals in general was prohibited on many days of the year—including the whole Persian month of Aban—except as a necessity for feeding the animals used in hunting and for feeding the sick. Akbar greatly interested himself in the reform of marriage customs. He abhorred marriages between near relations as "highly improper." He disapproved of high dowries, but admitted that they could be a preventive against rash divorces. "Nor does His Majesty approve of everyone marrying more than one wife ; for this ruins the man's health, and disturbs the peace of home." Akbar ordered his officers to practice religious tolerance. Circumcision before the age of twelve was forbidden. The *kotwals* were to "forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves" and not to suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination. The government officers were not to consider homage paid to the sun and the solar lamp as the worship of fire. A governor was expected to accustom himself to night vigils and partake of sleep and food in moderation. He was to pass the dawn and evening in meditation and pray at noon and midnight when the sun advances from one side. Nauruz was to be celebrated officially and the *kotwal* was expected to have night vigils on the night of Nauruz and on the nineteenth of *Farwardin.*

Akbar's Religion.

It may be fairly asked in the light of his religious innovations outlined above, whether in the course of his religious development, Akbar remained a Muslim. Different answers are given to this question depending on the strictness with which the matter is judged. It is true that Akbar adopted and prescribed for his disciples, and even others, many practices which were borrowed from other creeds, but precedents for this may be found in the lives of many Sufi saints, who continue to be considered Muslims in spite of wide departures from traditional Islam. For all of Akbar's innovations, some Islamic texts or precedents, genuine or spurious, were cited by his courtiers. Akbar did not claim to be a prophet or establish a new religion. Islam, however, lost its position of privilege, and many of Akbar's practices and regulations differed widely from the normal Muslim practices. It should, therefore, cause no surprise if due to these innovations and

particularly on account of the coloured and exaggerated versions which gained currency, he was, and is, widely regarded as having gone outside the pale of Islam. Dealing with the Proclamation of 1579, Abul Fazl has very ably summed up the popular misconceptions against Akbar and the reasons on which they were based. According to him, Akbar was accused by the "ill-informed and the unfair" of claiming divinity, or at least prophethood, and of being anti-Muslim, a Shi'a and partial to Hindus. Abul Fazl has dealt with the reasons which gave colour to these calumnies and has succinctly answered them. He has, however, been fair enough to admit that, apart from the malevolence or ignorance of certain individuals, Akar's policy and some of his regulations facilitated the task of his enemies.[10] Possibly Akbar sincerely believed that the powers conferred on him by *Ulama* in 1579 authorised him to initiate those regulations and the court flatterers pandered to this belief by citing precedents in Islamic history, but that they caused serious misgivings and resentment amongst orthodox Sunni Muslims should cause no surprise.

Akbar's religion has been examined recently by two prominent Pakistani scholars—Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi and Professor 'Aziz Ahmed. They differ in emphasis, but both have come essentially to the same conclusion—that although some of Akbar's innovations involved a certain deviation from orthodox Islam, they do not take him outside the pale of Muslim religion. Professor 'Aziz Ahmed sums up the position with regard to Akbar's religious innovations by saying : "Neither in its exaggerated pre-occupation with light, sun and fire nor in its other principles of worships or ritual was there much which could place Akbar's heretical sect in a different category from other miscellaneous heresies within Islam."[11]

Dr. Qureshi has been exceedingly critical of the changes made by Akbar in Mughal polity and even on the religious question his comments are unfavourable, but he has summed up the position with great care and objectivity. He warns against a superficial reading of Badauni, who was "capable of insinuating more than he actually said" and a number of whose "passages are capable of dual interpretation" as well as against incorrect translations of some of his statements by Western writers. He adds that "the statements of the Catholic fathers" are "of little

value because they can be demonstrated to be wrong or extremely exaggerated" but continues to say :

"Even when all this is conceded, the opinion of those who think that Akbar did not deviate from Islam are also not sound. It is true that of conscious abjuring of Islam there was very little. Akbar seems to have believed that his understanding of Islam was more rational than that of the theologians with whom he differed. When he protested in a letter to 'Abd-u'llah Khan Uzbeg, the ruler of Transoxiana, that it was a calumny that he had renegaded from Islam, he was probably sincere. His was a complex mind and not disciplined enough to be able to see the contradictions in his own attitudes. He did a number of things and even held beliefs which would normally place a man outside the pale of Islam ; for instance reverence for the sun is irreconcilable with the monotheism of Islam. He, however, does not seem to have thought so ; in this respect he only represented, perhaps in an extreme form, the confusion in many Muslim minds."[12]

We have ventured to differ from Dr. Qureshi on one or two points, but we endorse every word of what he has said about Akbar's religious views.

Final Phase—1597-1605.

In the spring of 1597, when Akbar was still at Lahore, and preparations were being made for Nauruz celebrations, "fire came down from Heaven", and a conflagration started in the royal palace, which could not be controlled for three days. It did great damage, and was attributed to the anger of Heaven at the king's irreligious presumptions[13]. According to Prof. Makhan Lal Roychoudhury, it has been suggested by Smith [c] that after the fire of Lahore,

(c) See pages 204 and 205 of the *Din-i-Ilahi* by Makhan Lal Roychoudhury. I have not been able to trace the original statement attributed to Smith. Possibly his name has been entered by mistake but there is much to support the statement attributed to him. The disastrous fire at Lahore occured in 1597. Writing about 1595 *i.e.* two years earlier, Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi says, "There seems to be little doubt that he (Akbar) did not pursue his enquiries or experiments actively after 1595" (*The Muslim Community*, p. 149). An analysis of Badauni's account confirms this view. He closes his book in 1595 but his last entry on the subject relates no new religious innovations and only mentions some new royal disciples including Sadr Jahan, who, we know from other sources, later became a disciple of Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alaf-i-Sani. Badauni's book contains nothing on the subject regarding 1594, but the entry for the

Akbar ceased to apostatise and returned to Islam.[14] Vincent Smith's views about Akbar's original apostasy have been contested by Sri Ram Sharma and Roychoudhury, and no conclusive indication about Akbar's religion after 1595 is available. In any case Akbar's—religious innovations which have been outlined above, made little headway, and towards the end of Akbar's reign, those nobles who gained ascendency were staunch Muslims. Most prominent amongst these was the Deputy of the Realm and Akbar's foster-brother, Khan-i-A'zam, who had once criticised Akbar's religious innovations in a long letter addressed to the king, and as a mark of protest abandoned his viceroyalty of Gujarat and left the country for Hijaz. In Mecca, he became so disgusted with the conduct of the guardians of the holy places that he returned to India, and even joined the group of royal 'disciples'. The real reason for this step cannot be ascertained but it is known that after joining the royal disciples he remained a staunch, even a militant, Muslim. The Jesuit Fathers have described the obstacles he raised to their getting a favourable royal *farman* [15] and the true nature of his beliefs can be inferred from the joy he expressed over the assassination of Abul Fazl. He wrote :

"The sword of the miracle of the Prophet of God smote the head of the rebel."

Another pillar of Muslim orthodoxy was Qulich Khan, the father-in-law of the Emperor, and viceroy of Lahore. During his viceroyalty, he regularly visited the mosque for giving lessons in Holy Quran, and many people are reported to have shown

previous year refers to Khan-i-A'zam's return from Mecca and joining the royal disciples. There is plenty of evidence in the accounts of the contemporary Portuguese and local writers to show that he remained not only an orthodox but a very staunch Muslim even after this. During the years 997 and 998 (1589 and 1590) there were no new orders, though in the following years new regulations were introduced. Apparently, many of the royal orders remained a dead letter and were not given effect to by the provincial governors. According to Jain accounts, their leader Hervijay obtained from Akbar in 1584, new *farmans* removing *Jizya* and *Jatra* tax from the Hindus in Gujarat, although it is well-known that Akbar passed general orders abolishing these taxes in 1564 and 1562 respectively. (M. S. Commissiriat, *A History of Gujarat*, Vol. 11, p. 231) Commissiriat, the historian of Gujarat, quotes from letter written between 1601 and 1604 (*viz.*, towards the end of Akbar's reign) that "owing to standing orders of the Emperor no new temple could be erected on the hill of Shatrunjaya (*i.e.* Girnar hills)." *Ibid.*, p. 240.

greater interest in religious education under his influence[16]. The Jesuit Fathers were particularly bitter about the difficulties which he placed in their way at Lahore. 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, the commander-in-chief in the Deccan also belonged to this group. Even Sadr-i-Jahan, whom Akbar had stationed at Jahangir's camp at Allahabad, belonged to the party of the religious-minded nobles, and was sent, during Akbar's lifetime, by Khwaja Baqi Billah to Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, the greatest critic of Akbar's heterodoxy, for learning Naqshbandi mystic practices. It would not be surprising if some of these nobles were amongst those unnamed "grandees at the court" to whose machinations Abul Fazl attributes Akbar's estrangement with him, and his removal from the capital.[17]

The man who besides Khan-i-A'zam gained greatest influence at the court in Akbar's later years, and in some respects filled Abul Fazl's place as the royal favourite, was the Paymaster-General, Shaikh Farid.[d] He was the most religious of the Muslim nobles, and was the main link between the Muslim nobility on the one hand and the religious leaders, like Khwaja Baqi Billah, on the other. He had undertaken to bear the entire expenditure of Khwaja's hospice, and was the principal patron of the Naqshbandi order, newly introduced into the subcontinent. Owing to the death of the principal historians of Akbar's reign, his last days have not been adequately described, but there can be no doubt about Shaikh Farid's importance at this crucial juncture. It was he, who according to the *Supplement* of *Akbar Nama,* brought the unwelcome news of Abul Fazl's assassination to the king, when everybody at the court was afraid to do so.[18] Later, after Akbar's death, he gave protection to the court physician Hakim 'Ali, who was accused by Jahangir and Akbar's widows of having caused the emperor's death by neglect and wrong treatment.[19] There is no doubt that inspite of the courtly courtesies between them, and magnanimity habitually displayed by Faizi and Abul Fazl to their personal enemies, Shaikh Farid and Abul Fazl were in diametrically opposite camps. Apart from their obvious ideological differences, in his *Ruq'at,* Abul Fazl expressly complains against Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik (Shaikh Farid) and says that he leads the emperor to follow a completely different path,

(*d*) For a sketch of Shaikh Farid's life, see S.M. Ikram, *Rud-i-Kausar*, 1958, pp. 172-86.

from that which Abul Fazl, with great difficulty and thousands of arguments, persuades him to adopt.[20]

Shaikh Farid played an important role at the time of Akbar's death. Akbar was angry with Jahangir, his only surviving son, on account of his part in Abul Fazl's assassination and other rebellious deeds, and efforts were being made to have him passed over in favour of his son Khusrau. At this critical juncture, when the future king and his religious policy could have great significance for the country, Shaikh Farid asserted himself. He struck out for Jahangir, secured for him the support of the Sayyids of Barah, (and the army, which he controlled as its Paymaster-General) and offered him the allegiance of the Muslim nobility on his taking "two oaths, the first that he would protect Islam and the second that he would refrain from punishing his son and others who had sought to deprive him of his throne by birthright."[e] According to the Jesuit accounts, "the leading noble, having been set by others as their representative, came to the Prince and promised, in all their names, to place the kingdom in his hands, provided that he would swear to defend the law of Mahomet, and to do no ill or offence, either to his son...or to those who had sought to secure his son's succession."[21] Payne, who has summarised in English the contemporary Jesuit accounts, explains in a note that "the leading noble" referred to in the text "was Shaikh Farid, more generally known as Mir Murtaza Khan."[22] Jahangir, whose succession was uncertain, and who was in danger of his life from Khusrau's supporters, gladly gave these assurances and in the company of Shaikh Farid visited Akbar at his deathbed when a reconciliation between the son and the father took place and the question of succession was decided by Akbar's making a sign to Jahangir to wear the sword of the Timurids. Akbar shortly thereafter died on October 27, 1605.

According to some accounts, Akbar repeated the profession of Islamic faith and even recited *suras* from the Quran on his deathbed. This is doubtful, as Akbar had lost the power of speech by this time, but there are good reasons to believe that long before his death, Akbar's religious views had ceased to be a source of anxiety to those devout Muslims who were in the best

(*e*) See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III., p. 150. This view has been contested by Prof. 'Irfan Habib of 'Aligarh but has been accepted by Sir Wolseley Haig, C. H. Payne, R. H. Tripathi and many other senior scholars.

position to judge. Khwaja Baqi Billah, easily the most important religious personality of Akbar's later days, has a most significant remark in a letter addressed to Akbar's great critic Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani. He wrote, "Have no fear in mind about the king."[23] This letter is undated, but as the Khwaja died in 1603, it must have been written at least two years before Akbar's death and is probably one of the early letters written by the Khwaja after the initiation of the Mujaddid in 1599. Evidence about Akbar's behaviour at the time of his death is somewhat conflicting, but a careful analysis of the material available confirms Sir Thomas Roe's finding recorded less than 12 years after Akbar's death, in a letter addressed from Jahangir's camp at Ajmer (on October 30, 1616) to the Archbishop of Canterbury, saying that Akbar died in formal profession of Islam.

Akbar's Religious Policy and causes of his Failure.

It only remains to adjudge Akbar's religious policy in general. While making this assessment, it is important to remember that this policy manifested itself in two distinct sets of measures which were separated from each other by an interval of several years, and which differed sharply in their nature and usefulness. On the one hand was Akbar's adoption of the principle of *Sulh-i-Kul* (Peace with All) and the political and administrative measures which he took to broaden the basis of his government and secure the goodwill of all his subjects. For his policy of religious tolerance and giving adequate share in administration to all classes of people there can be nothing but praise, and it was this part of his policy which stood the test of time, and became a part of the Mughal political code. These measures, however, could have been easily accomplished without offending Muslim opinion. They involved nothing more than what the Arab conqueror of Sind, Muhammad bin Qasim had adopted, with the full concurrence of the *Ulama* of Damascus. Zain-ul-'Abidin introduced similar measures in Kashmir without a murmur on the part of Muslims, and Akbar himself had abolished *jizya*, contracted marriages with the Hindus and employed them in high positions without offending the Muslim community.

The second set of measures relates to the regulations laid down for the royal disciples[f] and other steps taken by Akbar in

(*f*) Contemporary writers—Badauni as well as Abul Fazl—refer to Akbar's innovations as *Muridi*—discipleship. Even Vincent Smith admits

his role of the "spiritual guide", who would end all religious conflicts and controversies. These measures, which later writers (though neither Abul Fazl nor Badauni) designate as "Din-i-Ilahi", were set in motion more than fifteen years after the enunciation and implementation of *Sulh-i-Kul* policy and were a product, as Badauni's account shows, of the differences and debates of the *'Ibadat Khana*. They stand on a different footing from the earlier measures. Basically, the royal patronage of a particular order or cult runs counter to the principle of equality and impartiality of treatment implicit in the idea of *Sulh-i-Kul* which was Akbar's gift to the Mughal polity and the Indian society. Even otherwise, Akbar's attempt to set himself as a *Jagat Guru*, the spirtual guide of his people, was nothing but a mistake and a misfortune. Vincent Smith is not usually a reliable guide in Indo-Muslim history, but he is fully justified in describing what has been called the Divine Faith as "the outcome of ridiculous vanity, a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy," and in considering it "a monument of Akbar's folly, not of his wisdom". Akbar's Hindu well-wishers like Raja Bhagwan Das[24] and Raja Man Singh[25] left him in no doubt about their dislike of his religious innovations. The only prominent Hindu who became his disciple was Birbal, regarded by succeeding generations as Akbar's court jester. Muslims were, however, greatly offended and a reaction started against Akbar's policy which was to have results quite different from those which he wished to achieve. A modern Hindu historian has rightly said ; "If Akbar had stopped with the remission of *jizya*, the prohibition of cow-slaughter, the partial Hinduisation of administration and patronage to Sanskrit literature without coquetting with Hindu philosophy and religion, history would have exalted him to the rank of the greatest statesman and nation-builder of the world. His fancy to be the prophet of a new religion, and become the religious as well as the temporal head of the subjects proved the ruin of his noble scheme. He created no united nation, but a few Muhammadan

that the organisation was "an Order rather than a church." In the interest of historical accuracy, they should be referred to as an Order and not as "Divine Faith." An Order or a system of discipleship is something in addition to and not in place of a Faith. It is noteworthy that Birbal, who was a prominent disciple is recognised as an orthodox Hindu. It is very hard to believe that man like Khan-i-A'zam had abandoned Islam, although his discipleship has been specifically recorded by Badauni, *etc*.

hypocrites and a class of slavish Hindu enthusiasts—who could write Allah-Upanishad (Upanishad of Allah) to please their royal *guru* and whose descendants would not drink water without having the *darshan* of the occupant of the throne of Delhi, even if he were Aurangzeb. He did injustice to Islam and unnecessarily humiliated her, for which history cannot forgive him, because this was done not in the interest of the state, but in pursuit of a personal hobby, however pious it might be. The imperial throne could no longer be the symbol of unity and centre of equal attraction to both peoples. While it attracted the Hindus, it repelled the Muslims."[26]

Akbar's failure was also due to bigger forces operating outside the court. At this time a great Hindu religious revival was sweeping the country. It commenced in Bengal, but under Chaitanya's successors, Mathura in northern India became the great centre of resurgent Hinduism. We have narrated that the great crisis of the judicial history of Muslim India arose over the action of a wealthy Brahman of Mathura who forcibly took away the building material collected by the *qazi* of the place for the construction of a mosque, used it for building a Hindu temple, and when the *qazi* remonstrated, reviled the Holy Prophet. Muslim historians do not record the name of the Brahman, but it would not be surprising if this particular incident occurred in connection with the large-scale Vaishnava temple-building operations which were going on at Mathura at this time, with the full support of Raja Man Singh, who himself put up a large costly temple. The defiant and intolerant spirit, which had been inculcated by the new movement can be seen in the attitude of the Brahman, who forcibly took over the material collected by a government official for a mosque. Other incidents of this nature can be found in Mujaddid's letters.

Another indication of the new spirit was that now, for the first time, the Sanyasis were organised on a political and military basis. The order of Sanyasis was organised by Shankra in the ninth century, and till Akbar's time seems to have taken no interest in politics. Panikkar says, "During the early years of Akbar's reign, armed Muslim Faqirs attacked and killed a number of Hindu Sanyasis and though the matter was represented to the Emperor by Madhu Sudhun Saraswati, the authorities afforded them no redress. Madhu Sudhun Saraswati then initiated a

large number of Kshattriyas in seven out of the ten orders (the three excluded ones being Tirtha, Asrama and Saraswati) and placed on them the duty of defending religion (dharma). In Mughal times we have numerous instances of conflicts in which these Hindu templars fought the Muslim Faqirs."[27]

With such developments proceeding in the country, possibly with the support of Akbar's Hindu officers,[(g)] his efforts at religious syncretism were doomed to failure. Of course, the roots of this failure went even deeper—to the fundamental differences between Islam and Hinduism and the basic reluctance of the two communities to merge. By now the Hindus and the Muslims had co-existed for centuries—occasionally in conflict, generally in peace—but they had never coalesced. The over-ambitious attempt at a merger went against the genius of the two people, and could find acceptance only in the circle of the court sycophants. It failed, as it was bound to, but the aggressive attitude of the Hindu revivalists and the offence which some of Akbar's ill-advised measures gave to the Muslims, compounded the failure. They led to a reation which was to impair even the existing basis of harmony.

(*g*) Writing about the religious revival at Bindraban, near Mathura, brought about by Rup, Sanatana, *etc.*, Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar says, "The fame of the new Vaishnava Fathers rapidly spread over the Hindu world. Money began to pour in from pious believers particularly the royal house of Jaipur, whose head Rajah Man Singh had lived in Bengal as viceroy and general, and also from many wealthy merchants of Northern India." (*Vide* J. N. Sarkar, *Chaitanya's Life and Teachings*, p. 3). For an account of a grand temple of Gobind Deva built by Man Singh in 1590 at Bindraban and other temples in the suburbs of Mathura built by other Rajput princes (including one by Raja Bhagwan Das) [See *Mathura—A District Memoir*, by Growse]. Rup and Sanatana represented the sober side of Vaishnavaism. The Epicurean branch was founded by Vallabhacharya (d 1530-31) but was placed on a firm footing by his son Vithaleshvara, whose disciples included Birbal and Todar Mal. When in 1572, Todar Mal was sent against Da'ud in Bihar, he first visited Vithaleshvara at Gokal (near Mathura) to obtain his blessings. With Todar Mal among his disciples, it is not surprising that the Vallabhachari leader was able to get all sorts of grants and concessions. This can be seen in the *Farmans* issued not only by Akbar but by his mother Hamida Banu Begum and by 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan also (now published by Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri). Other support which Vaishnava revivalists got from Man Singh, Birbal and Todar Mal can only be a matter of speculation at present, but even what is known indicates the size and nature of the problem with which Islam was faced.

Bayazid Ansari (1526-81) and the Raushaniya Movement.

A contemporary religious movement, with which Akbar had only a brief, incidental contact, but which was as heterodox as Akbar's own religious views, may perhaps be suitably dealt with here. It was the Raushaniya movement of the north-west frontier, which created serious political problems for Akbar and his successors. The founder of Raushaniya sect, Mian Bayazid Ansari, (called *Pir-i-Raushan* or *Pir Rawkhan* by his admirers and *Pir-i-Tarik* by the critics) was born at Jullundur in 1525, just a year prior to the replacement of the Afghan rule by the Mughals. Soon, the family moved to Kaniguram in South Waziristan, where, Bayazid had a very unhappy childhood, marked by hostility towards his father, who had divorced his mother. The boy's religious bent, however, showed early, and during his trips to the Indian subcontinent, he freely mixed with the Hindu Yogis and and Sufis of all types. He is said to have been specially influenced by Sulaiman of Kalinjar, an Isma'ili whose doctrine of *Imamat* is said to have formed the basis of his conception of *Pir-i-Kamil.* Bayazid was a man of mystical bent of mind, and ultimately expounded doctrines which have raised serious controversy. His principal work, *Khair-ul-Bayan* has not been published, and his autobiography, *Hal Nama,* is also in manuscript. An authoritative and really reliable appraisal of his teachings is, therefore, not possible at present. According to *Dhakhirat al-Khwanin,* written in the reign of Shah Jahan, by Shaikh Farid of Bhakkar, Mian Bayazid was a person of great psychical powers. "Whoever saw him became his follower." About *Khair-ul-Bayan,* Shaikh Farid says that it contains arguments proving the truth of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud,* "from the *nass,* the *hadis* and statements of the great men of the earlier times. In reality it is a wonderful book and if one examines it in an impartial spirit, one is bound to be benefited by it"[(h)] The account of Bayazid's teachings, as given in the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib,* however, shows that his views were exceedingly heterodox. According to this account, he argued that anyone who did not possess knowledge of his own self and of God was not a man. "If he is harmful, he deserves the same treatment as the wolf, the tiger, the serpent or the scorpian ; and such animals according to the teachings of the Arabian Prophet should be destroyed before

(*h*) See Dr. Moin-ul-Haq's introduction to *Dhakhirat al-Khwanin,* Vol. I, p, 25.

they inflict injury. If such a man is virtuous and prays regularly, he is only like a cow or a sheep, for does not the Quran say that 'they are like beasts, even more misguided than the beasts' ? The killing of cow and sheep is lawful."[28] Bayazid also said that "the people who had not acquired the abiding and eternal life of spiritual existence were in reality dead ; their heirs who were ignorant of a higher life like their fathers were similarly dead ; the property of the dead, whose heirs are dead should pass to the living; hence he ordered that the ignorant should be killed, and their property seized."[29]

Maulvi Muhammad Shafi is of the opinion that "What Dabistan gives as his doctrines are probably his war regulations relating to the period in which he was at war with the Mughals and other Afghan tribes hostile to him."[30] The account of Bayazid's first encounter with the Mughals, as recorded in his autobiographical *Hal Nama*, however, shows that his followers were acting on these principles even before he was at war with the Mughals. "The immediate cause of his warlike exploits is thus narrated in *Hal Nama* (ff.471). A caravan returning from India, halted at a village peopled by ultra fanatical group of his followers. Infuriated by the gross neglect as they thought, by the caravan people of the affairs of the next world, the villagers looted and destroyed the property of the caravan, which brought upon them the wrath of the authorities in Kabul..."[31]

The implementation of Bayazid's doctrines and looting of the caravans led to drastic action by the authorities in Kabul, and a conflict between him and the Mughals started which did not cease during the remaining years of his life. Bayazid's other tenets brought him in conflict with the orthodox *ulama*. According to the *Dabistan*, Bayazid did not think it necessary for a person to perform ablutions before prayers or face the *qibla* at the time of prayer. These doctrines led to orthodox opposition by Pir Baba and Akhwand Darweza with which we shall deal later.

Mian Bayazid Ansari died in 1581, and the mantle of leadership fell on his son Jalal-ud-din, usually referred to as Jalala by the Mughal historians. In 1581 when Akbar was returning from Kabul after dealing with his brother Hakim, the orthodox *ulama* of the area brought Jalal-ud-din to him and wanted him to be punished for his unorthodox tenets. Possibly taking into considera-

tion the age of the young man, or according to Akhwand Darweza as he "himself was a heretic", Akbar was not disturbed by Jalal-ud-din's views, and let him go scot free. This proved a costly gesture, as Jalal-ud-din soon led an active rebellion against the Mughals. In 1586, the Raushaniyas closed both the roads between Kabul and the Indus, and even besieged Peshawar. Only after two years was the hostile confederacy broken up, but Jalal-ud-din escaped, tried to enlist the help of 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, and in 1599 even sacked Ghazni. Shortly afterwards, he was wounded in the course of inter-tribal conflict and died as a result of injuries at the age of 32. Trouble with his successors, however, continued and only in the reign of Shah Jahan did the descendants of Pir Raushan accept employment under the Mughals.

Apart from its religious and political aspects, the Raushaniya movement had an important literary side, and led to the composition of a number of prose and poetical works in Pushtu.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MUJADDIDI REACTION

CHRONOLOGY

Birth of Khwaja Baqi Billah	1563
Birth of Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani	June 26, 1564.
Mujaddid became a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah	1599
Death of Khwaja Baqi Billah	1603
Mujaddid imprisoned by Jahangir	1619
Death of Mujaddid	1624
Death of Pir Baba	1631
Death of Akhwand Darweza	1638

Khwaja Baqi Billah (1563-1603).

The old mystic order of Islam in India, particularly the Chishtia, normally disassociated themselves from affairs of the state. Towards the end of Akbar's reign, a new religious order entered the subcontinent which followed a different approach, which has been vividly described by Khwaja 'Ubaidullah Ahrar, a distinguished Naqshbandi saint, in his statement: "If I were after spiritual prominence, no disciple would be left with the other saints. But I have another mission, viz., to bring comfort to the Muslims. To achieve this, I have to associate with the wordly rulers, gain influence over them and thereby fulfil the objectives of the Muslims."[1]

Khwaja Baqi Billah, who introduced the Naqshbandi order into Hind-Pakistan was born in 1563 at Kabul. After completing his scholastic education at his birthplace and Samarqand, he visited several saints and wandered far and wide in spiritual quest. In this connection he spent some time in Kashmir, visited Lahore where, according to one account, he had his first meeting with Akbar's Mir Bakhshi, Shaikh Farid, and later moved to Delhi. Here, he settled down in the hospice of a famous Chishti saint, who once came out of his prayer-room at the dead of night, and told the Khwaja to leave forthwith for Transoxiana.

At Bukhara he was initiated into the Naqshbandi order by a leading saint whose father and *pir* was the spiritual guide of 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the ruler of Turkistan. He asked Khwaja Baqi Billah to make the Indo-Pak subcontinent the field of his activities.

Khwaja Baqi Billah came first to Lahore, where he spent more than a year during the viceroyalty of his friend Qulich Khan , and then left for Delhi. After his second visit to the subcontinent he did not live for more than 6 or 7 years, but during this brief period he brought about a veritable revolution in the spiritual life of Muslim India. For one thing, before his death in 1603, he had firmly established the Naqshbandi order in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. After his death one of his early and favourite disciples Shaikh Taj Sambhali migrated to Hijaz, where he translated Naqshbandi classics into Arabic and introduced the order which was to gain so much importance during the last days of the Ottoman empire. But Khwaja's work was not confined to the extension of the Naqshbandi *silsila*. He had such a self-effacing disposition—all contemporary accounts like *Zubdat-ul-Muqamat* emphasise this—and so systematically did he obliterate the traces of his work that it is difficult to reconstruct his history properly. The names of many persons to whom his letters were addressed are not given and their importance cannot be easily realised. Even the names of his disciples have not been properly listed. In his brief contemporary biography there is no reference to Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis, the foremost religious scholar of the period, being his disciple, which, according to the *Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahani* and a biography of the Shaikh he was. The numerous letters addressed by the Shaikh to the Khwaja bear witness to their close relationship. Similarly, Khwaja's biography contains no reference to his special relationship with Qulich Khan, and we can infer this only from a letter of Mujaddid addressed to the latter in which he claims kinship with the viceroy on account of his close relations with his *Murshid*. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that his work has not been properly evaluated, but a close study of whatever material is available leaves no doubt that not only is Khwaja Baqi Billah's work memorable because of his having firmly planted the Naqshbandi order in the subcontinent, but that he also provided the "rallying point" around which the orthodox nobles, *sufis* and *ulama* gathered during the last days of

Akbar. No single person was responsible for turning the tables against Akbar's heterodoxy, but the spiritual leadership of those who did so clearly belongs to Khwaja Baqi Billah. A mere enumeration of the names of his known disciples, admirers and co-workers is enough to bring this out. Foremost amongst Khwaja's helpers was Shaikh Farid, to whose dominant position during Akbar's last days a reference has already been made. Considering that he had undertaken to bear the entire expenditure of Khwaja's hospice, he can only be considered as Khwaja's active co-worker. Other Muslim nobles of the day who had a great regard for the Khwaja include Qulich Khan, the devout viceroy of Lahore, 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, the commander-in-chief of the Deccan, Mirza Husam-ud-din, brother-in-law of Abul Fazl and Khan-i-A'zam, the Deputy of the Realm. So far as the *sufis* and the *ulama* of the time were concerned, it is enough to mention only two names—Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani and Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis. The great change which Khwaja's presence in the capital brought about may be seen in the case of Sadr-i-Jahan, who was Akbar's chief ecclesiast during his later years and played an important part in reconciliation between Jahangir and his father. In 1593, he had become one of Akbar's disciples and Badauni has described the lengths to which he was prepared to go. Six years later we see him approach Khwaja Baqi Billah with a desire to become his disciple. As Khwaja was keeping indifferent health and this important noviate needed special attention, he entrusted his spiritual education to a distinguished disciple viz., Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani, and the latter's letters addressed to Sadr-i-Jahan show that the Sadr was firmly drawn into the inner Naqshbandi circle.

Khwaja Baqi Billah who died in 1603 must have had extraordinary spiritual powers. The way he influenced those who came across him may be seen even in the case of Mujaddid. The latter first met him at the advanced age of 36. By then he had written a couple of pamphlets, had helped Faizi in the writing of his *Tafsir* and was a well-read scholar with the courage of his convictions and a powerful pen. His vast potentialities were already there, but now there was an awakening and indeed, a tremendous heightening of his spiritual and intellectual powers, and this cannot be attributed to anything other than his *pir's* influence, encouragement and guidance. The Mujaddid paid his *pir* the

highest compliment which a Muslim can pay by saying that since the days of the Holy Prophet there was never such guidance and ennobling companionship as was provided by the Khwaja, and he was grateful to God that if he was not alive in the days of the Prophet, at least he had been given this opportunity.

Through his great spiritual powers, saintly character, spirit of dedication, the basic attraction of the Naqshbandia order in a society dominated by Turani rulers and nobles and his own links with the great saints of Central Asia, the Khwaja was able to obtain quick results in a very short time. Still, he had his limitations. His health which had never been very good was worn out by fasts and nightly vigils. By temperament also he was too mild and self-effacing to make a dynamic leader. His was the path of self-purification, suffering and self-sacrifice. He was a stranger to bitterness and anger. When a disciple of his was tormented by the people of Sambhal and wanted to retaliate, he sternly rebuked him. All honour is to him as a saint. Purity of character and spirit of silent dedication coupled with a penetrating insight into the minds of men enabled him to work wonders within a short time, but he could not lead a broad-based, popular movement. At best, he could provide solace and guidance to those who approached him and in the bewildering confusion of Akbar's reign, his steady light illuminated the path of many men in key positions. This was of great value. In Akbar's days the Muslim spiritual leaders had either (like Shaikh 'Abdul Haq) moved away from the court or had themselves fallen a victim to the prevailing spiritual anarchy. Now a saint had come to the capital, who was in close contact with the great nobles, whose spiritual powers were unlimited and whose faith was as solid as a rock. Naturally his presence provided a welcome anchorage, but Muslims had been so hurt by some of Akbar's innovations and actions that soon there was a powerful reaction against his policy and the orthodox Islam moved from a purely defensive position. This was essentially the work of a disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah, who brought the gifts of a dynamic personality, a powerful pen, great organising ability, a vigorous intellect and ripe scholarship to the task, and completely altered the situation.

Hazrat Mujaddid -i-Alf-i-Sani (1564-1624).

Khwaja Baqi Billah's most prominent disciple was Shaikh Ahmad, popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani (Reviver of Islam during the second Millen-

nium). He was born on June 26, 1564 at Sirhind, the capital of East Punjab during Mughal rule. After receiving a thorough education at Sirhind and Sialkot, the young Ahmad set up as a teacher at his native place, but was soon attracted to Akbar's capital, Fathpur Sikri. Here he moved in the most distinguished intellectual circles, and seems to have favourably impressed Abul Fazl, and his versatile brother, Faizi. Shaikh Ahmad's views[a] and temperament had little in common with those of the two brothers (through he seems to have passed through a period of youthful free-thinking and at one time wrote verses with the poetic surname of Kufri, "the heretic"), but they had enough respect for each other's learning to be able to carry on this intellectual comradeship in spite of the difference in views. According to a biography of the saint, written shortly after his death by one of his disciples, he helped Faizi in completion of his commentary on the Holy Quran. Another contemporary biography refers to a discussion between the Shaikh and Abul Fazl regarding the role of prophets, in the course of which Abul Fazl used strong language about a statement attributed to Imam Ghazali. Shaikh Ahmad took offence at this and discontinued going to Abul Fazl's gatherings, but the latter sent for him and apologised for his remarks.

Possibly it was this discussion which led the Shaikh to write a small booklet entitled *Isbat-un-Nabuwwat* (Affirmation of Prophethood) of which an incomplete version, along with Urdu translation, has recently been published by Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan of Hyderabad. It is a well-written, dignified pamphlet containing copious quotations from the writings of Imam Ghazali justifying the need for prophethood and explaining the inadequacies of human intellect.

Shaikh Ahmad's literary career had begun a little earlier, when 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the king of Transoxiana besieged Mashhad, the local Shi'a *ulama* addressed an "Open Letter" of protest to the *ulama* of Transoxiana. The arguments contained in this letter were being repeated by Shi'as in India in support of their creed, and Shaikh Ahmad undertook to reply to them. He accordingly wrote his *Radd-i-Rawafiz* (Refutation of the Rafazis). It is a brief polemical pamphlet reiterating familiar arguments,

(*a*) For details of a discussion between Shaikh Ahmad and Abul Fazl, see *Rud-i-Kausar*, 1958, p. 210—212.

but gives some indication of the style which was to characterise Mujaddid's maturer work. After a time, the Shaikh returned to Sirhind and began to devote himself to religious and intellectual pursuits.

In 1599, he visited Delhi and went to see Khwaja Baqi Billah, who asked him to spend a few days in his hospice. Shaikh Ahmad agreed, and within two days requested the Khwaja to admit him to his discipleship. This request was readily accepted and Khwaja Sahib initiated Shaikh Ahmad into various stages of spiritual development under the Naqshbandi order. The new disciple greatly impressed his spiritual guide, who wrote in a letter about him:

"Shaikh Ahmad is an individual from Sirhind, rich in knowledge and vigorous in action. I associated with him for a few days, and noticed truly marvellous things in his spiritual life. He will turn into a light, which will illuminate the world."

After a stay of six weeks Shaikh Ahmad returned to Sirhind with his spiritual powers greatly heightened, and convinced that he had a major role to play in the religious life of the times. He twice visited Delhi during the lifetime of his *murshid*, who deputed him to work at Lahore, and frequently referred those who came for mystic initiation to him to his gifted disciple. On Khwaja Baqi Billah's death, Shaikh Ahmad rushed to Delhi, but soon retired to Sirhind, which remained the main seat of his activities. He carried on his work partly through personal guidance and oral instructions, but he had by now discovered his great literary gifts, and knew that he could also fulfil his mission by addressing well-written and effective epistles on religious and public subjects to important personages of the day. Khwaja Baqi Billah had, by his warm praise and encouragement, made Shaikh Ahmad aware of his potentialities. He had also facilitated the achievement of his task by providing him with useful contacts with persons in key positions in the state, and by stimulating their interest in Islam. Shaikh Ahmad was just the person to make full use of these opportunities. He felt deeply on religious matters, was a profound scholar, a master of polemics, and possessed a polished and forceful literary style. He began addressing letters written in a language which would move mountains to leading nobles of the state, bemoaning the sad state in which Islam had fallen in India, and reminding them of their duty. Among the persons he addressed were, besides Shaikh Farid whom he addressed repeatedly, Khan-

i-A'zam, Sadr-i-Jahan, Khan-i-Jahan, and 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan.

It is not true, as many have held, since Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad eloquently put forward this view in his *Tazkira*, that but for these letters Muslim nobles would not have stood by Islam, or but for the efforts of Shaikh Ahmad, Akbar's heterodoxy would have superseded Islam in India. Generally speaking, the Muslim nobility had not been unmindful of its responsibilities, and Akbar's heterodoxy had died with him even before Shaikh Ahmad took an active hand in the matter. But it would be wrong to underrate the importance of his letters on contemporary and subsequent history. Akbar's religious policy had failed even without these letters, but that was merely a negative situation. An attempt at introducing certain religious innovations was made and it failed, and the *status quo* should have been restored. The fact that merely the *status quo* was not restored was due partly to the general atmosphere in the country and partly to Shaikh Ahmad's efforts. He contributed largely to the swing of the pendulum from Akbar's heterodoxy to Aurangzeb's vigorous ultra-orthodoxy, rather than a return to Babur's and Humayun's policy of *laissez faire*. The rhetorical appeal of Shaikh Ahmad's letters kindled religious fervour, and resulted in a religious revival which, though it took some time to bear fruit, deeply influenced the history of this subcontinent, and indeed, of the Muslim world.

Shaikh Ahmad's letters also dealt with subjects other than the message of religious revival, and they brought him into serious difficulties. In some of his letters, he had dealt with his own spiritual elevation, and had stated that in his trances he observed that at one time he had gone ahead of the four leading Companions of the Prophet. The theologians criticised these claims, and asked Emperor Jahangir to take action. It is also stated that the Shi'a *Wazir*, Asaf Khan, who could not have been fond of the anti-Shi'a views of Shaikh Ahmad, also dwelt on the political dangers inherent in the growing influence and organisation of Shaikh Ahmad. Accordingly in 1619, he was summoned, through the governor of Sirhind, to the Emperor's court and asked to explain his statements. The Shaikh behaved at the court with great dignity and courage. He made it clear that there could be no question of his considering himself superior to the Companions of the Prophet, and gave an explanation of the relevant entry in his letters. The

Emperor seemed to be satisfied with this, when somebody pointed out that the Shaikh had not observed the court etiquette and not performed the *sijdah* (deep obeisance), which Akbar had prescribed for everybody coming into the royal presence.[b] The Shaikh replied that he was not prepared to perform the *sijdah* before any human being. Jahangir did not like this and ordered the Shaikh to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior.

It appears from a letter that the Shaikh's house, garden, library and other belongings were also confiscated (*Maktubat*, Vol. 111. p. 7). The Shaikh faced the situation with confidence and determination and did not waver from the position he had taken up. When his sons and relations tried to secure his release, he wrote to them not to waste their time in this pursuit (*Maktubat*, Vol. 111. p. 7). His disciples were also harassed. The Shaikh advised them to stand the ordeal coolly and with patience (*Maktubat*, Vol. III. p. 19). Quoting Shaikh Muhi-ud-din Ibn 'Arabi, he says that when an *'arif* is visited by some calamity or misfortune, he should not pray to God for averting it; he should calmly ahd patiently enjoy whatever calamity is sent by his Beloved, God (*Maktubat*, Vol. III. p. 19).

Jahangir has been criticised for his conduct towards the Mujaddid, but the Mughal government found it advisable to keep a watch on the activities of religious leaders, with large, devoted followings. Even Shah Jahan, an orthodox Muslim, had to expel from his dominion Shaikh Adam Banori, a celebrated disciple of the Mujaddid after getting him interviewed by his *Wazir*, Sa'dullah Khan, and the celebrated scholar Mulla Abdul Hakim. Jahangir took similar action against some other saints with large followings. One of them was the Afghan saint Ahmad Soon (the patron of Khan Jahan Lodi who later rebelled against Shah Jahan) who was imprisoned during the first year of Jahangir's reign. The biographers of the saint throw a revealing light on the action taken against him. "One of the royal courtiers cited the case of the Safavids, who were originally *pirs* and *dervishes*, but with the help of their followers had ascended the throne of Iran. Another said that even now there were persons living in the garb of *dervishes*, whose fanatical followers exceeded the army of a pro-

(*b*) This was current among the Ghaznavids, early Sultans of Delhi and the Chishti *khanqahs* [see K. A. Nizami, *Religion and Politics in India*, p. 94, Ft. Note 2.].

vince, and named Ahmad Soon."[2] There is no evidence to connect Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind with worldly ambition, but Jahangir's action against him may well have been on political considerations.

After about a year the Shaikh was released from the fort, presented with "a dress of honour and Rs. 1,000/-for expenses,"[3] and given the option of accompanying the royal camp or returning to Sirhind. The Shaikh preferred to remain in the royal camp. According to Jahangir, he "justly presented that his punishment had really been a valuable lesson to him, and that his desire was to wait on me."[4] This enabled the Shaikh to visit the whole of the empire, and even to establish friendly contacts with the Emperor. It appears that Jahangir came to hold the Shaikh in great esteem. In his autobiography, he twice refers to having made large offerings to the saint. Amongst the Shaikh's letters is one addressed to the Emperor, and in two others, he has expressed his satisfaction with the liberty enjoyed by him and the conditions prevailing in the royal camp. In one of these, he has given a detailed account of a lengthy conversation with the king on religious subjects, which the king heard with great interest and apparent satisfaction.

Shaikh Ahmad was in the royal camp for nearly three years. His letters written during this period contain very few biographical details, but seeing the contemporary entries in Jahangir's *Tuzuk*, one is struck by the fact that during this period easy-going Jahangir was unusually religious, and it would not be surprising if the Emperor's ultra-orthodox mood may have something to do with the Shaikh's presence in the camp. Dealing with the conquest of Kangra and his visit to that place early in 1622, Jahangir says, "......I went to see the fort of Kangra, and gave an order that the *Qazi*, the Chief Justice (*Mir 'Adl*) and other learned men of Islam should accompany me and carry out in the fort whatever was customary according to the religion of Muhammad. Briefly ......by the grace of God, the call to prayer and the reading of the *Khutba* and the slaughter of a bullock, which had not taken place from the commencement of the building of the fort till now, were carried out in my presence. I......ordered a lofty mosque to be built inside the fort."[5] It is quite possible that Shaikh Ahmad was one of the "other learned men of Islam" accompanying Jahangir at Kangra. Soon after, the saint's health

began to fail, and with the Emperor's permission he returned to Sirhind. Here he lived in seclusion, devoting himself to charity and prayers till his death on December 10, 1624.

Mujaddid's influence on the History of Muslim India.

Shaikh Ahmad, the most forceful and original thinker produced by Muslim India before the days of Shah Wali-Ullah and Iqbal, occupies a high place not only amongst important religious personalities of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, but of the entire Muslim world. His exposition of *tawhid-i-shahudi* was a distinct contribution to Islamic thought. Perhaps even more important was the attitude of vigorous self-confidence and self-assertion which he contributed to Muslim thinking, and the like of which had been rarely seen since the days of Ibn-i-Taimiya. He joined the Naqshbandi order, but the white heat of revivalist fervour which one finds in his writings is not visible even amongst early Naqshbandis, and the fact that in spite of Shah Wali-Ullah's emphasis on moderation, the Mujaddidia revivalist branch ultimately superseded other branches of Naqshbandia order, not only in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, but in the Ottoman Empire, was possibly a factor in creating that atmosphere which favoured the rise and acceptance of Wahabism. Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani has enjoyed considerable reputation amongst Sufi circles outside his land of birth. The Naqshbandia order is Central Asian and Turkish in origin, but remarkably enough, the branch of the order which was prevalent in the later days of the Ottoman Empire was not the original Central Asian *Naqshbandia*, but the revivalist *Mujaddidia* branch.[6]

We are here concerned primarily with Mujaddid's influence over the course of affairs in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. While discussing Akbar's religious policy, we have referred to the circumstances which made its failure inevitable. The inability of the Hindus and the Muslims to evolve a common spiritual brotherhood was the result of the basic concept of the orthodox Hindus that the Muslims were (and are) untouchables. This attitude became aggressive as a result of the revivalistic fervour of the Vaishanavia Gosains of Mathura. It became more marked during Akbar's era of toleration, but the writings of the Mujaddid which reveal the anguish which he felt at the low position of Islam under Akbar and even later, also militated against the success of Akbar's policy. In fact, it has been stated that

the swing of religious policy from Akbar to Aurangzeb was, in a considerable measure, due to the influence and teachings of Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani.

Mujaddid's forceful and eloquent letters, which he addressed to the leading nobles at Jahangir's court, calling upon them to rise in defence of Islam and uphold the dignity of their religion, have not been translated into English. It is not easy for anyone who has not read them in the original Persian to form an adequate idea of their power and effectiveness. These letters were not meant only for the individuals to whom they were addressed. They were really "open letters" and copies of these letters—not less forceful than the poems with which Byron tried to engender enthusiasm for the cause of Greek independence, or Hali tried to reawaken Indian Muslims—were soon made out, supplied to Mujaddid's disciples and admirers, and otherwise given wide circulation.

It has been stated by Mujaddidi writers that Aurangzeb became a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, son and successor of the Mujaddid. Even Aurangzeb's contemporary satirist, Ni'mat Khan 'Aali, refers to this in his *Wiqaya*, but the statement is not entirely free from doubt. Two collections of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum's letters have been published. In the Cawnpur edition, which has received wider circulation, there is a long letter dealing with spiritual subjects addressed by the Khwaja to Aurangzeb before he came to the throne. In the Amritsar edition, there are many letters addressed to Aurangzeb dealing with political matters, and thus supporting the theory of relationship between the saint and the Emperor, but the authenticity of these has yet to be established. Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum did not live very long after Aurangzeb's accession to the throne, but the official history of the period refers to his and his brother's visits to the Emperor's court, receiving high honours and rich rewards. After his death, his son, Shaikh Saif-ud-din, came to stay at the royal capital, and was apparently in close contact with the Emperor. The court history speaks of the Shaikh being a formal witness at the wedding of Prince A'zam Shah. Next year, on 3 June, 1669, the Emperor visited the saint at his residence, late at night, and returned to the palace after spending an hour there.[7]

It has been stated, on the doubtful authority of *Rauzat-ul-*

Qayyumia, that Aurangzeb became a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, son of Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani. This statement is not free from doubt. The Sirhindi saint with whom Aurangzeb seems to have had closest relations in early days was Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id, the elder brother of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum. He was the eldest surviving son of the Mujaddid and presumably ranked higher in the family heirarchy. Even otherwise, his tastes must have appealed to Aurangzeb. He was a great scholar, and in addition to many long letters in Arabic, was author of several works, including a book on *hadis*. His *Maktubat* were published in 1965, and show a great mastery of style. These letters do not seem to have been arranged chronologically, and some of these clearly addressed to Aurangzeb as a prince have been captioned as if they were addressed to him as emperor. *Maktubat-i-Sa'idia* covers 216 pages only, but contains as many as 9 letters addressed to Aurangzeb. While Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum's letters deal mainly with spiritual matters, two of Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id's letters to Aurangzeb urge him to uphold Shari'at, put down heresy, build mosques and *madrasas* and look after the *ulama*. *'Alamgir Nama,* the court history of Aurangzeb's first ten years of reign, refers at one place to a gift of three hundred *ashrafis* to "Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id and Shaikh Muhammad Ma'sum", and at another place to a presentation of a *Khil'at* and two thousand rupees to the "pious Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id". He died within a few months of Aurangzeb's coming to the throne[c], and now Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum became the senior most member of the family. He was also in contact with Aurangzeb, but apparently these relations became closer when his fifth son Saif-ud-din went to stay at the royal capital. The first volume of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum's *Maktubat* (published at Cawnpur) contains one long letter on *jihad-i-asghar* and *jihad-i-akbar* to "Prince Aurangzeb" written presumably when the latter was trying to reconquer Qandhar from the Safavids. In this letter the Khwaja quotes traditions prescribing capital punishment for the Shi'as. In the second volume of Khwaja's letters (published at Ludhiana), there is another letter on spiritual subjects, while the third volume

(c) Aurangzeb ascended the throne on 21.7.1659 while Khwaja Muhammad Sa'id and Muhammad Ma'sum passed away on 10.4.1660 and 17.8.1668 respectively.

(published at Amritsar) contains four letters addressed to Aurangzeb, written during the last years of the saint. In one of these letters (No. 227), there is a reference to the emperor having expressed a desire to receive spiritual help from the saint (*istimdad-i-tawajju-i-gha'ibana*), but this may only be the request of an admirer, and not of a regular disciple. Some interesting letters of the saint are addressed to his son, Shaikh Saif-ud-din, who corresponded with him about the spiritual life of the emperor. Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum died nine years after Aurangzeb's accession to the throne. *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri,* an authentic history of the reign, speaks of his son Shaikh Saif-ud-din being a formal witness at the wedding of Prince A'zam. Next year, on 3 June, 1669, the emperor visited the saint at his residence late at night and returned to the palace after spending an hour there. Shaikh Saif-ud-din died in 1685. The most important Sirhindi saint at this time, and one with whom Aurangzeb's close contacts can be historically established was Khwaja Muhammad Naqshband II, another son of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum. Two small collections of his *Maktubat* have been recently published by Dr. Ghulam Mustafa Khan of Hyderabad and some of them are of great historical significance. One of the letters (Vol. 1, No. 56), written when Aurangzeb was in the Deccan for conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda, contains the following entry :—

"This *Faqir* had left his native town for the purpose of Haj. On the way I received an order of the emperor with his own signature (written in his own handwriting?) and expressive of great enthusiasm and friendship. In accordance with his wishes I came over to his camp. He showed me endless kindness and would not agree to my departure (for Haj) this year. He called Prince Muhammad Kam Bakhsh in his presence and entrusted him to me. He told the prince that he himself had derived great satisfaction in the company of the saints of this *silsila,* and that the prince should also derive benefit from me and get busy (in spiritual exercises) under me. Accordingly, the *Faqir* got the prince busy (in spiritual exercises) and he thoroughly relished it. Next day, according to the wishes of the emperor, he came to my house. He himself visited me repeatedly." *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri* also mentions the saint's presence in Aurangzeb's camp at this time and sheds further light on the saint's close relations

with the emperor. On page 169 of a Sarkar's translation of *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri*, there is an account of the audience of "Shaikh Muhammad Naqshbandi (obviously an error for Naqshband) of Sirhind" with the emperor. This interview apparently took place between 12 and 16 June, 1686, before the royal camp reached Sholapur. At page 189 of the same book, the historian records the marriage, by imperial command, of the three daughters of Abdul Hasan Tana Shah, the last ruler of Golkonda. One of them was married to "Muhammad Umar son of Shaikh Muhammad Naqshband of Sirhind." When it is considered that the other two daughters of Tana Shah were married to Sikandar Bijapuri, the ruler of Bijapur and to a son of Asad Khan, the Prime Minister, it becomes obvious that the family of Shaikh Muhammad Naqshband must have ranked very high in the estimation of the emperor to be placed on a par with them. These marriages took place in the second half of 1689, and if Khwaja Muhammad Naqshband had stayed on in the royal camp till his son's marriage, his stay there must have extended over several years. This is supported by the Mujaddidi accounts. Perhaps the Sirhindi saint to whom influence over Aurangzeb an ironic reference is made by Ni'mat Khan 'Aali in his account of war with Golkonda (*Wiqaya*) was Khwaja Muhammad Naqshband II.

The above evidence amply illustrates Aurangzeb's extensive and close contacts with the Sirhindi saints. On the other hand, it is a historical fact that at one time the study of the *Maktubat* of Hazrat Mujaddid was banned under Aurangzeb's orders. The relevant order issued by Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam (on 1.12.1679) has been reproduced in *Mu'araj-ul-Walayat* and the ban finds an echo in *Rauzat-ul-Qayyumia*. It may also be relevant to state that there is clear evidence of Aurangzeb's warm regard for some contemporary saints of other *silsilas* also, and the only saint to whom he pays a high tribute in his own letters was Shaikh 'Abdul Latif of Burhanpur who, according to *Mu'araj-ul-Walayat*, was very critical of Hazrat Mujaddid.

It would be a fair inference on the basis of what has been stated above that while Aurangzeb was ready to enforce the verdict of the *ulama* even in case of a book like the *Maktubat* of the Mujaddid and though conclusive evidence about his having become a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum is not

available, there is plenty of reliable evidence indicating his close contacts with Sirhindi saints—particularly Khwajas Muhammad Sa'id and Muhammad Ma'sum, and the latter's two sons, Shaikhs Saif-ud-din and Muhammad Naqshband II—and his high regard for them.

There are definite historical links between Mujaddid's family and Aurangzeb. Even more remarkable is the fact that almost all the steps which are associated with Aurangzeb's religious policy were advocated forcefully by Mujaddid in his letters. Mujaddid had seen those days when, according to him, "the non-Muslims carried out aggressively (*ba-tariq-i-istila*) the ordinances of their own religion in a Muslim state and the Muslims were powerless to carry out the ordinances of Islam and if they carried them out they were executed."[8] He recalled with great anguish that in those tragic days, those who believed in the Holy Prophet were "humiliated and were powerless, while those who denied his Prophethood enjoyed high position, and used to sprinkle salt on the wounds of the Muslims with ridicule and taunts."[9]

These developments so hurt the sensitive mind and soul of the Mujaddid that not only was he filled with anger and hatred against Akbar, but against the non-Muslims too. What troubled him even more was that with Akbar's withdrawal of patronage from Islam, and an aggressive religious revival amongst the Hindus, non-Muslims had started the persecution of Islam. The Mujaddid writes in a letter : "The non-Muslims in India are, without any hesitation, demolishing mosques, and setting up temples in their place. For example, in Karkhet (Kuruks—hetra) Tank there was a mosque and the tomb of a saint. They have been demolished and in their place a very big temple has been erected."[10] Hindus were even interfering with Muslim observances, but Muslims were powerless to carry out openly many of Islamic injunctions. "During *Ekadashi*, the Hindus fast and strive hard to see that in Muslim towns no Muslim cooks or sells food on these days. On the other hand, during the sacred month of Ramazan, they openly prepare and sell food, but owing to the weakness of Islam, nobody can interfere. Alas ! the ruler of the country is one of us, but we are so badly off."[11]

These developments distressed the Mujaddid. Iron entered his soul, and he felt that consideration shown to the Hindus

in the previous reign had emboldened them. He, therefore, urged a reversal of that policy, and a restoration of the regime when *jizya* was imposed on the Hindus, and Islam was the dominant religion. In a number of letters, he expressed his regret at the abolition of the ban on cow slaughter. He repeatedly called upon the Muslim nobles not to associate with the non-Muslims or even unorthodox Muslims, or join them in their assemblies.

His attitude towards the Shi'as was similarly stiff. One of his earliest polemic efforts was the booklet *Radd-i-Rawafiz*, in which he advocated that the Shi'as were not Muslims and proposed harshest treatment for them. Even in later life he remained on the watch against Shi'a usages getting a foothold in Muslim India. Once the preacher at the principal mosque of Samana did not mention all the four *Caliphs* in his 'Id sermon. Mujaddid immediately wrote an open letter to the religious personages of that city, rebuking them and other inhabitants of the place, on the neglect of their duties, and for their failure to deal "aggressively and offensively" with that "unjust preacher."[12] In a letter to Shaikh Farid, he criticised association with the Shi'as and even stated that the company of Muslim non-conformists was worst than that of non-Muslims.

Shaikh Farid did not accept the Mujaddid's extremist point of view—and in some of his letters the Mujaddid has expressed his disappointment on his failures and omissions[13]—but is it a mere coincidence that the attitude which Aurangzeb had towards the Shi'as, at least during his early days, was identical with that of the Mujaddid? Summing up the influence of the Mujaddid, Professor 'Aziz Ahmed says :

"In a way he was the pioneer of what modern Islam is today in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent—isolationist, self-confident, conservative, deeply conscious of the need of reformation but distrustful of innovations, accepting speculation in theory but dreading it in practice, and insular in its contact with other civilizations."[14]

Mujaddid's influence on the Muslims in the subcontinent—especially after its recent revival since the publication of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's *Tazkira* in 1919—has been far-reaching but he cannot be held responsible, either primarily or entirely, for the trends listed by the writer. Many factors have contributed

to them, but basically the psychology which these trends reflect is a product of our *mileu*. Practically since the defeat of the Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1683, the Muslim world has been engaged in a struggle with the West, in which it has not been gaining the upper hand. The final dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, coming as it did during the days of the mass media of communication, created a particularly profound impression. The continued pressure of the West on the Muslim world in the military, political, intellectual and religious fields has not only driven the loyal followers of Islam to a state of frenzy and despair, "not unlike or unequal to that experienced eight centuries ago by the Christians", but has also created hatred and bitterness against the West. This has resulted in development of certain "complexes", which were unknown when Islam was triumphant and could afford to take a more relaxed view.

In a way, the psychological situation which confronted the Muslim India in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was something similar to what was faced by the outside Muslim world some centuries later. Muslim political power in India was yet intact but Akbar's policies had posed a threat to the dominant position of Islam. The initial efforts to deal with the problems failed, but ultimately men like Khwaja Baqi Billah, Shaikh Farid and Khan-i-A'zam mastered the situation. Still, the position had been so dangerous that it created a reaction on sensitive minds similar to that which the modern Muslim world has felt in the face of the later and bigger crisis. For sheer self-preservation, therefore, Muslim India had to throw up defences and take up attitudes which were unnecessary in the days of a triumphant Islam. Mujaddid was the spear-head of this reaction to a provocative situation. It would, however, be a mistake to think that he was mentally conditioned to only one limited approach. In view of the situation with which he was confronted, mainly one side of his character came to the fore but those who have made a thorough study of his *Maktubat* know that it represented only one facet of his versatile personality. He repeatedly says in his letters that the injunctions change with the times and attitudes, have to vary according to circumstances. Perhaps it may be useful to quote, in this connection, from an article of Professor Khaliq Ahmad Nizami :

"It would be unfair not only to Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi but

to history to brush aside his movement as narrow and sectional. There is no doubt that on one or two occasions he has made certain remarks which are bittter and uncalled for, but they are not the essence of his movement. As a matter of fact his attitude was a reaction to Akbar's religious experiments and to the atmosphere it had created at the court. As soon as that atmosphere disappeared, his attitude underwent a great change. In letters written subsequently one does not find any bitter criticism or exclusiveness."[15]

Pir Baba and Akhwand Darweza.

When Khwaja Baqi Billah and Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani were upholding or thodox Islam in Northern India, another group of prominent religious leaders was fighting heterodoxy on the north-western frontier. Reference has already been made to Mian Bayazid Ansari, the founder of the Raushania sect, and the political and military consequences of his movement. The religious side of the problem was, however, not less important. The doctrines of Bayazid have not been authoritatively studied as yet, but if their account in the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib* is to be accepted, it is obvious that the prevalence of these doctrines would have resulted in the adoption of beliefs and practices quite different from orthodox Islam. According to Major Raverty and the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Bayazid's doctrines were founded on a version of Isma'ili heresy, while Caroe considers them "a revival of the Kharijite schism". Whatever may have been their basis, their popularity was essentially due to their response to local needs and conditions. They had very little in common with the form of Islam in Hind-Pakistan or Afghanistan, and their adoption would have introduced a new and heterogenous element in the Muslim society.

This danger was fought by Sayyid 'Ali Shah Tirmizi, popularly known as the Pir Baba, whose tomb in the recesses of Buner "remains to this day the most hallowed shrine in all the frontier country."[16] He came to the Indian subcontinent as a child in the days of Babur and Humayun, but abandoned the world at an early stage and became a searcher after truth and started studying under various scholars and mystics. When his parents returned home in 1540, he stayed behind, and was later induced by two Pathan (Gigiani) notables to move to the Doaba, close to Peshawar, to combat the spread of heresy in these parts. After sometime he wished to return home, but the local Pathans successfully dissua-

ded him from leaving them. Ultimately he retired to a secluded place in Buner, but whenever he heard of any heterodox preacher, he would visit him and try to counter his influence. He died at an advanced age in 1631 and was buried in Buner.

"Many of the direct descendants of Pir Baba have wielded great influence amongst the Yusufzais and other tribes in the north of the Pathan belt. Three centuries later, in the person of Sayyid Akbar Shah, we shall see them taking a great part in supplying the rallying point for the opposition to the Sikhs and later to the British. And there are still among these Sayyids, men who are esteemed."[17]

Pir Baba was essentially a saint and a mystic. His most important disciple, who was a scholar and a writer, was Akhwand Darweza, whom Raverty calls "the greatest and most venerated of all the saints of Afghanistan."[18] He was Pir Baba's principal lieutenant in controversies with the sects they considered heterodox—Raushania or Shi'as or even the less orthodox Sufis. It was he who coined the word Pir-i-Tarik as the title of Pir-i-Raushan, which his followers gave to Bayazid and "the orthodox still refer to his followers as Tarikis". He wrote a large number of books to spread orthodox Islam and refute the views of the unorthodox. Many of these—like *Irshad-ut-Talibin* and *Makhzan-i-Islam*—have been repeatedly printed. His *Tazkirat-ul-Akhyar-wal-Ashrar*, though written in the language of a controversialist who was deeply hurt by un-Islamic practices he saw around him, is an interesting contemporary account of the religious personalities in the Pathan area during the 17th century—both the orthodox whom he calls *Akhyar* and the unorthodox whom he calls *Ashrar*. After his death in 1638, his work was carried on by his son Akhwand Karima and their many disciples. Khushhal Khan Khattak refers to his *Makhzan* as a book current amongst scholars in his time.

The result of the efforts of Pir Baba, Akhwand Darweza and others holding their point of view was that Mian Bayazid's more unorthodox doctrines were abandoned. His pantheistic Sufism, which is the main theme of his written works, found expression in the poetry of his descendant Mirza Khan Ansari, and gained currency, but his heterodox views and practices did not strike root. Even Mirza Khan Ansari, who was probably his grandson and had at one time adopted his doctrine, abjured them before

his death, and in course of time became a leading orthodox *'alim* of Peshawar.

Production of Islamic Literature in Bengali.

We have dealt with orthodox religious activity at Delhi, Sirhind and on the Frontier. Signs of religious activity of a somewhat different nature, but conducive to the strengthening of the forces of orthodoxy are visible about the same time in distant Bengal. We have referred in an earlier chapter to the role of the Sufis in the spread of Islam in Bengal, and even the part played by religious leaders like Hazrat Nur Qutb-i-'Alam in the political sphere. The religious history of Muslim Bengal is as yet unwritten, but indications are that after the vigour and energy displayed by Chaitanya and his prominent disciples, and particularly owing to the vigorous expression which their devotion and religious yearnings found in the new Bengali literature, Islamic influences in the the area gradually weakened, especially outside the principal cities. Partly this happened as the waves of the immigrant Sufis and preachers subsided and partly as an inadequate knowledge of Persian and Arabic outside the principal towns did not give an opportunity to the general population properly to assimilate Islam. A vigorous new Bengali literature was now coming into existence, often under the patronage of the Muslim rulers, and was concerned largely with the stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and other Hindu themes. Muslim masses, not well-versed in any language other than Bengali, heard the Bengali poems and stories expressing these themes or saw them acted at Hindu festivals or under the patronage of Hindu landlords, and their mental background became more Hindu than Islamic.

In the later part of the sixteenth century, however, we notice marked literary activity amongst Bengali Muslims, which increased their knowledge of Islamic lore. There was a regular movement to write in Bengali, lives of the Holy Prophet and other religious personages and about Islamic doctrines. Sayyid Sultan who led this movement lucidly gives the reasons for the new literary activity in his *Wafat-i-Rasul* written in the second half of the sixteenth century :

> All the Bengalis do not understand Arabic,
> None understands the words of your religion.
> Everyone remains satisfied with (Hindu) tales.

I, the despised and the sinful, am in the midst of these people.
I do not know what *Ilahi* (God) will ask me in the after-life.
If He asks, "Having been in their midst, why did you not tell them about the religion ?" and blames me for this fault, I will have no reply.
Accordingly, I have composed *Nabi-vamsa* (History of the Prophet's family) for the benefit of the ignorant people.
For this so many people blame me that I have polluted this religious book.
When the learned read from the books, which are in Arabic, and do not translate them in the Hindustani (*i.e.* Bengali) language, how can our people follow ?
In whatever language God has given one birth, that alone is his highest treasure.

Sayyid Sultan, who belonged to Chittagong District, flourished from the middle of the sixteenth to the second quarter of the seventeenth century. He wrote a number of books—*e.g. Shab-i-Mi'raj* (1585), *Nabi Bangsha, Rasul Vijay, Iblis Nama*—in addition to *Wafat-i-Rasul.* He was a practising Sufi, and his disciples carried on his work. Most important of them was Muhammad Khan (circa 1580—1650) who wrote a number of books on Islamic themes. Amongst these *Maqtul Husain* on the tragedy of Karbala is a classic of Muslim Bengali literature and is read even at present.

These activities were not connected with any movement in nothern India, but Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani had at least one Bengali disciple and paid him very special attention. Maulana Hamid Danishmand became Mujaddid's disciple in Sirhind and after his spiritual training returned to Bengal where he established a big *khanqah* and *madrasa* at Mangalkot near Burdwan. Shah Jahan gave large lands as *waqf* to this *madrasa,* which remained till recently an important centre of Muslim orthodox influences.

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CHAPTER XIX

JAHANGIR

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Jahangir	November 3, 1605
Jahangir marries Nur Jahan	May, 1611
First English Factory at Surat	1612
Rana of Mewar submits to Khurram	1615
Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy	1615-18
Conquest of Kangra	November, 1620
Loss of Qandhar	June, 1622
Death of Jahangir	October 28, 1627

Early problems.

On the occasion of his crowning ceremony on 3 November, 1605, Jahangir issued a number of edicts for the welfare of the people, and granted a general amnesty to all his former opponents. 'Abdur Rahman, the son of Abul Fazl, was promoted to the rank of 2,000 and the nobles who had championed the cause of Khusrau during the last days of Akbar were allowed to retain their rank and *jagirs*.

Soon, however, he was faced with the task of suppressing the revolt of his son Khusrau, who had fled to the Punjab and raised the standard of revolt. Shaikh Farid who had been instrumental in securing Jahangir's accession again took a leading part in dealing with this challenge and was able to arrest Khusrau. Jahangir was pleased so much with the Shaikh's performance, that he visited him in his tent, embraced him, conferred on him the title of Nawab Murtaza Khan and appointed him Governor of Gujarat.

Khusrau's rebellion was suppressed with little difficulty, but it incidentally led to a far-reaching development. Khusrau's cause had been blessed by the Sikh Guru, Arjan Dev, who had aided him with monetary help. After the defeat of Khusrau, the Guru was summoned to the court to answer for his conduct. The Sikh historians say that the enmity of the Hindu *Diwan* of Lahore,

Chandu Mal, who had a family quarrel with the Guru, was mainly responsible for his troubles. The Guru was unable to give any satisfactory explanation and was ordered to be put to death. As remarked by a modern Hindu historian, the Guru would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel,[1] but this punitive action against him marked the beginning of conflict between the Sikhs and the Mughal government, which later assumed very ugly proportions.

Nur Jahan and increase of Persian influences.

Another important event of Jahangir's reign was his marriage to Nur Jahan in 1611. She was the widow of a Persian nobleman, Sher Afgan, who had been *faujdar* of Burdwan and had met his death while resisting arrest by Qutb-ud-din Khan Koka, the viceroy of Bengal. The popular accounts which became current soon after Jahangir's death made the whole affair reminiscent of the biblical story of David and Absalom, but they are not accepted in responsible circles. Nur Jahan was nearly forty when, three years after the death of Sher Afgan, she became the royal consort, but she was a capable woman, and soon acquired a great ascendency over her husband. In fact, she became the joint ruler of the kingdom. Coins were struck in her name, and Jahangir used to say that he had handed her the country in return for a cup of wine and a few pieces of mutton. Nur Jahan's relatives were entrusted with the most important posts in the realm. Her father obtained a high office and her brother, Asaf Khan, in course of time became the Prime Minister and his daughter, Mumtaz Mahal, "the Lady of the Taj," married Prince Khurram, who succeeded Jahangir as Shah Jahan.

The influence of the gifted, but masterful queen and her relatives was, as we shall see later, not entirely beneficial, but they were all capable people and until Jahangir's later years, administration of the empire was efficient. Their influence attracted from Iran a large number of brilliant soldiers, scholars, poets and civil servants, who played an important role in the administration and the cultural life of Mughal India.

Political Developments.

One of the most fruitful achievements of Jahangir's reign was the consolidation of the Mughal rule in Bengal. This province had been incorporated in the empire under Akbar, but "the governors of Akbar's time, notably Raja Man Singh, contented themselves

with securing the nominal submission of the old independent Afghan and Hindu *zamindars*, the Bara Bhuiyan being the most important of them, and did not make any serious attempt to bring them under the direct control of the government."[2] In Jahangir's reign concerted attempts were made "to crush all independent *zamindars* and impose a uniform administrative system over the entire territory." This was largely the work of Jahangir's foster-brother, Shaikh 'Ala-ud-din, entitled Islam Khan, who was viceroy of Bengal from 1608 to 1613, and can well contest with Sha'ista Khan the claim of being "the greatest viceroy of the Bengal Subah." He employed all possible methods—force, rewards, diplomacy—to terminate the independence of the powerful *zamindars*, and was successful in his efforts. He also enlarged the territorial limits of the empire by subjugating Kuch Bihar (1609) and conquering and annexing Kamrup (1612). In 1612, he shifted his capital from Rajmahal to Dacca, which was a singularly appropriate choice, particularly in view of the menace of the Magh raids on the eastern rivers. Islam Khan died on 21 August,1613, and after an interval of four years, during which his incompetent brother was in charge of the area, his good work was carried by another capable viceroy, Ibrahim Khan. He devoted the six years of his viceroyalty (1617-1623) to political conciliation and consolidation. Islam Khan had kept under close surveilance the near relatives of the old *zamindars* and chiefs who had been displaced—like Musa Khan, the son of the famous 'Isa Khan, and brothers and sons of 'Usman Afghan, the last great Afghan chief, who himself died fighting in 1612. In course of time Ibrahim Khan felt secure enough to release the political prisoners and even to employ Musa Khan and his companions in the Mughal service. The experiment proved successful, and Musa Khan rendered excellent service in the conquest of Tipperah (1618). Ibrahim Khan died loyally fighting against Shah Jahan, when he revolted against his father and tried to seize the government of Bengal.

Outside Bengal, the main military events of Jahangir's reign were the victory over the Rajputs of Mewar in 1615, the re-assertion of the Mughal authority in the Deccan and the capture of Kangra in 1620. Two years later the Mughals lost the great fort of Qandhar to the Persians and in spite of efforts made during Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's reigns, they were not able to recover



MUGHAL EMPEROR AND NOBLES (Circa 1610)

The nobles—of Jahangir's and Akbar's reigns—as named by the artist are:—

Left : Ist Row :— (Left to Right)	1.	Shaikh Farid (Nawab Murtaza Khan)			2.	Raja Ramdas Kachwaha.
	3.	Khan Jahan Lodi.	4.	Khan-i-Khanan.	5.	Shah Pervaiz.
2nd Row :—	1.	Muqarrab Khan.	2.	Asaf Khan.		
3rd Row :—	1.	Khan-i-Alam.	2.	Mirza Ghazi.	3.	Khan-i-Azam.
	4.	Mirza Rustam.				
Right :— (Left to Right)	1.	Ani Rai ?	2.	Raja Bhao Singh.	3.	Jan Beg Diwan ?
	4.	Mahabat Khan.	5.	Itimad-ud-daula.	6.	?

2 (b) (i)



Nawab Murtaza Khan
(Shaikh Farid)

2 (b) (ii)



Sa'dullah Khan

it permanently. This was also the time of internal difficulties. Hitherto, Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, and Prince Khurram had co-operated in controlling the affairs of the country and Khurram had been the leader of victorious expeditions in Rajputana and the Deccan. Nur Jahan had, however, by now attained a complete ascendency over the Emperor, and tried to promote the interest of Prince Shahryar, to whom her daughter by Sher Afgan was married in 1622. This brought her into conflict with Prince Khurram, who revolted in 1623. The prince spent much time wandering in the south and the east, and at one time temporarily became master of Bengal and Bihar, but was ultimately defeated and obliged to retire to the Deccan. In the end he asked pardon of his father, to whom he was reconciled in 1626.

Another important person to rebel against Nur Jahan's dominance was Mahabat Khan, who had been deprived of his *mansab*. In despair Mahabat Khan resorted to drastic steps, and succeeded at one time in seizing the Emperor while he was encamped on the banks of the Jhelum. Nur Jahan, however, proved too clever for this simple soldier and was able to secure the release of her royal husband. Mahabat Khan was forced to flee to Deccan, where he joined Prince Khurram. Next year, Jahangir while returning from Kashmir, died at Bhimbar and was buried at Shahdara, a suburb of Lahore. Through a relay of messengers, Asaf Khan sent word to his son-in-law in the Deccan, and was able to secure his succession without much difficulty. Nur Jahan [a] who had a magnificent tomb erected over the grave of her husband, retired from the world and lived a quiet and lonely life for sixteen years after the death of Jahangir.

By now the fame of the Mughal empire had spread to distant lands, and in Jahangir's days embassies came to his court from European countries. England sent Captain Hawkins in 1608, and Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James I, came to conclude a commercial treaty in 1615. By September, 1618, he was able to obtain a *farman* signed by Prince Khurram as viceroy of Gujarat, which "gave reasonable facilities for trade", but owing to the Prince's opposition did not allow "a building to be bought or built as permanent residence."[3]

Jahangir was large-hearted, level-headed, and well-meaning,

(*a*) According to some writers, the tomb was built by Shah Jahan. For details see, M. Baqar, *Lahore, Past and Present*, pp. 405-11.

but was an ease-loving ruler. He abandoned Akbar's experiments in religion, but otherwise maintained his policy of *Sulh-i-kul* and preserved his administrative institutions. Painting, as we shall see later, received special encouragement under Jahangir and some of the most beautiful Mughal gardens also belong to his day.

Unhealthy features of Jahangir's reign.

Owing to likeable personality, brilliance of his court and his friendliness towards foreigners, Jahangir has been favourably treated, especially by English writers. There are, however, certain unfavourable aspects of his administration, which not only cast a shadow on his regime, but darkened the course of the later Mughal history. For one thing, the extension of the Mughal dominion came practically to a halt in his day, and the empire suffered a serious blow in the loss of Qandhar. Dealing with the halt of Mughal expansion, in spite of vast imperial resources and large unconquered areas in the Deccan, a contemporary Dutch writer somewhat harshly points out : "The probable explanation is to be found in the sloth, cowardice and weakness of the last emperor, Salim, and in the domestic discords of his family."[4]

Even more regrettable was the huge growth of bureaucracy and the resultant increase in government expenditure. No large territory was added to the empire, but the number of *mansabdars*, which under Akbar stood at 800, increased to 2,941 in Jahangir's reign.

The author of *Ma'asir-ul-Umara,* himself a financial expert, dealing with the fiscal history of the Mughal period, says : "In the time of Jahangir, who was a careless prince and paid no attention to political or financial matters, and who was constitutionally thoughtless and pompous, the fraudulent officials in gathering lucre, and hunting for bribes, paid no attention to the abilities of men, or to their performance. The devastation of the country and the diminution of income rose to such a height that the revenue of the exchequer-lands fell to 50 lacs of rupees while expenditure rose to one kror and fifty lacs, and large sums were expended out of the general treasury (*Khazana-i-'Amira*)."[5]

Jahangir must bear the ultimate responsibility for this state of affairs, but the immediate cause was the dominance and policy of Nur Jahan. She was a woman of noble impulses and good taste, who spent large sums in charity, particularly for the relief of indigent women and worked hard to relieve the drabness of the

Indian life. Many innovations which enhanced the grace and charm of Mughal culture can be directly traced to her, and her influence led to the maintenance of a magnificent court. All these things, however, cost money, and strained the royal resources.

What was even worse was that the high style of living, which was introduced at the royal court was copied by the nobility, and an era of extravagance with its concomitants of corruption and demoralisation amongst officers of the state was inaugurated, which corroded the structure of the Mughal government and weakened the tone of the administration. A contemporary Dutch account sharply criticises Nur Jahan and her "crowd of Khurasanis" for what it was costing the state to maintain "their excessive pomp" and complains that the foreign bureaucrats were particularly indifferent to the condition of the masses."[6] To Nur Jahan herself belongs the doubtful honour of introducing the system or at least the nomenclature of *Nazars*[(b)]—corruption at the royal level—and Asaf Khan emerges in the pages of Sir Thomas Roe's account of his negotiations at the Mughal court in a very poor light, as exceedingly greedy for gifts.

The era of extravagance, which was ushered during Jahangir's reign was fed from two other sources. One was the change in the prevalent philosophy of life. The old Indian emphasis on plain living and the excellence of limitation of wants is not altogether consistent with the way of life introduced by Muslim rulers in the subcontinent, but (allied to the Sufi philosophy) it has not been without a measure of potency. In Akbar's days in particular with his emphasis on the spiritual side of things, it is easy to trace a certain idealism, an other-worldliness, and the ability to rise above purely materialistic values, in spite of the elaborate grandeur of a great empire. The Irani newcomers did not share this attitude to life and under their influence "gracious living" became the *summum bonum,* the goal of human existence.

Another factor responsible for increased extravagance lay in the vast opportunities for spending provided by the new commercial contacts with Europe, which brought out some pathetic propensities of the Mughal nobility, and royalty. Edwards says : "The new trade with Europe did afford the wealthy upper classes

(*b*) See Banarsi Parsad's *History of Shah Jahan*, p. 298, but apparently the system of making presents to the royalty was of an earlier origin.

in India wider opportunities of indulging their taste for costly knick-knacks, which were entered in English export lists under the general category of 'Toys', intended for presentation or sale to the Indian nobility".[7] In this Jahangir led the way. He "was described as an amateur of all varieties and antiquities, and displayed an almost childish love of toys. Covert describes how he presented the Emperor with a small whistle of gold, weighing almost an ounce, set with sparks of rubies, which he took and whistled therewith almost an hour."[8]

In Jahangir's reign, the composition of the higher services was also disturbed. Akbar had made good use of the "Hindustanis" —*e.g.* Abul Fazl, Faizi, Todar Mal, Shaikh Farid (Murtaza Khan), Man Singh, and Bhagwan Singh—and had maintained a due balance between the Irani and Turani elements. Under Jahangir this balance was upset, and Iranis became all powerful. Partly this was facilitated by the early death of Murtaza Khan, and the stigma attached to Man Singh, the Rajput leader, and Khan-i-A'zam, the premier Turani noble, on account of their association with Khusrau. While in check, the Irani element was a source of strength and a great civilising influence but this ceased to be the position in the eighteenth century, and its political role during the decline of the empire was often negative.

CHAPTER XX

SHAH JAHAN

CHRONOLOGY

Enthronement	February, 1628
Death of Mumtaz Mahal	17 June, 1631
Siege and capture of Hugli	1632
Ahmadnagar annexed	1633
Capital moved from Agra to Delhi	1646
Death of Wazir Sa'dullah Khan	1656
Illness of Shah Jahan : War of Succession	September, 1657
Informal Enthronement of Aurangzeb	July 21, 1658
Death of Shah Jahan	1666

The reign of Shah Jahan, who formally ascended the throne on February 6, 1628, is rightly considered the period of the greatest splendour of the Great Mughals. The empire enjoyed a great measure of internal peace, and the Emperor had ample leisure to satisfy his taste for cultural pursuits, and the Mughal armies could attend to expansion of the empire. The earliest internal incident was a minor rebellion in Bundelkhand where, on the death of Bir Singh Bundhela, the favourite of Jahangir and murderer of Abul Fazl, his son revolted (1627). The rebellion was put down without much difficulty, and in any case did not affect the even tenor of administration in the country at large. Another early rebellion was that of Khan Jahan Lodi, a former viceroy of the Deccan. A large army was sent against him and after three years of desultory warfare he was defeated and killed in 1631. The next event of importance was the war with the Portuguese in 1631-32. They had been permitted by the last independent Sultan of Bengal to settle at Hugli and had received commercial privileges, but they began to abuse their position. They had commercial and other relations with the Portuguese at Chittagong, who indulged in piracy in the Bay of Bengal and on Bengal rivers. Another cause for dispute was that the Portuguese had fortified their settle-

ment at Hugli and owing to their command of the sea and superiority in the use of fire-arms, the Mughal authorities "could not but conceive great fears", to quote a contemporary Portuguese account, "lest His Majesty of Spain should possess himself of the kingdom of Bengal," Shah Jahan who had become particularly alive to the problem in the course of his wanderings in Bengal during his revolt against his father, gave orders to Qasim Khan Juwaini, the talented viceroy of Bengal, to drive them out. As the Portuguese were well-organised, elaborate measures had to be taken against them and they offered stiff resistance, but Hugli was captured in 1632, and the miscreants were severely punished.[a]

Another important event was the reconquest of Kamrup (1637-38) which had been lost to the Ahom ruler in the previous reign. In the eastern zone, however, the most memorable feature of Shah Jahan's reign was the long and peaceful administration of Prince Muhammad Shuja', which with short breaks extended over twenty-one years (April 1639—April 1660). Shuja' was not a painstaking and careful administrator and some of his measures—*e.g.* the liberal loosely worded concessions granted to the foreign traders—created problems in later days, but he was big-hearted and generous and maintained a magnificent court. He adorned his capital, Rajmahal, with beautiful marble palaces and other magnificent buildings, but they have now been swallowed up by the change in the course of the Ganges. He gathered a number of poets, musicians, and artists round him and it is not without significance that Alawal, the first important Muslim Bengali poet was at one time, in his retinue. He persuaded his father to permit him to take away two celebrated musicains of the royal court, and took other steps to deepen and broaden the foundations of Mughal culture in the eastern provinces. He is believed to have been a Shi'a, and his court was thronged by Shi'a and Irani nobles, who encouraged his taste for art and poetry.

Akbar had succeeded in annexing Khandesh, Berar and a

(*a*) The pious royal chroniclers do not mention it, but we learn from local revenue records that after the political problem had been dealt with, Shah Jahan allowed the surviving prisoners of Hugli to return, gave them permission to rebuild the Church, and even gave it an endowment of 770 *bighas* of rent-free lands. For details see D. G. Crawford, *A Brief History of the Hugli District*, p. 8.

part of Ahmadnagar, but the ruler of Ahmadnagar took advantage of Jahangir's preoccupation with the rebellions of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan to reassert his independence. Shah Jahan who knew the Deccan well and had acted as governor for the area, adopted a vigorous expansionist policy. In 1633, the last king of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was captured and the famous fort of Daulatabad fell into the hands of the Mughals. Three years later, Shah Jahan proceeded to the Deccan himself, and compelled the rulers of Golkonda and Bijapur to acknowledge the Mughal suzerainty and to pay tribute.[b]

The Deccan Wars (1622-1638).

Aurangzeb was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan in 1638 and had under him the four provinces of Khandesh, Berar, Telingana and Daulatabad, into which the Mughal dominion in the Deccan was divided. In 1638, he conquered and added Baglana to the empire.

Having attained his aim in the Deccan, Shah Jahan turned his attention to the north-west. The Mughals had not reconciled themselves to the loss of Qandhar, and in 1638 Shah Jahan's officers were able to persuade 'Ali Mardan Khan, the local Persian governor to hand over the fort to the Mughals and enter their service. 'Ali Mardan Khan was a capable officer, and proved a great acquisition to the empire. He served as successful governor of Kabul and Kashmir and his memory is kept green by many magnificent buildings which he erected. The gain of Qandhar was, however, temporary, as in 1648 the Persians reconquered the fort, and the repeated efforts made by the Mughals (in 1649, 1652 and 1635) to regain it were unsuccessful.

The North-West.

Shah Jahan's efforts to interfere in the affairs of Central Asia were equally fruitless. The Mughals had made themselves thoroughly at home in India, but occasionally their interest in their ancestral territory was revived. In 1645 conditions at Bukhara were disturbed and Shah Jahan took this opportunity to send an Army under Murad who entered Balkh in 1646. Aurangzeb was appointed governor and fought bravely to hold his own against the Uzbegs, who had closed their ranks by now, but found it impossible

(b) It is interesting to note that "Shah Jahan invaded the Deccan in 1635, the King of Spain ordered his officers at Goa to help both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar." (Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shah Jahan*, p.302)

to hold the country and evacuated Balkh in 1647.

Shah Jahan's attempts to interfere in the affairs of Central Asia failed but his government was singularly successful in dealing with the north-west frontier. This area had given trouble in the days of Akbar, mainly owing to the opposition of the Yusufzais and of the followers of the Raushania sect. Shah Jahan had also to face serious trouble at the hands of 'Abdul Qadir, the Raushani leader, but Sa'id Khan, the *Faujdar* of Bangash, who was later appointed governor of Kabul, dealt with the trouble very efficiently. Not only was he able to disperse the hostile *lashkar* and inflict heavy casualties, but with a combination of tact and firmness was able to persuade 'Abdul Qadir and his mother to surrender on promise of safe-conduct. 'Abdul Qadir died shortly thereafter, but his mother with other relatives and Raushani leaders appeared before the Emperor at Delhi. "They were kindly treated, and sent with rank and dignity to the Deccan province, where they were allowed to gather round them their adherents in the empire's service."[1]

Mughal Relations with Iran and Turkey.

It might be convenient to review here the Mughal relations with the Muslim kingdoms of Iran and Turkey, as a major change in these relations was attempted during Shah Jahan's reign. When Babur, the founder of the Mughal empire, was yet struggling with the Uzbegs for the mastery of Samarqand and Bukhara, a revolution had taken place in Iran, where Shah Isma'il (1502-1524) had established the rule of the Safavi dynasty, with Shi'aism as the state religion. The new dynasty had achieved power as champions of Shi'aism, and for political as well as religious reasons had to adopt a policy which involved them in conflicts with the Sunni kingdoms of Turkey and Central Asia, and which ushered a new era of Sunni-Shi'a bitterness. As Bartold points out, from the sixteenth century the struggle between Shi'as and the Sunnis took a cruel turn such as had not existed during the middle ages.[2] This conflict affected Babur only indirectly and not very adversely, as his principal Uzbeg enemy, Shaibani Khan was also the enemy of Shah Isma'il, and he himself repeatedly received assistance from the Persian king. This help was, however, not effective and ultimately he had to move to Afghanistan and later to India to establish a kingdom. Babur had two Shi'a wives, and at one time he had taken steps "implying tacit acknowledgement of Persian overlord-

ship" but he remained "a staunch, though liberal Sunni Muslim" and the first coins which he struck at Lahore were in the regular Sunni style, with the names of the first four caliphs. Perhaps one factor which gave Babur liberty of action was that Shah Isma'il had, in the meanwhile, suffered a serious defeat in 1514 at the hands of the Ottoman Sultan Salim, the Grim. Humayun had a Shi'a mother and a Shi'a wife, but he also remained Sunni and in general followed Babur's policy.

Akbar seems to have been seriously concerned at the extension of the Ottoman power and their spiritual claims. Salim had extended his dominions over Syria and Egypt, and after the surrender of the insignia of *Khilafat* by the last of the Egyptian Abbasids in 1517 had issued a proclamation claiming hegemony over all orthodox Muslims. In 1534, the Turks occupied Baghdad. The Mughal ruler at one time even thought of combining with the Christians in Europe against the Sultan of Turkey as his ancestor Timur had done.[c] A feeling of rivalry, if not active hostility, existed between the Mughal and their "Osmanli" cousins and malcontents from the Mughal dominions (for example, a son of Sikandar Lodi) sought and found asylum at the Sublime Porte of Istanbul.

With Iran Akbar tried to maintain friendly relations, and at one time thought of sending a prince, or even going personally, in aid of the ruler of Iran "especially in view of the claims of their ancestors on us." When, however, 'Abbas the Great (1587-1629) asked for his help against 'Abdullah, the Uzbeg ruler, Akbar refused to do anything to disturb his friendly relations with him and even told him of his refusal of the Safavid request.

During Jahangir's reign no record of any direct communication between the Mughals and "the Osmanlis" is available, but in spite of Jahangir's Persian consort, there was a sharp deterioration in relations with Iran, owing to the dispute over Qandhar. As stated in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Kabul and Qandhar were regarded by the Mughals as the two main gates of Hindustan, one leading to Turkistan, and the other to Persia, and their possession was considered vital to the security of the subcontinent. Persia also laid claim to Qandhar and both countries resorted to subterfuge

(*c*) Too much significance cannot be attached to fanciful schemes which did not find expression in action. In *Insha-i-Abul Fazl*, there are letters indicative of Akbar's desire to carry on warfare against the Portuguese,

to obtain its possession. In 1622, 'Abbas the Great was on the throne of Iran, and occupied Qandhar. This was the beginning of a period of tension between India and Iran, but letters, drafted by well-known *munshis* of the two courts, and containing as much subtle scorn as polite verbosity allowed, continued to be exchanged between the rulers.

In Shah Jahan's reign the relations with Iran worsened, as in addition to the tension over Qandhar, a new source of conflict arose with Shah Jahan's attempt to subdue the Shi'a states in the Deccan, "which looked upon the Safavids of Persia as their natural protectors and even used their names in their *khutba*".[3] Earlier in Jahangir's reign, 'Abbas the Great had pleaded on their behalf with his "brother", and even offered "to let the land-hunger of the Mughal nobles be satisfied at his expense to save the Shi'ite states from absorption."[4] In Shah Jahan's days, Shah Safi pleaded with him, and also constantly wrote to the rulers of Golkonda and Bijapur, to guide and encourage them, but all these efforts were fruitless.

Embittered by strained relations with Iran, Shah Jahan turned towards Istanbul. In 1636, Sultan Murad was at war with Shah Safi in order to reconquer Baghdad, which though occupied by Sulaiman I in 1534 had been later lost to 'Abbas the Great. At this juncture Shah Jahan wrote to the Turkish Sultan indicating his desire to form an alliance with the Turks against the Persians —more or less on the lines contemplated by Sher Shah in opposition to the Safavids. Oriental epistolary diplomacy, in which each *Mir Munshi's* chief concern appeared to be the beating of his master's drum was rarely helpful, and Shah Jahan's letter did not evoke an enthusiastic reply, possibly as by the time it was received, Murad had already achieved his military objectives and felt no need for forming alliances. Minor presents and formal letters were, however, occasionally exchanged, and some contact between Istanbul and Delhi was established. Some time between 1639 and 1643 Dara Shukoh sent Mulla Shauqi, with a letter and valuable presents to the Grand Wazir Mustafa. "Dara's envoy being a learned theologian was much honoured by the *ulama* of Constantinople and was entertained with discussions on theology and religion."[5]

Political relations between the Mughals and Iran and Turkey, complicated by conflicting aims and objectives were often strained,

but as shown by the welcome received by Dara Shukoh's envoy, under suitable conditions there was scope for cultural ami- ty and co-operation. We shall deal elsewhere with these subjects.

The Deccan (1653—1658).

Aurangzeb, who was the viceroy of the Deccan from 1636 to 1644 took efficient measures to place the affairs of the newly conquered territory on a satisfactory basis, but the viceroys who succeeded him and ruled for brief periods, were unable to administer the area properly. The affairs of the country were unsettled as a large number of soldiers and officials belonging to the Deccani kingdoms had lost their emp- loyment and were fomenting unrest. Cultivation was neglected and the revenues were diminishing. Aurangzeb was sent back to the Deccan in 1653 and worked hard to restore order and good administration. He introduced into the Deccan the land revenue system which Akbar had adopted in the north. With the adoption of a regular system of land revenue assessment and establishment of an efficient system of government, cultivation was extended and revenue was enhanced. Unluckily, Aurangzeb's relations with his eldest brother, Dara Shukoh, who had gained great influence at the capital and with his father, were not happy. His requests for additional funds received little attention and many difficulties were placed in his way. He was constantly hampered in his dealings with the rulers of the Deccan. They were not paying annual tribute regularly and after obtaining the approval of the court, Aurangzeb demanded from the ruler of Golkonda a part of his territory to cover his tribute. The affairs of this kingdom were in a disorder, and some members of the family of Mir Jumla, an able and powerful official of Golkonda, appealed to Aurangzeb for protection. Aurangzeb, who, even otherwise was dissatisfied with the delay in the payment of tribute marched on Golkonda, and laid siege to the fort. The Sultan of Golkonda, however, made representations at the capital and Aurangzeb was ordered to pardon the Sultan.[6] He was even then able to annex some territ- ory, realise the arrears of tribute and gain the services of Mir Jumla, but he seems to have become convinced that these king- doms, with Irani officers (occasionally including an Irani chief mini- ster) and close relations with Iran, were out of place within the Mughal empire, and was not satisfied with the results achieved.

Lack of harmony between the viceroy of the Deccan and the authorities at Delhi became even more manifest in the case

of Bijapur. In 1657, disorder broke out in that kingdom, and after obtaining the permission of the Emperor, Aurangzeb set out to conquer and annex Bijapur. Bidar and Kaliani were captured and the Bijapur army decisively defeated, but again Dara Shukoh and Shah Jahan interfered,[7] and Aurangzeb was ordered to withdraw at a time when it appeared easy to incorporate within the Mughal Empire a territory where Maratha nobles were dominant, and which was unable to hold its own against the Portuguese. Aurangzeb imposed a large indemnity and gained many fortresses, but the postponement of the final settlement of affairs in the Deccan had evil consequences for the empire.

War of Succession.

In 1658 Shah Jahan fell seriously ill and was unable to attend to affairs of state for so long that at one time it was rumoured that he had died. This was incorrect but all the princes feeling that the emperor's end was near, began to take measures to assert their claims. Shah Jahan had four sons out of whom Dara Shukoh, the eldest was the viceroy of the Punjab and Allahabad, and had been treated practically as heir-apparent by the king, who towards the end of his reign left the administration of the state largely to him and conferred on him the title of Shah-i-Buland Iqbal. Other brothers, who also were in charge of large-sized provinces, contested Dara's claims. Amongst them, Aurangzeb was the viceroy of the Deccan, and Shah Shuja' and Murad were in charge of Bengal and Gujarat respectively. On hearing of their father's illness and Dara Shukoh's assumption of the administration of imperial affairs, Shuja' and Murad crowned themselves, but the ever-cautious Aurangzeb bided his time. He corresponded with Shuja' and Murad, and all the three brothers started moving towards the capital. The forces of Shuja' were the first to come in conflict with an army sent by Dara under Raja Jai Singh. Shuja' was defeated near Benares and forced to withdraw to Bihar. The forces of Murad and Aurangzeb joined near Ujjain in Central India and started moving towards Agra. Dara sent Jaswant Singh to oppose them but he was defeated and the victorious armies of the allies arrived at Samugarh, in the neighbourhood of Agra. Here, Dara with the bulk of imperial army gave them battle but he was no match for Aurangzeb in generalship, and the battle ended in a complete defeat for him.

Aurangzeb entered Agra, and was invited by Shah Jahan to

meet him, but his well-wishers, like Khalilullah Khan (who had originally been sent by Shah Jahan as an intermediary and later changed over to his son) and Sha'ista Khan informed him that there was a plot to have him arrested and assassinated.[d] In any event, Shah Jahan had allied himself so thoroughly with Dara that Aurangzeb refused to trust him, placed him under polite restraint (June 8, 1658), and assumed the imperial authority (July 21, 1658).

In the meanwhile, Murad, who was showing resentment at the growing power of his brother and had even begun "to act openly in opposition to Aurangzeb" was arrested through a strategem (June 25). He was imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior but some three years later, he made an almost successful attempt at escape. Aurangzeb, therefore, decided to get rid of him. A complaint was lodged against him by the son of a former Diwan of Gujarat whom he had put to death, and getting a legal *fatwa*, Aurangzeb had him executed (December 4, 1661).

Dara fled from Samugarh towards Delhi, but after wanderings in the Punjab, Sind, Gujarat and Rajputana, he was captured and put to death (August 13, 1659). Shuja', after the initial setback, reorganised his forces and moved towards Allahabad. Aurangzeb met him at Khajwah and decisively defeated him. He was pursued by Mir Jumla and took refuge in the Arakans, where the Magh chief had him assassinated.

Thus ended the grim struggle for the throne. Aurangzeb who was already exercising royal powers after his entry in Agra, held a grand coronation ceremony in 1659. Shah Jahan recovered from his illness and though there was, at the beginning, an exchange of bitter letters between him and his son, he ultimately became reconciled to Aurangzeb's kingship, and when he died in 1666, his daughter Jahan Ara Begum, who was with her father throughout his internment, presented Aurangzeb with a letter of

(*d*) Shah Jahan's conduct confirmed what Aurangzeb's friends had advised. "Shortly afterwards Nahir Dil Chela arrived with *farman* from Shah Jahan to Dara, in which the latter was advised to stay in Delhi, while he (Shah Jahan) would give short shrift to his enemies. This finally exposed the duplicity of Shah Jahan, and Aurangzeb decided not to go to see him" (Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shah Jahan*, pp. 332-3). Bernier doubts the authenticity of this letter, but leaves no doubt about Shah Jahan's attitude towards Aurangzeb, and says "that the father fell into the snare which he had spread for his son (Aurangzeb)" (Bernier, *Travels*, p. 61).

pardon written by Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan's reign.

Shah Jahan, whose reign ended on such a sad note, was perhaps the most magnificent of the Muslim rulers of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Will Durant who is far from partial to the Muslim rulers of India remarks that although there was one severe famine during Shah Jahan's reign, "his thirty years of government marked the zenith of India's prosperity and prestige. The lordly Shah (Jahan) was a capable ruler." [(e)] His empire extended over an area bigger than that of any of his Mughal predecessors, and his reign was marked by internal peace aud tranquillity. His revenue was larger than that of his predecessors and mainly owing to the financial ability of his wise *Wazir* Sa'dullah Khan (according to Vincent Smith, "the most able and upright minister, that ever appeared in India"), the royal treasury was full. This enabled him to devote his attention to peaceful arts and his reign was characterised by extensive activity in architecture of a very high order, and encouragement of music and painting.

Shah Jahan was very keen to earn the title of *Shahanshah-i-'Adil*—the Just Emperor. He took personal interest in administration of justice and even otherwise tried to behave like a considerate, affectionate father to his subjects. During the first few years, he seems to have been under the influence of religious revivalists, and was at pains to rule according to orthodox Islamic law, but gradually he came under Sufi influences and mellowed a great deal. The court chronicles, written by learned and orthodox scholars, for Muslim readers, tried to show him as a very orthodox ruler. In fact, the author of *Badshah Nama* calls him a *Mujaddid*, the Renovator of Islam. But obviously this represents the bias or the courtly tact of the orthodox historian himself.

There is no doubt that under Shah Jahan the apathy and indifference of Jahangir disappeared, and the regime was marked by attempts to approximate the administration to orthodox Islamic law—including the creation of a department to look after new converts to Islam. But if the developments of the period are closely studied, simultaneously a major Hindu revival is noticeable in the reign of Shah Jahan. In Jahangir's time the rebellion of his son Khusrau who had a Rajput mother, drove the Rajput

(e) Will Durant, *The Story of Civilisation*, Pt. I, p. 474.

nobility in the background, and after his marriage with Nur Jahan, Persians became supreme in the state. Shah Jahan's reign was marked not only by the predominance of the indigenous elements—the Mughal emperor had now a Prime Minister of native origin, after many a long year—but the Rajputs in the army and the Hindu officials in the imperial secretariat also attained a dominating position. As Sri Ram Sharma, writing in 1940, pointed out: "Under Shah Jahan Hindus occupied a higher status in the government than that occupied by Indians today" *i.e,* on the eve of the British withdrawal from India.[8] They were dominant in the army and almost monopolised the revenue department. Rai Raghunath officiated for some time as the Finance Minister, while Rai Chander Bhan Brahman was in charge of the Dar-ul-Insha, the Secretariat. The explanation seems to be that Hindus by now were in a position to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Mughal polity, and with the increasing influence of Dara, their patron, they made rapid headway.

Akbar had based his policy of equal treatment of all his subjects on laws of natural justice. In Shah Jahan's time, Muslim scholars and thinkers were advocating this on the basis of Islamic laws and principles. For example, Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad wrote in a letter to Dara Shukoh that the Holy Prophet has been referred to as *Rahmat-ul-lil-'Alimin*—a blessing to all the worlds and not only to the Muslims. Similar sentiments were being expressed by some other leading Muslims. Mulla 'Abdul Hakim, the great scholar of the day, gave a ruling that according to Islamic law, a mosque could not be set up on the property of another and the conversion of a Jain temple into a mosque by Prince Aurangzeb was unauthorised. The controversies of the period remained one of the controversies in Akbar's days, but as they were without Akbar's excesses and innovations, the Hindu case gained even greater support. It also awakened anxieties, and the support which Aurangzeb was able to enjoy against Dara Shukoh was probably due not only to Dara's arrogance and tactlessness, but also to a feeling amongst the Muslim nobility—especially among the Persian *umara,* who had lost their position of privilege—that their interests were not safe.

Under Shah Jahan, orthodox Islamic Law became more

effective, but the Hindus had a full share, not only of the official life, but also in the great artistic activity of the period—particularly painting, music and literature. In this period we not only see signs of increasing Hindu influence, but can also trace a certain "Indian-Iranic" controversy. In his rebellion against his father, Shah Jahan's main collaborator was Mahabat Khan, whose opposition to Nur Jahan and Irani *umara* was well-known. This rebellion failed and after his accession, Shah Jahan maintained his father-in-law Asaf Khan as the chief minister. His two successors—Fazil Khan and Sa'dullah Khan – were, however, of indigenous origin, and Irani influence seems to have decreased in the secretariat. The Irani-Indian competition in the administrative sphere found an echo in the literary controversies of the day. Munir, a well-known poet of Lahore, for example, complained of the airs assumed by Irani writers, and Shaida, another prominent poet of the day, challenged his contemporary Irani poets, who were rated very high by the Irani nobles on many points of Persian language and style.

These developments only indicate that by now the indigenous elements benefiting by the spread of learning and orderly government in the country, had grown in stature, and were able to assert their rights in the administrative and literary spheres. Shah Jahan's own vision was not narrow or parochial. He was conscious of the grandeur and the greatness of the Mughal emperor in comparison with other rulers of the world and was mainly interested in building up a grand edifice, with a large-hearted approach to the problems. The way in which the Taj was built is indicative of the policy pursued. At one time, it was thought that it was designed by a Venetian architect. This view has been abandoned now, and obviously the Taj represents the culminating point of the development of the Indo-Muslim architecture in the subcontinent. References to those who took part in the production of this incomparable master-piece indicate that no effort was spared to obtain the services of specialists in every phase of the work from everywhere. "Several of these were indigenous craftsmen from Delhi, Lahore, Multan and similar art centres of the Mughal empire, while others were drawn from more distant sources, such as a calligraphist from Baghdad and another from Shiraz, to ensure that all the inscriptions were correctly carved or inlaid ; a 'flower carver' from Bukhara ; an expert in dome construction,

Isma'il Khan Rumi, who by his name may have come from Constantinople ; a pinnacle-maker from Samarqand ; a master-mason from Qandahar, and lastly, an experienced garden-planner."[9] The chief supervisor who co-ordinated the entire work was one Ustad 'Isa, "the best designer of his time" and, according to one account, originally an inhabitant of Shiraz, whose family had settled in Lahore. "It may be noted that while the structural portions of the Taj seem to have been principally in the hands of the Muslims, the decoration was mainly the work of the Hindu craftsmen, the difficult task of preparing the *pietra dura* specially being entrusted to a group of the latter from Kanauj."[10]

Shah Jahan's reign represents the golden age of the Mughal empire, but as some students of the history of civilisation have pointed out, the artistic productions of the period give an impression of over-ripeness and a certain loss of vigour. Mughal civilisation had reached its climax and was moving towards the normal declining phase of the great civilisations. But the resolute vigour of a man of iron will hold together the structure for another half a century, gave it new supports and the end came very gradually.

Dara Shukoh (1615—1659).

All the four sons of Shah Jahan had distinguished themselves in various ways, but apart from Aurangzeb, the most celebrated was Dara Shukoh. He was not such a paragon of virtue, as some critics of Aurangzeb have tried to show. In fact, Bernier, an admirer and practically a partisan of Dara, states that he had Shah Jahan's able *Wazir*, Sa'dullah Khan poisoned.[11] Considering that Sa'dullah Khan did not rate Dara Shukoh's ability very high, and might have influenced Shah Jahan against him, the allegation is not wholly improbable. The way Dara Shukoh interfered, on account of personal rivalry, with Aurangzeb's efforts to extend the Mughal empire in the Deccan betrays a small mind, and its failure to rise above personal considerations.

It is, perhaps, unfair to judge a Mughal prince harshly for the measures taken in a remorseless struggle for the throne, but Dara Shukoh's weaknesses as a man of affairs are also pretty obvious. His affectionate father kept him at the capital, and thus deprived him of the practical and hardening experiences of administration which Aurangzeb gained through years of solid work in the Deccan. He proved a poor general at Samugarh and in

spite of his self-praise and self-confidence, did not show any remarkable feat of personal bravery. The way he tried to reconquer the fort of Qandhar through magic and the help of wonder-working *yogis* also betrays a very uncritical and immature, if not an irrational, mind.

Dara Shukoh had serious handicaps as a prince and a potential candidate for the throne, but he has built a niche for himself in the cultural and religious history of the subcontinent. He was a likeable person, an open and trusting friend, and a devoted and tender husband (as the dedication of his famous album to his wife Nadira Begum shows). He had something of an artist's disposition, wrote quite touching poetry and encouraged artistic activity of all kinds. In literary circles, he is known principally as an author on Sufi subjects, following a line which gives him distinction and importance.

Dara was born at the great Sufi centre of Ajmer on March 20, 1615. In his nineteenth year, he fell seriously ill and as the physicians were unable to cure him, Shah Jahan took him to Hazrat Mian Mir, the celebrated Sindhi saint, who had settled down at Lahore. The saint prayed for him and as Dara Shukoh soon recovered, thereafter his faith in the spiritual powers of the saints grew. Hazrat Mian Mir died a couple of years later, and during his viceroyalty of Lahore, Dara built a mausoleum over the saint's tomb, near which the remains of his wife were buried later. In 1640, Dara Shukoh became a disciple of Mulla Shah, one of Hazrat Mian Mir's successors. In the meanwhile he had already completed, at the age of twenty-five, *Safinat-ul-Auliya*, containing biographies of Sufi saints. A biography of Hazrat Mian Mir and his principal disciples followed two years. He also wrote brief Sufi pamphlets, one of which, *Shathiyat* or *Hasanat-ul-'Arifin*, written in 1652, was in reply to those who were criticising Dara for his heterodox statements. In order to justify himself, he collected in this booklet a number of utterances and statements by celebrated Sufis, similar to those attributed to him.

In *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* (the Mingling of two Seas) which was completed in 1655, Dara Shukoh tried to trace parallels between Islamic Sufism and Hindu Vedantism. He also wrote poems under the poetic surname *Qadiri* and a manuscript of his *Diwan* is preserved in the Punjab Public Library, Lahore. None of Dara's books is without interest, but his translation of *Upanishads* which

he made with the help of Sanskrit scholars, had a particularly interesting history. It was completed in 1657, just before his disastrous struggle for the throne. A French traveller, Anquetil Duperron, translated Dara Shukoh's Persian version of the *Upanishads* into French and Latin. The Latin version which was published in two volumes in 1801 and 1802, fell into the hands of the famous German philosopher Schopenhauer, and profoundly influenced the course of the Transcendental Movement which was just starting in Germany. As Rawlinson points out, "This revelation of an entirely new realm of thought reacted upon Germany in much the same manner as the rediscovery of the Greek classics upon Europe at the time of the Renaissance."[(e)] Later this influence was extended to Emerson and influenced the Transcendentalist movement in the United States.

Dara Shukoh's personality gains additional interest by the fact that he did not plough a lonely furrow, but was able to attract many worthy souls around him. The spiritual efforts which Dara Shukoh was making had their Hindu counterparts. *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* was soon translated into Sanskrit (as *Samudar Sangam*) by a Hindu scholar, and many Hindu proteges of Dara Shukoh, like *Brahman*, his Mir Munshi and *Be-gham* Bairagi, were giving expression to ideas of Islamic Sufism in moving Persian verse. Amongst other distinguished people[(f)] whom Dara attracted were the celebrated poet and Sufi Sarmad, the unknown author of that remarkable history of religions, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, and Muhandis, the son of Ustad 'Isa, the architect of the Taj. Indeed, Dara Shukoh seems to have been a centre of an entire literary, spiritual and intellectual movement, but with his loss of power the liberal group also lost its cohesion and potency.

(*e*) For details see Rawlinson's article in O'Malley's, *Modern India and the West*, pp. 544-45.

(*f*) There are some indications that Mulla 'Abdul Hakim, the great scholar and intellectual of the times belonged to Dara Shukoh's liberal group. Aurangzeb, when governor of Gujarat had ordered the conversion of an unauthorised Jain temple, built by Seth Shantidas at Ahmadabad, into a mosque (1645). Three years later Dara Shukoh became governor of Gujarat and under Shah Jahan's instructions ordered its restoration, saying that although "Shahzada Sultan Aurangzeb Bahadur had built in that place (temple) some *Mihrabs* and given it the name of a mosque" but Mulla 'Abdul Hakim had represented to His Majesty that this building, by reason of its being the property of another person, could not be considered a mosque according to the inviolable Islamic law" (*vide*, H. C. Commissariat, *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, p. 58.)

CHAPTER XXI

AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

CHRONOLOGY

Birth of Aurangzeb	24 Oct., 1618
First coronation of Aurangzeb	21 July, 1658
Second coronation of Aurangzeb	5 June, 1659
Sha'ista Khan captures Chittagong	1666
New Religious Ordinances	1668
Revolt of the Afridis	1672
Aurangzeb at Hasan Abdal	1674
Reimposition of *Jizya*	1679
Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan	1681
Annexation of Bijapur/Golkonda	1686/1687
Calcutta Founded and Fortified	1690
Birth of Shah Wali-Ullah	1703
Marathas raid Gujarat and sack Baroda	1706
Death of the Urdu poet Wali	1707
Death of Aurangzeb	March 3, 1707

Aurangzeb

Aurangzeb, the third son of Shah Jahan, was born on October, 1618, at Dohad, on the frontier of Gujarat and Rajputana. He was younger than Dara Shukoh and Shuja', but in competence and character he easily excelled them. He was industrious, far-seeing and thorough. He had distinguished himself as an able administrator during the long years that he spent in the Deccan and other provinces of the empire. He was a fearless soldier and a skilful general and in his dealings with men he was cool and cautious. Owing to Dara's influential opposition, life had not been a bed of roses for him and he had to learn at an early age all the tactics of cautious diplomacy. He kept his feelings under control and could readily think of methods essential to success.

Even as a prince, Aurangzeb was known for his devotion to Muslim religion and observance of Islamic injunctions. Dara used to contemptuously refer to him as *Namazi* (prayer-monger), while Aurangzeb referred to his elder brother as a "heretic", and in

some of his letters written (*e.g.* to Shah Jahan) during the War of Succession, he claimed that he was acting "for the sake of the true faith and the peace of the realm." As soon as he was secure on the throne, he started the introduction of reforms which would make his dominion a proper Muslim state. After his second (and formal) coronation on 5 June, 1659, he issued orders which were calculated to please the orthodox.[a] He appointed censors of public morals (*muhtasibs*) in all important cities to enforce Islamic law and put down practices forbidden by the *Shari'at* such as drinking, gambling and prostitution. He also forbade the cultivation of *bhang* throughout the empire. In 1664, he issued his first edict forbidding *sati*, and repeatedly denounced the castration of children for sale as eunuchs. In the economic sphere he showed a determined opposition to all illegal exactions (*abwab*) and all the taxes which were not authorised by Islamic law. Immediately after his second coronation, he abolished inland transport duty (*rahdari*) amounting to ten per cent of the value of goods, and the octroi (*pandari*) on all articles of food and drink brought for sale into the cities.

These measures gave relief to the people and were popular, though they were partially responsible for Aurangzeb's later financial difficulties. Gradually the emperor's puritanism began to manifest itself and steps were taken which were not so universally welcomed. In 1668, he forbade music at his court and, with the exception of the royal band, pensioned off the large number of state musicians and singers. The ceremony of weighing the emperor on his birthday against gold and silver was discontinued and in 1679, the ceremony of *darshan* was abandoned. In the course of time the festivities held on the emperor's birthday were curtailed or abolished, and the *mansabdars* were forbidden to make the customary presents to the emperor.

(*a*) As a candidate for the throne, Aurangzeb tried to gain support from all quarters. His collaborator Murad borrowed heavily from Jain bankers of Gujarat, and these commitments were honoured by Aurangzeb. He attempted to come to terms with the Shi'a rulers of the Deccan, and even tried to get the support of Rana Raj Singh of Mewar by offering him the restoration of some *Parganas* which Shah Jahan had detached from his state, and by expressing general sentiments of goodwill. There is, however, plenty of evidence to show that Aurangzeb felt strongly about the position of Islam in the subcontinent and had already come to consider himself as the "instrument of the Divine will in a mission of much needed religious reform."

Aurangzeb also took early steps to tighten up the administration which had slackened during the prolonged War of Succession. As soon as Aurangzeb had dealt with his rivals, he turned towards the reorganisation of the civil government. "A period of strong government began. Everywhere the provincial viceroys began to assert imperial prestige. Energetic *subadars* extended the bounds of the empire to Assam, Chatgaon, Palamau, and other tracts. Local notables found out that disobedience of orders or independent attitude would be tolerated no longer. The border tribes were taught that no violation of the imperial frontier would go unpunished."[1]

Conquest of Assam and Chittagong.

Some of the earliest conquests of Aurangzeb's reign were in the eastern end of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. During the War of Succession (1656-58), the Hindu rulers of Cooch-Bihar and Assam, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the empire, had invaded the imperial dominions and seized Mughal territory. For three years they were not disturbed, but in June 1660, the civil war was finally over, and Aurangzeb felt that the time had come for retribution. He accordingly asked Mir Jumla, the viceroy of Bengal, to recover the lost territories.

In November, 1661, Mir Jumla started from Dacca, and occupied the capital of Cooch-Bihar in a few weeks. The kingdom of Cooch-Bihar was annexed, and the Muslim army left for Assam. The capital of Ahom kingdom was reached on March 17, 1662, and more important Ahom fortresses were occupied and garrisoned by Mughal soldiers. Rich spoils were taken by the conquerors, but soon the victory was almost turned into a disaster. On the approach of the rainy season, the Mughal army had to go into cantonments and suffered heavily from unhealthy climate and want of food. The Ahoms rallied their forces and took the offensive but the position was saved by the brilliant Afghan general, Dilir Khan, who inflicted a crushing defeat upon the enemy and compelled the Ahom Raja to sign a humiliating treaty. The Mughals recovered a heavy tribute, and annexed some forts and towns in the cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal, but their army had suffered great hardships and the aged Mir Jumla died on March 30, 1663, on his way back to Dacca.

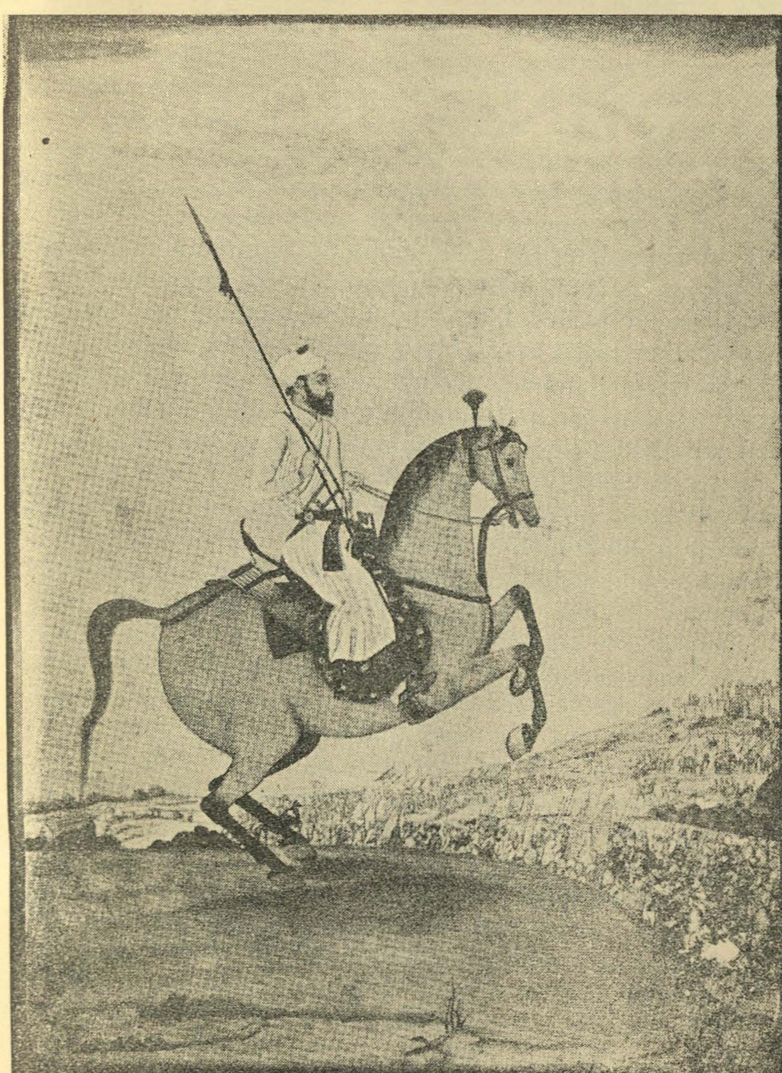
He was succeeded as viceroy of Bengal by Sha'ista Khan,

3 (a)



Shah Shuja

3 (b)



Sha'ista Khan

who had been transferred from the Deccan, owing to his failure against Shivaji. He tried to retrieve his reputation in Bengal, and proved to be, indeed, one of the most capable viceroys of the province. He administered Bengal wisely, maintained a magnificent court, and achieved signal success in bringing down the prices of the articles of daily use. He took action against the Arakanese pirates, who, with the help of Portuguese adventurers and their half-cast offspring, had made the area unsafe, and were bold enough to carry on their depradations right up to Dacca. "As these raids continued for a long time, Bengal became day by day more desolated. Not a house was left inhabited on either side of the rivers lying on the pirates' track from Chittagong to Dacca."[2] Bernier writes, "These people were Christian only in name ; the lives led by them were most detestable, massacring or poisoning one another without compunction or remorse, and sometimes assassinating even their priests who were too often no better than their murderers".[3] Sha'ista Khan made thorough preparations, built a powerful flotilla, won over some of the European collaborators of the pirates by inviting them to Dacca, and in January, 1666, attacked the king of Arakan. He captured the island of Sondip in the Bay of Bengal, and by defeating decisively the Arakanese fleet, compelled the king of Arakan to cede Chittagong, the pirates' stronghold. Chittagong, which was renamed Islamabad, proved a valuable addition to the empire.

"The viceroyalty of Shaista Khan, who governed Bengal from 1664 to 1677, and again from 1680 to 1688, is a landmark in the history of the province. He ensured the safety of the Bengal rivers and seaboard by destroying the pirates' nest at Chittagong. His internal administration by its mildness and elaborate arrangements for dispensing impartial justice promoted the wealth and happiness of the people. He adorned his capital, Dacca, with many fine buildings, and constructed *sarais* all over the country. According to popular tradition during his viceroyalty rice was sold at the rate of eight maunds to a rupee",[4] and naturally people remembered his days with gratitude.

Bengal under the Mughals.

The Mughal interest in Bengal had steadily increased. Since Shah Jahan's days, the viceroy was usually the leading noble of the realm, like Mir Jumla, or a member of the royal family, like Shah Shuja'. On the other hand, through the organisation of the countrywide

higher services under the *Mansabdari* system, and with the elaborate Mughal system of supervision, close contact with the imperial capital was maintained. Bengal which was known as Bulghakpur during the early Muslim rule, became the most peaceful and contented area of the empire, and in the later days its revenues were the mainstay of Aurangzeb's army. The cultural consequences of Mughal rule were even greater. "What the Vaishnava religion did for the Hindus of Bengal was done for their Muslim neighbours by the Mughal conquest; this province was ultimately joined to the general religious and cultural movements of the rest of India; its narrow isolation was broken."[5]

The Great Change in East Bengal.

Even more important was the Mughal impact on East Bengal. The conquest and settlement of a great part of what is now East Pakistan was essentially a Mughal achievement—in a great measure of Aurangzeb's reign. The area east of Brahmaputra, commonly called *Bang*, was one of the three well-marked regions of the former province of Bengal (Varind, Radh and Bang), and had distinguishing characteristics of its own. Owing to its geographical situation, climate, terrain and the ethnic origin of the population, it had remained isolated from the rest of the subcontinent. "The force of Aryan colonisation (however meagre in volume) and Aryan culture (however diluted with Dravidian cult and culture) was all but exhausted when they reached the country east of the Brahmaputra and old Tista rivers. In these regions the people up to the foothold of the hills were Mongoloid by race, spirit-worshippers by religion and speakers of many local dialects which had no written literature and were foreign to the literary Bengali of Gaur, Varendri and Radh."[6] Even during the Hindu rule, the influence of the Hindu scholars and priests of Western Bengal was confined to large towns and rich monasteries. After the Muslim conquest "even this little interchange of culture ceased. For some time after the mass of the people east of the Tista and the Brahmaputra remained Hindus, but their religion was not akin to that of the Hindus of Gaur or Radh. They had no learned Brahman priesthood, no Sanskrit scriptures, no Vedic ritual."[7]

Not only was East Bengal separated from West Bengal by a great religious gulf, but the Hindu population of western parts looked down upon the inhabitants of East Bengal. Writing in 1876, Beveridge says, "We find also that to this day the Hindus

of Western and Central Bengal look down on the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal, and call them *Banglas*. This word, though etymologically it only means an inhabitant of Bang—i.e. Eastern Bengal—has acquired an opprobrious signification, and is used to mean a rough or bungling person."[8] The ridicule of East Bengalis is a recurrent theme in Bengali literature. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen writes, "Many of the old poets have tried to show their wit at the cost of Bengal men. We came across many passages in which East Bengal people and their dialects are ridiculed. Most celebrated of those is Mukandurana's satire of East Bengal boatmen."[9] Even Chaitanya, before spiritual life absorbed him, "used often to scoff at Eastern Bengal by imitating some of the queer words of their dialects."[10] Not only was the language of East Bengal, "containing quaint archaic words with a sprinkling of Urdu,"[11] a subject-matter of ridicule, but even the diet, especially the dry fish popular in Chittagong, was a constant target of sneers.

Hindu attitude towards East Bengal facilitated the task of Muslim missionaries, but the isolation of the area was not broken with the establishment of Muslim rule at Gaur. The hold of Gaur over areas east of Brahmaputra was uncertain and confined to limited areas. Besides, whatever progress was achieved under the Ilyas Shahi and Husain Shahi rulers was later undone by the confusion created by the Arakanese and the Portuguese raiders.

Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar writes in the *History of Bengal*, "The civilising of East Bengal (if I may be permitted to use the expression) began with Islam Khan's conquests from Dacca as his base, and this process was completed when later viceroys made that city the seat of their government."[12] The Muslim contribution during the Mughal period was, however, not only in the realm of culture and civilisation, but they were also responsible for the more basic tasks of security and colonisation. Before the area could be 'civilised' or properly colonised, the menace of the pirates had to be dealt with and the vigour and power of organisation displayed by the Mughals in performance of this task has earned them enthusiastic praise. Beveridge says, "We see the difference between them [*i.e.* the Hindus and the Muslims] in the way in which they treated the Arakanese invasion. The Hindus were unequal to the contest, and fled under the pretext of avoiding contamination; the Muhammadans, on the other hand, took the more manly course of grasping the nettle, established themselves at Dacca, where the

danger was greatest, raised and maintained a fleet, and swept the rivers and their estuaries clear of the Arakanese and the Portuguese pirates. Bengalis, indeed, and especially those of Eastern Bengal, have much reason to be thankful to the Muhammadans, for it is to them that they owe in great measure their preservation from the Burmese. But for the conquest by the Muhammadans of Sandwip and Chittagong, it is probable that much of what is now known as Eastern Bengal would have been a portion, and a deserted and despised portion, of the kingdom of Arakan or Burma."[13]

Once the problem of the ruinous raids had been dealt with, efforts at colonisation and civilisation could produce enduring results. The Muslims consolidated their position "by civilisation, namely, by driving out the wild beasts and by clearing of the jungle."[14] There were many factors which facilitated Muslim colonisation. To quote Beveridge again, "Muhammadans are not nearly such 'stay-at-homes' as Hindus. They have fewer local superstitions, and no local gods, while the principle of the family is less strong among them. The joint-family system is unknown to them, and the practice of ploygamy is unfavourable to fixity of residence. There is also no doubt that Muhammadans are more enterprising than Hindus ; and that their more generous diet fits them better to endure an unhealthy climate, and especially the salt air of the eastern districts. Hence we find that the *chars* and islands are almost exclusively peopled by Muhammadans."[15]

Muslim colonisation and struggle against the jungle and the elements has been a continuous process in the history of Bengal, but its most fruitful period began when in Aurangzeb's reign Arakanese were beaten back in the south, and Cooch-Bihar and Assam were annexed in the north.

North-West Frontier.

Operations in the east were barely over, when trouble started on the north-western frontier of the empire. In 1667, a Yusufzai leader, named Bhaku (who had favoured Dara Shukoh against Aurangzeb in the struggle for the throne), rose in rebellion. The *faujdar* of Attock defeated Bhaku, and with the help of reinforcements from Lahore and Kabul gradually subdued the area. The area remained quiet for some time, but in 1672 Mughal forces met with a great disaster. A subordinate of the governor of Kabul was accused of misconduct and many tribes combined in opposition to the

authorities. They had a stroke of good fortune when Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of Kabul, returning to his headquarters after spending the winter at Peshawar, decided to risk an engagement with the rebels, with a small and poorly equipped contingent. His forces were annihilated, and he was able to barely escape to Peshawar with a few of his senior officers (May 1, 1672). On hearing of the disaster the Emperor degraded and transferred Muhammad Amin Khan, but the officers who were sent to replace him quarrelled amongst themselves, and failed to make much progress. In July, 1674, Aurangzeb himself went to Hasan Abdal, a convenient halfway station between Rawalpindi and Peshawar, and stayed there for over a year directing the operations. He took with him officers who knew the area, and by the use of force and diplomacy was able to restore peace.

Amongst the tribal leaders who opposed Aurangzeb was the famous Pushtu poet Khushhal Khan Khattak. He was the chief of the Khattak tribe, which since the days of his great grandfather, Malik Akoray, the founder of Akora, had guarded the road from Attock to Peshawar against the hostile Yusufzais, and had the right to levy tolls on this highway. Khushhal had fought with distinction in Mughal armies at Kangra, Balkh and Badakhshan, and had sided with Aurangzeb against Dara Shukoh in the War of Succession. He was also a lifelong admirer of the "Shah Jahan *Qadrdan*" (the discerning Shah Jahan), but soon differences arose between him and the new emperor. Partly they were the outcome of the *rapprochement* between the Mughals and the Yusufzais. From Akbar's days the Pathan opposition to the Mughal had been led by the Yusufzais, "while the pro-Mughal party looked to Malik Akoray and his successors as its leaders." In Shah Jahan's reign, however, the Mughal came to terms with the Yusufzais, who were numerically much more important than the Khattaks. The Yusufzai chief made his submission, and was restored to those Yusufzai villages which had been added to Khushhal's fief. This *rapprochement* had taken place through Dara Shukoh, and in the War of Succession Bhaku Khan, the Yusufzai chief supported Dara, while "Khushhal, who had been approached by Dara but had rebuffed him, prevented the Yusufzais from offering him asylum in the Samah by driving off a Yusufzai *lashkar* which was awaiting the fugitive on the river bank". Khushhal, possibly, hoped that Aurangzeb would appreciate this and would restore

the Yusufzai villages. In this, he was disappointed, though Aurangzeb confirmed him in his chieftainship. Worse followed, when the new emperor, on his accession, abolished all tolls in his dominion. For some time this order was not applied to the north-western frontier, where special conditions prevailed, but in 1661, Mahabat Khan, the founder of the famous mosque at Peshawar, was transferred, and the deputy of the governor who replaced him obtained a mandate for the abolition of the tolls for crossing the Indus. "Since Akbar's time the collection of the Attock tolls was a right which had vested in Malik Akoray and his successors, and it follows that Khushhal was hard hit by the new orders and greatly resented what had been done."[16] He had not taken any "overt action," but possibly his disaffection became known to the governor who summoned him to Peshawar (1664) and despatched him in chains and under escort to Delhi, from where he was sent to spend over two years as a prisoner in the Gwalior fortress. Even after that he was kept under house arrest and was not permitted to return to his country. This treatment, added to his earlier grievances, made him a lifelong enemy of Aurangzeb and the Mughals, and he gave expression to his feelings in vivid, forceful verses, which even now breathe fire.

At last Khushhal was released on a promise of loyalty and good behaviour. He was present at the side of the Mughal governor at the disaster of 1672—in fact Amin Khan had undertaken this hazardous journey after being re-assured by Khushhal[17], but by now iron had entered his soul, and it is doubtful whether he gave any help to the Mughal governor. Soon he broke out in open rebellion and spent the remainder of his life in rousing the Pathan tribes against the Mughals. In this he had only a small measure of success. Some Afridi chiefs joined him, but the more numerous Yusufzais refused to side with him. They were his hereditary enemies—his father, grandfather and great grandfather had all died fighting against the Yusufzais—but the trends of the times were also against him. An era of Mughal-Afghan co-operation was opening—owing to the success of Mughal diplomacy and the failure of the Raushaniya movement—and even some of his sons, notably Bahram, opposed him. In 1689, Khushhal, the warrior, died, broken-hearted, at the age of 76 but Khushhal, the poet, is among the immortals.

Aurangzeb's early reign was marked by some bitter fighting

Mughal-Afghan Rapprochement.

on the frontier and of course, the Afghan hostility to the Mughals found its most vivid expression in Khushhal's poetry, but this should not obscure the fact that Aurangzeb lived long enough to see a complete transformation in the Mughal-Afghan relationship.

Personal grievances may have played their part in the conversion of the scion of a family, traditionally loyal to the Mughals, into their most inveterate enemy, but there was a solid, historical basis for the Mughal-Afghan animosity. The Mughals had displaced the Afghans, first the Lodis and later the Surs, on the throne of Delhi, and acute group enmity was inevitable. Mutual animosity and distrust started a vicious circle and in early Mughal administration the Afghans did not receive an adequate share. They were, as a rule, excluded from offices of trust and importance—especially under Akbar and Jahangir. Even in less mundane affairs there were factors contributing to differences and antipathy. The acceptance of Raushaniya doctrines by some sections of the Afghans provided a basis not only for religious differences, but also of a conduct which was bound to involve them in conflict with others.

But these factors gradually lost their validity and force. The heterodox Raushaniya doctrines were vigorously controverted by local religious leaders. Islamic orthodoxy was restored in the Afghan highlands. Religious differences had, thereby, disappeared and Khushhal Khan Khattak was as keen and orthodox a Muslim as Aurangzeb himself. In worldly matters also the Mughals and the Afghans had begun to understand each other. In the days of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the bitterest and longest feud of the Mughals had been with the Yusufzais, and now relations with them were very smooth. Under Shah Jahan, the Afghans were finding better employment under the Mughals ; but their great opportunity came when Aurangzeb launched his campaign in the Deccan. The Afghans rendered signal services in this long drawn struggle, and Dilir Khan, who rose to be a *Panj-hazari* was perhaps Aurangzeb's ablest and most zealous general in the war with Shivaji and Sambhaji.

The reconciliation between the Mughals and the Afghans during the later part of Aurangzeb's reign can be clearly seen in the twenty-year peaceful regime of Amir Khan (1678—98),

his last governor of Kabul and Peshawar. During Muhammad Shah's reign, a number of Afridis and Yusufzais settled in Rohilkhand, and many amongst them—notably Najib-ud-daula, Regent at Delhi for a number of years—played a very helpful role during the decline of the Mughal empire. Perhaps the climax in the Mughal-Afghan relations came when on the eve of the third battle of Panipat, Nawab Qudsia Begum, the old, venerated widow of Muhammad Shah, personally went to Shuja'-ud-daula to appeal to him to throw in his lot with the Afghan king, Ahmad Shah Abdali !

The Sikhs.

In course of time Aurangzeb became involved in difficulties with the Sikhs and it may be convenient to review their relations with the Mughal government at this stage.

The Sikh religion was established by Guru Nanak (1469—1539) and was an aspect of the general religious movement which tended to bring Hinduism and Islam closer. A feature of the new creed, borrowed from Islam, was the elimination of priesthood. As almost all the Sikhs were originally Hindu, the Brahman priests were naturally unhappy at the new development resulting in the loss of a privileged position. The first two successors of Nanak met with constant trouble from the Hindu Tapasis, and their relations with Muslims were friendly. Khushwant Singh says that the Brahmans "saw the size of their flock and their income diminishing. They began to persecute the Sikhs and, when their own resources failed, reported against Amar Das to the Emperor. When Akbar refused to take action against the Guru, they bribed local officials to harass the Sikhs."[18] About Birbal, Vincent Smith remarks, "He was hostile to the Sikhs whom he considered to be heretics. They consequently regard his miserable death as the just penalty for his threats of violence to Arjun Singh, their revered Guru". The third Guru was visited by Akbar, who had made a gift of several villages and the land on which the lake of Amritsar was excavated. When the Golden Temple was to be built, Hazrat Mian Mir of Lahore was asked to lay the foundation stone.[19] Soon, however, the Sikhs and the Mughal authorities came into conflict. This was basically due to the fact (as pointed out by Sarkar) that the militant and turbulent peasantry of the central Punjab had adopted the new doctrines, and it was almost natural for them to come in conflict with established authority.

The first clash occurred during the days of Jahangir, when Guru Arjan, the contemporary *guru*, gave his blessings (and financial help) to Prince Khusrau, who had revolted against his father. According to the Sikh accounts, the resentment of Jahangir was fanned by a Hindu revenue official, named Chandu Shah, who "harboured a deep animosity against Arjun for refusing to accept his daughter for his son." A fine of two lacs of rupees was imposed on the Guru as a punishment, and on his failure to pay the fine or allow his Sikh followers to subscribe it on his behalf, he was handed over to Chandu Shah. In order to enforce the payment, the Guru was subjected to torture, in the course of which he died.[(b)]

"One of Guru Arjan's last instructions to his son, Guru Har Gobind was to sit fully armed on his throne and maintain an army to the best of his ability." Macauliffe, who records this in his lecture separately published as *How the Sikhs became a Militant People*, adds: "This was the turning point in the history of the Sikhs" (p. 5). By now, the Sikhs had begun to organise themselves on semi-military lines and there were more conflicts with the established authority. As Sarkar says ; "the growing military strength and the royal pomp of the Guru and his wordly spirit and tastes made a conflict between him and the government of the country inevitable, and it broke out after Shah Jahan's accession."[20] Guru Har Gobind "had so completely sunk the character of a religious reformer into that of a conquering general, that he had no scruple in enlisting large bands of Afghan mercenaries."[21]

In 1628, the Sikhs defeated a Mughal force which had been sent against them, but they were ultimately overwhelmed, and Har Gobind had to flee to the hills. The *gaddi* in the plains was maintained by a representative "in alliance with the imperial government" and on his death in 1645, the Guru was succeeded by Guru Har Rai, who tried to help Dara Shukoh during the

(*b*) For the Sikh account of Guru Arjan's life, see Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 253—58 and Vol. III, pp. 1—101. Beni Prasad gives a good survey in his *History of Jahangir* (pp. 129—130). It would be interesting to speculate to what extent the later Sikh Gurus were motivated, consciously or unconsciously, by a desire to establish a principality (like the Safavids in Iran, Kalhoras in Sind, and numerous principalities and *zamindaris* established by religious families in the subcontinent in the eighteenth century).

War of Succession. On his death in 1661, Aurangzeb was asked to intervene in the dispute between his sons, but before he could give his verdict, the dispute was resolved by the death of one of the two claimants.

The ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, who came to the *gaddi* in 1664, served in the Mughal army on the Assam frontier for some years, but later returned to eastern Punjab and settled down at Anandpur. He called himself *Sacha Badshah* (True King), and started levying tribute from the local population. According to Cunningham, the historian of the Sikhs, the Guru, "followed the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansi and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry." He is further credibly represented to have leagued with a Muhammadan zealot, named Adam Hafiz, and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindus, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Musalmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country ; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners."[c] Cunningham's reference to the Muslim saint also finds an echo in *Siyar-ul-Muta'akharin,* but possibly there is some confusion here. If Adam Hafiz is the same person as Hafiz Adam Banauri, a well-known disciple of Hazrat Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani, his exile relates to the reign of Shah Jahan. After giving some other stories current about the end of Guru Tegh Bahadur, Cunningham adds that "Tegh Bahadur was put to death as a rebel in 1675, and that the stern and bigoted Aurangzeb had the body of the unbeliever publicly exhibited in Delhi". Col. Garrett, who edited Cunningham's book, adds a foot-note containing the alleged conversation between Aurangzeb and the Guru which is related by two Sikh authors and which the British exploited in 1857 to whip up Sikh enthusiasm against the Muslims. The historical fact, however, is that Aurangzeb was not even present in the capital at that time. The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur

(c) Cunningham's account is based on Sikh sources, and he is very definite that Guru Tegh Bahadur was "put to death as a rebel." (Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, 1918, pp. 64-65). Muslim historians, however, anxious to show Aurangzeb as a champion of Islam and perhaps un-willing to admit disturbed conditions existing in East Punjab, make it a case of religious conflict.

took place on November 11, 1675, when Aurangzeb was at Hasan Abdal. The Emperor did not return to Delhi till 27 March, 1676.

Guru Tegh Bahadur was succeeded by Guru Gobind Singh, who concentrated his energies on converting the Sikhs into soldiers and making himself supreme in the hilly areas of East Punjab. The Sikhs were trained in the use of arms, and were told to devote themselves to the waging of war against the Mughals, and always to wear steel in one shape or another. The real sufferers from the growing military strength of the Sikhs, who had enrolled five hundred Pathan mercenaries in their ranks, were the Hindu rajas of the Punjab hills, and many bloody battles were fought between the Guru and these rajas. At last they complained to the Mughal governor, who passed on the complaint to Aurangzeb in the Deccan. "The emperor consented to send an expedition against the Guru, provided the hill chiefs defrayed its expenses. The hill chiefs accordingly contributed a lakh of rupees, whereupon a force of ten thousand men was sent against the Guru."[22] This expedition was at first unsuccessful, but later the combined forces of the Mughals and the rajas besieged Guru Gobind Singh in his stronghold of Anandpur. The Guru managed to escape, but his mother and two children were captured and taken before Wazir Khan, the *faujdar* of Sirhind. At first the *faujdar* treated the children with kindness, but later at the instigation of his chief subordinate, Saj Anand, had them executed.

Meanwhile Guru Gobind Singh was pursued by the Mughal forces, but with the assistance of certain Muslims he managed to escape in the blue dress of a Haji. It was during this flight that Guru Gobind Singh addressed Aurangzeb a long epistle in Persian verse, generally known as *Zafar Nama*. This poem contained bitter complaints against the Mughal emperor, but its appeal was in the name of humanity and Islam, and it provided a basis for mutual understanding. As Khushwant Singh says, "Aurangzeb was apparently moved by the contents of the letter and issued orders that the Guru was not to be molested any further" (p.94). According to certain Sikh account, Aurangzeb invited the Guru to visit him in the Deccan. Evidence on this point is not conclusive but it is certain that after this, Guru Gobind Singh was allowed to live in peace. Shortly thereafter, Aurangzeb died. His son Bahadur Shah, who before ascending the throne was the viceroy of

the Punjab, was on excellent terms with the Guru, but later, the relations of the Mughals with the Sikhs sharply deteriorated owing to the emergence of Banda, a Hindu Bairagi, as the leader of the Sikhs. A study of the reign of Aurangzeb, however, shows that he was able to deal successfully with the Sikh problem and that the Sikhs were not a major source of disturbance to him.

Conquests in the Deccan and the Maratha Wars.

The Marathas presented Aurangzeb with a much bigger problem than the Sikhs. Their rise into prominence was partly the after-effect of the Bhakti movement which, by giving birth to a new literature, enriching the local language and popularising a religious cult which made a powerful emotional appeal to all sections of the people, had infused new life into Maratha society. The growing importance of the Marathas was also due to more mundane factors. There is much truth in the view that the Muslim conquest of the Deccan was far less complete than that of Northern India. Hindus held many appointments in the revenue and finance departments of the Muslim rulers of Golkonda and Bijapur, and at times even the highest ministerial appointments were filled by Deccani Brahmans. Life in the hill forts of the Western Ghats, never easily accessible and particularly cut off from the world during the monsoon, did not appeal to the Muslim officers, and Maratha chiefs and soldiers were employed in large numbers in garrisoning these forts.

Maratha statesmen and warriors controlled various departments of the Muslim states of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and Bijapur, and the conflicts of the Mughals with these states provided them with an opportunity to advance their sectional interests. Amongst Maratha statesmen who rose to prominence during the days of Shah Jahan was Shahji, who served under the sultans of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur and had large estates at Poona and in Karnatak. His importance may be judged by the fact that in 1635-36, he set up a Nizam Shahi boy as the nominal Sultan of the defunct kingdom of Ahmadnagar, and reoccupied in his name the whole of the western portion of the old dominion as far as the sea. Shah Jahan was able to deal with him, and Shahji, after making his submission to the Mughals, sought service with the ruler of Bijapur. Shahji's son, Shivaji, however, more than fulfilled the dreams of his father. Shivaji's mother lived at Poona, as Shahji had married again, and the young Shivaji spent his early days

4 (a)



Aurangzeb at the Seige of Bijapur

4 (b)



Asad Khan

in the spurs and valleys of the Ghats, which were to be his battlefield. He attached to himself a number of *Mawali* leaders of his own age and in the disturbed conditions of the Deccan started taking control of hill fortresses. For a long time these aggressive proceedings were ignored at Bijapur, and when in 1659 a strong contingent of ten thousand cavalry was sent under Afzal Khan, the vigilant Maratha met him in a private conference, in which he stabbed and killed the Khan with his dagger. The leaderless troops of Bijapur were routed by Shivaji's soldiers who lay in ambush.

Next year Shivaji came in conflict with the Mughal rulers. In 1660, Aurangzeb appointed Sha'ista Khan, his maternal uncle, and a veteran general, viceroy of the Deccan, with instructions to suppress Shivaji. He gained a few victories and recaptured several forts, but on April 5, 1663, the nimble-footed Marathas delivered a night attack on Sha'ista Khan, who was camping at Poona, and although the viceroy himself escaped with the loss of three fingers, his son was killed.

Next month Sha'ista Khan was recalled by Aurangzeb, who now sent Dilir Khan and Raja Jai Singh, with his son, Prince Mu'azzam, to the Deccan. The imperialist generals were successful and Shivaji sued for peace. In 1666, he attended the court at Agra, but felt insulted at being given a rank amongst *mansabdars* of only five thousand, made known his displeasure and was kept under surveillance from which he secretly escaped and reached the Deccan. After his return Shivaji consolidated his position and formally assumed the title of Maharaja in June 1674, and as Aurangzeb was busy in the north-west, he was not disturbed. He, however, died in 1680 and the mad cruelty of his unworthy son, Sambhaji, forcibly attracted the attention of the Mughal ruler. In 1682, Sambhaji raided Burhanpur and perpetrated such cruelties on the Muslim population that the *qazis* of the place sent a manifesto upbraiding Aurangzeb. The Mughal emperor, who was even otherwise anxious about the developments in the Deccan where his rebel son, Prince Akbar, had taken refuge at Sambhaji's court, decided to go himself to the south. He reached Aurangabad in the third week of March, 1682 and the last twenty-five years of his life were to be spent in this part of the subcontinent.

Bijapur aud Golkonda, which often gave shelter to the Mara-

tha raiders, were annexed in 1686 and 1687 respectively, and Sambhaji was captured and put to death in early 1689, but this did not mean the end of Aurangzeb's troubles in the Deccan. He brought up Sambhaji's child, Shahu, at the court and treated him with great consideration, but Sambhaji's younger brother, Rajaram, took over the Maratha leadership. On his death in April, 1700, his widow, Tara Bai, carried on the struggle.

Mughal forces achieved many successes against the Marathas, but they proved temporary. Often the forts, won at great cost and after prolonged efforts would be easily lost through the treachery or the ineptitude of the Muslim commanders. The conquest of the fort of Jinji took seven years, in spite of the fact that the *Wazir* Asad Khan and his son, Zulfiqar Khan, were in charge of operations. Before his death Aurangzeb had conquered most of the Maratha forts, but he was unable to suppress the powerful roving Maratha bands which challenged the Mughal authority whenever they could. In 1699, they carried their first raid in Malwa. Four years later they disrupted the communications between the northern and southern India, and in 1706 they sacked Baroda. After Aurangzeb's death on 3 March (N.S.), 1707, the Marathas got completely out of hand, largely owing to the internal quarrels of the Mughal nobles and princes, who started competing for the Maratha support and this became a major factor in the downfall of the Mughal empire.

Policy Towards Non-Muslims.

A marked feature of Aurangzeb's reign was the religious policy which he followed. "When he came to the throne, Aurangzeb gave no signs of being adversely inclined towards any class of his subjects." The trial and execution of Dara and Sarmad were on charges of heresy but as pointed out by some contemporary writers, the steps were really political. No action of any sort against the Hindus or other non-Muslim was taken. Aurangzeb, however, tried in an increasing degree to run the empire in accordance with Islamic law and in course of time this brought the question of the position of non-Muslims to the fore. The eleventh year of Aurangzeb's reign (1668), when he forbade music at the royal court and took other puritanical steps in conformity with the strict injunctions of Muslim law, is considered a landmark in this respect. Eleven years later (1679), a still more thorough purification of the court life was ordered and the *jizya*, which had remained abolished for over a

century was reimposed. By now Aurangzeb had adopted the policy of regulating his government in accordance with strict orthodox Islamic law and many orders in futherance of this were issued.

Aurangzeb abolished a large number of taxes, which had been levied in India for a long time, but which were not authorised by Islamic law. Possibly it was the unfavourable effect of these remissions on the state exchequer which led to the examination of other lawful sources of revenue. The fact that, according to the most responsible account,[23] the reimposition of *jizya* was suggested by 'Inayat Khan, the *Diwan-i-Khalsa*, would seem to show that it was primarily a fiscal measure. The theologians, who were becoming more dominant at the court, naturally endorsed the proposal and Aurangzeb carried it out with his customary thoroughness.

The other measure which has been the object of adverse comment, was the issue of orders, at various stages, regarding destruction of Hindu temples. Originally these orders related to a few specific cases—like the temples at Mathura built by Abul Fazl's murderer, to which a railing had been added by Aurangzeb's rival, Dara Shukoh. In 1669, it was reported to Aurangzeb "that in the province of Thatta and Multan, and particularly in Benares, the Brahmans were engaged in teaching unholy books in their schools, where Hindus and the Mussalmans flocked to learn their wicked sciences and were led away from the right path. Orders were therefore issued to all the governors of provinces, ordering the destruction of temples and schools and totally prohibiting the teaching and infidel practices of the unbelievers." This statement has been examined at length by Faruqi in his *Aurangzeb and his Times* and found incompatible with other known facts. It is, however, incontestable that at a certain stage Aurangzeb tried to enforce strict Islamic law by ordering the destruction of newly built Hindu temples. He obviously did not relish this step, and later, the procedure was adopted of closing down rather than destroying newly built temples in Hindu localities.[21] It is also true that very often the orders of destruction remained a dead letter but Aurangzeb was too deeply committed to the ordering of his government according to Islamic law to omit its implementation in so significant a matter. The fact that a total ban on the construction of new

temples was adopted only by later jurists, and was a departure from earlier Muslim practice—*e.g.* of Muhammad bin Qasim in Sind—was no concern of the correct, conscientious and legal-minded Aurangzeb.

As a part of general policy of ordering the affairs of the state in accordance with the views of the *ulama,* certain discriminatory orders against the Hindus were issued (for example, the imposition of higher customs duties, 5 % on the goods of the Hindus as against 2% on those of Muslims). These were generally in accordance with the practice of the times but they marked a departure not only from the political philosophy generally governing Mughal government, but also from the policy followed hitherto by most Muslim rulers in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and aroused resentment amongst the Hindus.

Aurangzeb has often been accused of closing the doors of official employment to the Hindus, but as a study of the list of his officers shows, this is completely baseless. Actually there were more Hindu officers under him than under any Mughal emperor, and though this was primarily due to a general increase in the number of officers, it clearly shows that there was no ban on the employment of the Hindus. In case of subordinate revenue officials (*qanungos*), Aurangzeb passed orders that 50% of the appointments should go to the Muslims, and 50% to the Hindus. Those who have seen contemporary criticism of the revenue officials and the complaints that they were making assignments for *waqfs* and even military services null and void, leading to widespread misery and discontent in the soldiery[d] will not be surprised at this step. Practically all village officials (*patwari* and *patel*) who handled the revenue and record work were Hindus, and in a state where payments (*e.g.* for military service or maintenance of educational institutions) were generally not in cash, but through assignments of land, the revenue organisation had tremendous powers. These powers became decisive in a reign in which great importance was attached to the legal status of documents, and probably Aurangzeb found it necessary to end a monopoly, not only to give Muslims greater share of the biggest department of the state, but also to provide a check on the work

(*d*) For an impassioned account of the hardships of the soldiers at the hands of the Hindu revenue officials in Bengal, see Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign*, pp. 173, 174, 175.

of the subordinate revenue officials.

Aurangzeb's policy towards the Hindus was naturally unpopular with them. It was forgotten that he had remitted nearly eighty taxes and cesses, paid mainly and in many cases entirely by the Hindus, but the reimposition of *jizya* was carefully noted, and resented. At Delhi, the Hindus demonstrated and the rising of the *Satnamis* in 1672, though agrarian in origin, took a religious colour. Aurangzeb found no difficulty in dealing with these demonstrations, and except in cases where *jizya* was remitted for special reasons, it was duly recovered throughout Aurangzeb's dominions.

It has been often stated that the offence which Aurangzeb gave to the Hindus by his religious policy created confusion in the kingdom, and led to the downfall of the Mughal empire. That this is not so becomes clear on a study of Aurangzeb's reign. "The Hindu risings were not successful, and they were not inspired by any common aims, whether religious or political. Aurangzeb suppressed them with Hindu help."[25] It is, however, obvious that a policy which is unpopular with vast sections of the public must create problems. A resourceful and determined ruler like Aurangzeb might successfully deal with them, but unpopular policies cannot add to the stability of a regime and while dealing with the weakening of the Mughal rule, Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi has admitted that Aurangzeb's religious policies "also played some role in its disintegration."

Aurangzeb's policy was highly unpopular with the non-Muslims but in assessing this policy it should not be forgotten that we are dealing with the seventeenth century. As a Hindu scholar has pointed out, "Aurangzeb was no worse than the Cavalier Parliament in England which passed the Clarendon Code. His legislation lagged far behind that manifestation of the collective wisdom of the English at that time. He did not interfere with the celebration of private religious worship of his Hindu subjects. He did not forbid their priests teaching Hindus. He did not exclude them from the public services. Aurangzeb erred in common with most of the contemporary rulers of the world. If his church was that of a minority, so was the Protestant church in Ireland. If he levied the *jizya* on the majority of his subjects, the preponderant majority of the Roman Catholics in Ireland went on paying the tithes for the support of the alien Protestant

church legally till the thirties of the nineteenth century, but virtually till 1867. For almost everything that he did, he could find an excuse in the state policy of his times."[26]

Aurangzeb and the East India Company.

Aurangzeb had serious difficulties with the East India Company, which opened its first trading factory in India at Surat in 1612 and later established trading-houses at Masaulipatam, Balasore (1633), and Madras (1640). The trouble first arose in Bengal, where Sha'ista Khan was trying to introduce some order and regard for the Mughal government in place of Shah Shuja's lax administration. The foreign settlements of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British, emboldened by their superiority on the sea, had become truculent, and in distant regions considered themselves subject to no checks. Shah Shuja', partly out of his general indifference to financial considerations and partly to gain their support in the coming struggle for the throne, was particularly generous to foreign traders. To the English factory which was opened at Hugli in 1651, he gave a *nishan* in 1652, permitting them to trade freely in Bengal on a lump annual payment of Rs. 3,000 in lieu of customs dues. In the succeeding years the Company's trade in Bengal multiplied many times but, on the authority of Shuja's *nishan,* it refused to increase its contribution or even pay subsidiary taxes like *rahdari, peshkash,* etc. Sha'ista Khan objected to this and difficulties arose between him and the English. The attitude of the officers of the Company may be judged from a letter addressed by their local representaives to the Head Office on 13 January, 1665 :—

"Your Worship must consider that these people are grown more powerful than formerly, and *will not be so subject to us as they have been* [italics ours], unless they be a little beaten by us, that they may understand, if they impede us by land, it lieth in our power to requite them by sea . . . . . . In fine, it is Mr. Blake's opinion that your affairs will be quite ruined if this Nabob [Sha'ista Khan] lives and reignth long."[27]

These differences came to a head in 1685, when the English sacked the Mughal town of Hugli. At this time Sir Joshia Child was the Chairman of the East India Company and "he persuaded King James II to sanction despatch of 10 or 12 ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition was an utter failure and in 1686 the English found themselves

obliged to abandon Bengal altogether."[28] Meanwhile, a similar situation was developing on the western coast of India. Partly, it was due to the imperial ambitions of Sir Joshia Child who in 1688 had a resolution passed by the Board of Directors, placing on record "the determination of the company to guard their commercial supremacy on the basis of their territorial sovereignty"[29] and thus foreshadowing the British annexations of the later period. Partly the troubles arose on account of the activities of the English pirates,[(e)] who seized several pilgrim ships including *Ganj-i-Sawai,* owned by Aurangzeb himself. The English, it appears, had also begun to coin rupees in Bombay, with a superscription containing the name of their king. Aurangzeb, thereupon ordered that the English Factory at Surat should be seized, and the factors and all Englishmen expelled from his dominions. Effect was given to these orders, but ultimately terms were arranged between the Company and the Mughals. Aurangzeb relented due to the fact that the English had the control of the Arabian Sea and were able to interfere with the *hajj*, but, it appears, they escaped permanent damage through having a powerful advocate at the court in the person of Aurangzeb's *Wazir* Asad Khan himself. In Bengal also, the aged Sha'ista Khan died in 1688 and was succeeded by the mild and incompetent Ibrahim Khan. The actions of the East India Company were condoned on payment of a fine of Rs. 1½ lakh and on its undertaking the responsibility for checking piracies. The important result of the action taken by Aurangzeb, however, was that, as pointed out by Vincent A. Smith, "the English merchants kept clear of politics and fighting for almost half a century."[30]

Cultural Life (1658-1707).

Under Shah Jahan the royal patronage of cultural activities was at its zenith. Aurangzeb completely altered the position. In course of time, he disbanded the court musicians, abolished the office of poet-laureate, and discontinued the work of the court chronicler. He offered little encouragement to painters. Even about the Taj, the greatest gift of the Mughals to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent,

(*e*) The historian Khafi Khan who visited Bombay about this time states that the island produced so little, and the parsimonious English provided so poorly for their local officers, that they had to engage themselves systematically in piracy to keep themselves going.

and incidentally the tomb of his mother, he was critical on grounds of economy and Islamic law, "The lawfulness of a solid construction over a grave is doubtful, and there can be no doubt about the extravagance involved."[f]

Aurangzeb's policy was unfavourable to the promotion of the arts, but except in the realm of architecture wherein even otherwise large-scale activity could not be carried on with a depleted treasury, it did not prove disastrous. Partly this was due to its gradual adoption, and partly because the princes and noblemen partially made up for the lack of royal patronage. In poetry, in which genuine self-expression yields better results than compliance with a patron's wishes or moods, the abolition of the court patronage and the weakening of the court tradition even led to some welcome new developments. Poetry was, so to say, released from the bondage of the court tradition, and the poets could give a free rein to their own ideas and interests. The greatest Persian poet of the period was Bedil, who turned away from the polished love lyrics of the old court poets and concentrated on metaphysical poetry. Often his fancy ran riot, and many of his metaphors are quaint and far-fetched. Even his meaning is frequently obscure, but he is unmatched for profundity of thought and originality of ideas and similies. He is highly popular in Afghanistan and Central Asia, where his poetry appeals to serious readers in the same way as the great *Masnavi* of Rumi. He paved the way for Ghalib, who followed him in aiming at originality and depth of thought, but adopted the polished diction of Mughal court poets.

Even more fruitful, in this atmosphere of free experimentation, were the efforts of Wali (1707),[g] universally recognised as the Chaucer of Urdu poetry. Aurangzeb's long sojourn in the Deccan resulted in the mingling of the poets of the Deccani and Gujarati languages with the northern speakers of chaste Urdu. Wali, whose birthplace is variously given as Aurangabad and Ahmadabad, started as a writer of Deccani. Under the influence of his teacher Gulshan, he modified his diction and incorporated ideas and metaphors from Persian poetry in his verses so beautifully that the result was a great literary success and showed the way to the

(*f*) See *Fanun-i-Latifa bi-a'hd-i-Aurangzeb* by Dr. 'Abdullah Chughtai, p. 42.

(*g*) This date is based on Maulvi 'Abdul Haq's researches.

poets of Delhi. There was thus laid the foundation of modern Urdu poetry.

These developments owed very little to Aurangzeb's initiative. The cultural activities for which he was directly responsible were the spread of Islamic learning and general diffusion of education. His reign was marked by the most extensive grant of patronage and stipends to scholars and students. As Narendra Nath Law points out, "he sent orders to Mukramat Khan, Diwan of Gujarat, as he did to other Diwans in his dominions, that all students from the lowest to the highest form, those who read the *Mizan* as well as those who read the *Kashaf*, be given pecuniary help from the State Treasury with the sanction of the professors of the colleges and of the Sadr of the place." In Aurangzeb's reign, we do not come across religious leaders of the calibre of Shah Wali-Ullah or Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, but there is no doubt that the foundation of the Islamic religious revival of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries was laid in his day. He made very liberal grants for the spread of education, and the large-scale employment of *qazis* offered lucrative openings to those who received proper education. The popular Islamic curriculum, known as *Dars-i-Nizamiya*, was coming into being in his reign, and the Emperor was personally responsible for the grant of extensive buildings, known as the Farangi Mahal of Lucknow, to the family of Mulla Nizam-ud-din, after whom *Dars-i-Nizamiya* is named. Leaving aside the foreign works, most of the books included in the *Dars-i-Nizamiya* were written during Aurangzeb's reign. They were mainly the work of two scholars specially patronised by the Emperor—Mir Zahid, the Qazi of Kabul and Muhibullah Bihari, the Qazi of Lucknow. Compilation of the comprehensive, legal digest, known as *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, was also due to the Emperor's own initiative.

Aurangzeb gave special encouragement to Islamic learning, but now there had been such a wide diffusion of general education that the cultural life remained broad-based. An indication of this is seen in emperor's own letters. They contain not only quotations from the Holy Quran but many apt and touching verses also. The *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, which was completed in Aurangzeb's day, will probably be considered a product of the earlier reign—as reflecting Dara Shukoh's school of thought. Aurangzeb's reign saw, as we have pointed out, the compilation of the great *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, but it was also the period when one of his

nobles composed *Rag Darpan,* a classic on Indian music. Another book dealing with a non-Muslim subject is the poetic version of *Padmawat* by 'Aqil Khan Razi, the governor of Delhi. Perhaps the book which best reflects the general culture of the period is *Mir'at-ul-Khiyal* (Mirror of Imagination) of Sher Khan Lodi, completed towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign. It has a number of chapters dealing with contemporary and earlier poets, interspersed with others about subjects like music, painting, philosophy, ethics, geography, etc. The information contained in such a one-volume "Outline of Knowledge" could not be very profound or extensive, and as the title indicated, the poetic and imaginative element predominated, yet the book indicates the wide range of subjects in which cultured noblemen of the day were interested. It is also worth recalling that Aurangzeb's reign was the great period of extension of medical knowledge, and most of the Persian text-books of *Tibb-i-Yunani* current till recently were written in his day.

"The Riddle of Aurangzeb".

Aurangzeb is, perhaps, the most controversial personality of the Indo-Pak history. By some he is held responsible for the downfall of the Mughal empire, while Orme considered him "the ablest monarch that ever reigned over Indostan." Sorley refers to him as "the gaunt, austere and obstinate doctrinaire, whose powerful hand had succeeded in arresting the fissiparious tendencies of the Mughal dominion," and adds, "It is a tribute to the strength of determination and the ability of this man of remarkable genius that he succeeded so well, as he did in preserving the unity of the ramshackle Delhi empire".[(h)]

Aurangzeb is also the least understood of Indian monarchs. S. R. Sharma, who has dealt with his personality at length heads the relevant section, "The Riddle of Aurangzeb" and speaks of him as "a great enigma". The puzzle of Aurangzeb's personality, according to the political historians, is that a monarch so able and alert, so industrious and keen to prove an ideal monarch, and so pure in his personal life left the empire entrusted to him larger but weaker than he found it. The puzzle, however, is bigger than is commonly thought and extends to fields other than

(*h*) H. T. Sorley, *Shah Abdul Latif*, p. 6. Elsewhere Sorley refers to him as the "sad, grim and lonely doctrinaire" and pays a tribute to "the unbending vigilance of the tyrannical and ascetic Aurangzeb" (pp. 8-9).

the political. Aurangzeb is often represented as an enemy of fine arts and there is no doubt that he withheld patronage from those arts, to which Islamic lawyers objected. A close study, however, reveals that he himself possessed a fine artistic sensitivity and was not uninfluenced by the atmosphere which produced the Taj Mahal. His attitude towards the court musicians, for example, is known. What is not so well-known is that he himself "had a perfect expert's knowledge of" the art of music. When a companion tried to find out why he had given up listening to music, Aurangzeb dolefully pointed out that listening to music was not really enjoyable without accompanying instruments and their use was forbidden according to all schools of Islamic law. The answer is, evidently, of one who not only was keen to uphold Islamic law, but also understood the subtleties of the art of music.

Similarly Aurangzeb discontinued the office of the poet-laureate, but anyone who has read the numerous beautiful verses interspersed in his letters can see that he knew a large number of verses by heart, and had a perfect taste in poetry. Shadman, a Gakkar chief, once read a poem in his praise. Aurangzeb rewarded him but in addition, gave a personal piece of advice—"Please, give up writing poetry". This may have been inspired by Aurangzeb's growing puritanism, but anybody who has examined the quality of Shadman's verses will agree that this was a sound wholesome advice, from literary point of view also !

The enigma of Aurangzeb's personality may be seen even in his emotional life. He has the reputation of being an austere, unfeeling puritan, and his later life was in strict conformity with Islamic law but he was not untouched by romance. The story of his over-powering passion for the girl who entered his *harem* as *Zainabadi Mahal* has been recorded, though with a slight variation in *Ahkam-i-'Alamgiri* as well as in *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*. This happened during his youth. Even more indicative of his tender heart—and abiding attachment to the memory of *Zainabadi Mahal*—is a letter which he wrote to his grandson, Prince Bedar Bakht. The prince, who was married to a Sayyid's daughter was very fond of his wife, but one day in a fit of anger called her a *Paji's* (vagabond's) daughter to which the wife took strong objection. Aurangzeb wrote a letter of admonition to his grandson, quoting verses, and recalling the affairs of his own heart :

"In the dawn, the garden-bird said to the newly blossomed

flower,
'Do not be too proud ; this garden has seen many a flower like you'.
The flower laughed and replied, 'Truth should not hurt but,
No lover ever said a harsh word to his sweet-heart.'

Let it be known to the light of my eyes (my grandson) that in my youth, which in the language of his vulgar companions is called the 'blind youth' (*Jawani Diwani*), I was also attached to a person who was haughty. Throughout her life I maintained my love, and never uttered a harsh word to her."

These episodes do not easily fit in the character of stern puritanism, for which Aurangzeb has got a reputation, and naturally puzzle the student and the historian.

Personal qualities.

For Aurangzeb's personal qualities, there is general admiration. Majumdar writes about him, "Undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose, and ceaseless activity were some of his prominent qualities. His military campaigns give sufficient proof of his unusual courage, and the manner in which he baffled the intrigues of his enemies shows him to have been a past-master of diplomacy and statecraft. His memory was wonderful, and his industry indefatigable. He personally read all petitions and passed orders on them with his own hand The Italian physician Gemelli-Careri, who visited India during the reign of Aurangzeb and saw him in 1695 when he was seventy-seven years old, 'admired to see him endorse the petitions with his own hand, without spectacles and by his cheerful, smiling countenance seemed to be extremely pleased with the employment.' "[31]

Aurangzeb exercised severe self-discipline and appeared to have a cold and unmoving disposition, but those who have not been deceived by superficial appearances have found that beneath a rigid and ascetic's exterior, he had a soft and kindly heart. S. R. Sharma, after quoting Aurangzeb's revenue regulations at length, says : "It must have been clear to the reader from the above evidence that Aurangzeb had the right perspective for a ruler of an agricultural land like ours."[(i)] He quotes, with approval what he calls Lane-Poole's "just estimate of Aurangzeb"—"Incomparably his father's superior,—a wiser man,

(*i*) *Vide* S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India*, Karnatak House, Bombay, p. 619.

juster king, and more clement and benevolent ruler.....His greatest calumniator, Manucci," he adds, "admits that his heart was really kind."

Apart from bravery, industry, benevolence and devotion to duty, Aurangzeb's life was remarkable for its simplicity and purity. His dress, food and recreations were all extremely simple. He was free from vice and "even from the more innocent pleasures of the idle rich". He ate simple, vegetarian food, and led an extremely well-regulated life. He died at the age of ninety, but all his faculties (except his hearing) remained unimpaired. He had a wonderful memory ; "he never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard."

He was a very well-read man, and kept up his love of books till the end. He wrote beautiful Persian prose. A selection of his letters made by a Hindu and popularly known as *Ruq'at-i-'Alamgiri* has long been a standard text-book as a model of simple but elegent prose. According to Bakhtawar Khan, he had acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeable to the words of God, "Poets deal in falsehoods," he abstained from practising it. He even understood music well but "on account of his great restraint and self-denial", he gave up this amusement in accordance with Islamic injunctions.

Will Durant has been, as pointed out in the preface to this book, most critical of Indo-Muslim rulers. He is also critical of Aurangzeb, but has to add, "......he was the least cruel of the Mughals, and the mildest ; slaughter abated in his reign, and he made hardly any use of punishment in dealing with crime. He was consistently humble in deportment, patient under provocation, and resigned in misfortune. He abstained scrupulously from all food, drink or luxury forbidden by his faith ; though skilled in music, he abandoned it as a sensual pleasure ; and apparently he carried out his resolve to spend nothing upon himself save what he had been able to earn by the labour of his hands. He was a St. Augustine on the throne."[32]

Administrative Problems.

Aurangzeb's personal qualities have won the admiration of even his opponents, but the greatness of a statesman can only be judged by the practical results achieved by him. In this Aurangzeb was not altogether fortunate. He greatly extended the Mughal dominion, and many of his achievements proved solid and enduring, but

there is another side of the picture also. For twenty years, he struggled against the Marathas with all the resources of the empire and made extensive territorial gains, but his success was far from decisive. Shibli, in his brilliant defence of Aurangzeb, has stated that the Mughal emperor had "taken the sting out of the Maratha problem" and at the time of his death, only some "mopping up" operations were called for. This is historically incorrect—and one has only to read the concluding pages of *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri*, and the relevant entry in Khafi Khan's book to realise the sorry state of Aurangzeb's "Grand Army" during his last years—but even if it were true, it can hardly be considered a great achievement. The old, extensive kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur were each conquered in less than a year but the entire might of the Mughal empire was pitted against the Marathas for twenty-five years, without gaining decisive results. And in the process, the Achilles' heel of the Mughals was so exposed, that the Marathas gained a new confidence and soon moved from the defensive in the Deccan to an offensive in the north.

In the financial field, Aurangzeb's achievements were even less distinguished. When he died, the imperial treasury was almost empty. He left barely Rs. 12 crores—substantially less than the inheritance of a single Mughal noble like Asaf Khan who left 19 crores in cash and property! Towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign, the imperial finances were in such severe straits that the *Diwan* would anxiously wait for the receipt of the Bengal revenues, so that there may be no administrative breakdown and the expenses of the Deccan campaign might be met.

It is a tribute to Aurangzeb's grasp over the affairs of the empire that no major upheaval occurred in the north during his prolonged absence in the Deccan, but there are clear indications of many minor disturbances and a general slackening of administration. In Bengal, for example, in 1696 Sobha Singh, a petty chief of Midnapur, joined hands with Rahim Khan, the chief of Orissa Afghans and defeated the Hindu *zamindar* of Burdwan and captured the chief town. They also seized the fort and city of Hugli and plundered the cities of Nadia, Murshidabad, Malda and Rajmahal. The emperor removed Ibrahim Khan, the governor (though, it appears, soon to appoint him at Allahabad), and the rebellion was effectively put down, but it exposed the insecure position of the administration. As this disturbance enabled the

English and other foreigners to fortify their settlements at Calcutta and other places, its effects were far-reaching and permanent.

Perfect peace did not prevail in other areas either. One has only to read the vivid account of the poet Bedil, who was held up at Mathura for nearly two years, about the disturbed conditions round Delhi and Agra, and the way "the lightning of helplessness had struck the countries of Hindustan", when Aurangzeb was "preoccupied with the idea of conquest of the Deccan."[33]

The Basic Difficulty.

The basic cause of Aurangzeb's incomplete success did not lie in any weakness of his own. It lay in the quality of men at his disposal. An artisan is as good as his tools and a ruler is as effective as his officers. Aurangzeb's misfortune was that he came to the helm of affairs, when two generations of unparalleled prosperity, ease and high living had sapped the moral fibre of the Mughal aristocracy. The Mughals were no longer the hardy soldiers or resourceful improvisers of the days of Babur and Akbar. Aurangzeb constantly bemoaned the scarcity of good officers. In one of his letters, he says, "My great grandfather (Akbar) had many faithful servants. He entrusted them with the work of gaining victories and of performing many affairs, and in the time of my father (Shah Jahan) there came forward many brave and faithful servants, well-behaved officers and able secretaries. Now I want one competent person, adorned with the ornament of honesty, for the *diwani* of Bengal, but I find none. Alas ! alas ! for the rarity of useful men." A growing weakness of the Mughal officials was that they shirked arduous and difficult assignments. For them the continuous stay in the Deccan, away from the attractions of Shahjahanabad, was such a calamity that they would probably have preferred Maratha victory to such an exile. One of Aurangzeb's leading nobles used to say that he would distribute a lakh of rupees in charity, if he could see the capital once again. Such ease-loving generals fared badly against the hardy Marathas. They took years to conquer small hill-forts, and many of these forts conquered after long sieges would be quickly lost owing to the sloth and negligence of the officers in charge of the Mughal garrisons.

Treachery was rampant in the Mughal army, and from this even the royal princes were not immune. During the seven-year-

long siege of Ginji, Prince Kam Bakhsh, who was in charge of the operations along with Zulfiqar Khan, had to be placed under arrest as he was about to join the Marathas with his troops. During the siege of Satara fort, the Marathas bribed Prince A'zam to ensure that the provisioning of their garrison would not be interfered with, and the fort which at the commencement of the siege had provisions to last only for two months could not be conquered for six months !

With such instruments at his disposal, there is no wonder that Aurangzeb's policy did not succeed. Iqbal, in a penetrating analysis of the Mughal emperor, says, "The political genius of Aurangzeb was extremely comprehensive. His one aim of life was, as it were, to subsume the various communities of this country under the notion of one universal empire. But in securing this imperial unity he erroneously listened to the dictates of his indomitable courage which had no sufficient background of political experience behind it. Ignoring the factor of time in the political evolution of his contemplated empire, he started an endless struggle in the hope that he would be able to unify the discordant political units of India in his own life-time."[j] Perhaps Aurangzeb's real mistake (or misfortune) was that in listening to "the dictates of his indomitable courage," he ignored the quality of the men at his disposal.

Legalistic Attitude.

Some of Aurangzeb's difficulties were due to causes beyond his control. Others, especially the financial and the administrative, arose out of his basic policy and his personal character. In dealing with Aurangzeb's attitude towards the non-Muslims we have stated that the central core of the policy, which he put into practice as soon as he felt strong enough to do so, was to run his government according to the Islamic law. In this, he is stated to have reversed Akbar's religious policy. Actually, the departure he made was much bigger. He gave up the age old policy, followed since the inception of the Muslim rule in India, and openly proclaimed by Balban, 'Ala-ud-din Khalji and Sher Shah, of subordinating legal and ecclesiastical considerations to the practical requirements of administration.

In organising his government on the basis of Islamic law,

(j) *Stray Reflections*, Note-book of 'Allama Iqbal, edited by Javid Iqbal, p. 44-45.

Aurangzeb was inspired by high motives, but the policy created many problems. His financial difficulties were, partly, due to the wholesale remission of some 80 taxes and his refusal to levy any tax, not specifically authorised by *Shari'at*. He failed to see, as even Firuz Tughluq had seen, that such a policy was inconsistent with military expansion and large-scale warfare. In the administrative field, also, Aurangzeb was opposed to taking any action or imposing any penalty, except strictly in accordance with the Islamic law. This resulted in precedence being given to the *qazis*, which was not liked by many of Aurangzeb's Muslim executive officers. "When the news of Shaista Khan's discomfiture at the hands of Shivaji reached the court, someone suggested that a theologian be deputed against Shivaji." Some of Aurangzeb's ablest generals found irksome the attention given by the emperor to rigid legal procedure. Firuz Jang, the grandfather of Nizam-ul-mulk and one of the chief nobles (whom the Emperor held so dear that once when he fell ill and was forbidden melons, Aurangzeb himself gave up this fruit), put to death one Muhammad 'Aqil, on a charge of highway robbery, without formal trial by a *qazi*. Aurangzeb sternly rebuked him, and even asked his *wazir* to write to the over-enthusiastic noble that if the heirs of the slain refused to accept the blood-money permitted by law, he would have to pass an order of retaliation (execution) against him ! [34]

There is something truly noble and touching in a ruler reminding his dearest and ablest general that he would have to face the penalty of death for unlawful action, and there can be nothing but admiration for Aurangzeb's endeavours to uphold the law and proper judicial procedure, even in such cases, but in the seventeenth century, the administrators found this meticulous emphasis on legal procedure and the prominent position of the *qazis* something of a hindrance. The contemporary historian Khafi Khan has attributed the imperfect success of Aurangzeb, in spite of his great ability and superhuman industry, to his reluctance to impose penalties. After praising Aurangzeb's unrivalled devotion, austerity, justice, courage, forbearance, and sound judgment, he says: "But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law, he did not make use of punishment and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions rose among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project

that he formed came to little good; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution and failed in his objective."[35] A more modern Muslim writer confirms Khafi Khan's criticism. Writing of Aurangzeb's policy, M. B. Ahmed says: "While such attitude......would give credit to a judicial temperament, I doubt if it has much to commend itself, when the chief judicial officer was also the *de facto* supreme executive head of the Government."[36]

Moreland writes about Aurangzeb: "Himself a rigid Muslim, his guiding principal was to organise the Empire in strict accordance with the public law of Islam, and he pursued this course, without any recognition of the factors which it is a statesman's business to take into account."[37] This sentence sums up the basic dilemma of Aurangzeb's character. These factors must have been obvious to a man of his clear vision and realism. But he felt it was his duty, as a Muslim king, to apply the only law which he recognised, to all branches of government. The fact that his lawyers and legal advisers were not equal to their responsibilities did not deter him. From an early age he had resolved to do his duty, irrespective of the odds in the way, and this he continued to do until the end of his days.

Aurangzeb's Wazir.

Normally Aurangzeb was a good judge of men, and pondered long before selecting officers for key posts. He, however, made some major mistakes, which proved disastrous to the empire. In particular his trust in Asad Khan, who was his *Wazir* or *Bakhshi* for 37 long years, and whose son Zulfiqar Khan became the senior most general, was not justified by subsequent events. As we shall see later, the first disastrous blow at Mughal monarchy was struck, when after the death of Aurangzeb's successor, Zulfiqar eliminated the most competent of the candidates ('Azim-ush-shan) by making the other three princes combine against him on the condition that the empire would be partitioned between the three, but he would be the minister for all of them![38]. The prince, he ultimately selected and zealously supported was Jahandar Shah, the most dissolute and incompetent of all the three, who (with his revelries with Lal Kunwar) soon reduced kingship to a joke.

This happened when Asad Khan was alive and, as later events proved, when he was still influential with his son. The extent to which Asad Khan and his son shared Aurangzeb's outlook may

be judged from the fact that within nine days of Jahandar Shah's accession, "Aurangzeb's wazir and lifelong favourite"[39] and his son jointly petitioned the new king to abolish *jizya* – and it was immediately abolished.

The advice to abolish *jizya* may have been sound, but it appears a little odd, coming from Aurangzeb's wazir. Such information as is available about Asad Khan's grand and ostentatious style of living leaves no doubt that he had nothing in common with his grim, dutiful, ascetical master. He must have been the most highly paid official in the empire, but he maintained such a high style of his living that he could not cope with his expenditure. According to *Ma'asir-ul-Umara*, "the expenses of his *harem* and for the purveyors of music and song, were so great that his revenues did not meet them. [40]

There is evidence available from the records of the East India Company that Aurangzeb's favourite *Wazir* was corrupt and was receiving expensive presents (and even cash) from the foreign Company to promote its interests. When in 1695, Aurangzeb became angry at the capture of a pilgrim ship by the English pirates, and ordered that Bombay should be invaded, Asad Khan came to the rescue of the East India Company. An English historian writes:—

> "Fortunately for the English interest it had at this period a powerful friend at court in the Prime Minister, Asad Khan. This worthy was too well-informed to believe that the English Company had any real part in the piracies......Mingled with his solicitude for the State interests was no doubt a lively sense of the adverse effect that the expulsion of the English would have on his own finances. Corruption was the breath of Mughal officials' life, and whatever the shortcomings of the English, they were handsome bribers. Asad Khan, therefore, found no difficulty, when Aurangzeb's rage had abated, in representing to him that there might be another side of the question......"[41]

The author has quoted from a contemporary letter written by Anneseley, the President of the Surat Council, suggesting how they should proceed: "A good *vakeel* at court, and some rarity to Asad Khan (who was so lately obliged to be our friend by a present of 30,000 rupees)......would have such an awe on the several gover-

nors where the Right Honourable Company's business is concerned......"[42], was the suggestion he made.

Aurangzeb's judgment of men was often shrewd—his warning about the Sayyids of Barha proved truly prophetic—but it is very doubtful whether Asad Khan and Zulfiqar deserved the position which they gained under him. He was careful and considerate in handling of men, but his failure in two cases—of Khushhal Khan Khattak and Shivaji—proved very costly. In case of Khushhal Khan, the difficulty arose on account of the general decision to abolish tolls, and in the other case the expectations and demands of the Maratha leader were excessive. In both instances probably Aurangzeb was faced with an impossible task, but it still remains a question whether Akbar or Shah Jahan, the *Qadardan*, would not have been more successful.

Conclusion.

Perhaps the time to make a final assessment of Aurangzeb has not yet arrived. Several thousands of his letters are extant, out of which only a few hundred have seen the light of the day. Until this rich material is published and scrutinised, a proper appraisal of Aurangzeb's personality is not possible. At present, evidence about him is fragmentary, and at times contradictory, even on basic issues. For example, he is often accused of an anti-Shi'a bias and Sarkar has dwelt on this at length. On the other hand, it has been, estimated by Hollister that majority of his nobles were Shi'as[k] and once when the Shi'a-Sunni question was raised before him in connection with the claims of the Irani and Turani nobles, he stated, "What have the sectarian differences got to do with administrative matters?" Evidence on Aurangzeb's attitude towards Hindus is also far from consistent. He reimposed *jizya*, and according to court chronicles ordered destruction of newly built temples, but *farmans* are extant, showing his solicitude for the protection of Hindu rights, and even making endowments for the Hindu temples. The position with regard to the fundamental question of complete adherence to Islamic law is similar. He tried hard and consistently to run the state according to the *Shari'at* but he had no hesitation in replacing the Qazi-ul-Quzzat[l] who when he

(*k*) *Vide* J. N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India* (Luzac), p. 139.

(*l*) See Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Vol. II, pp. 158-59, for events leading to the appointment of Qazi 'Abdul Wahab as Qazi-ul-Quzzat (based on *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, Vol. I, p. 248). Also see J. S. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, p. 73-74.

opined that during the life-time of Shah Jahan, *khutba* could not be delivered in the name of Aurangzeb. Similarly the opinion o the pious Qazi Shaikh-ul-Islam, who held that it was unlawful for Aurangzeb to invade the territories of Muslim rulers of Golkonda and Bijapur, resulted in his resignation,[m] Aurangzeb's personality was more complex and flexible than either his admirers or critics are willing to acknowledge. In the context of conflicting evidence the tendency for each group is to emphasise the elements supporting its point of view. These verdicts are liable to be modified in the light of the vast material which remains unutilised and all judgment of Aurangzeb, at this stage, can only be provisional.

In the preceding pages, we have tried to bring out those features which explain Aurangzeb's failure fully to achieve his objectives. These should not, however, obscure the solid and abiding achievements of Aurangzeb. He greatly enlarged the Mughal empire and much of what he accomplished has endured. A large part of what is East Pakistan today was either annexed or consolidated during his reign. In the Deccan, he conquered vast areas which were to remain centres of Mughal culture and administration for more than two centuries. He selected and promoted administrators whose work constitutes a landmark in the history of the regions entrusted to them, like Shuja'at Khan in Gujarat, Sha'ista Khan and Murshid Quli Khan in Bengal, Mu'tabir Khan in Konkan and Nizam-ul-mulk in the Deccan. He tried to reduce the Irani preponderance in administration, attracted some gifted Turani families to the service of the Mughals, and trained a body of men, who although crippled and demoralised by the repeated Wars of Succession were able to sustain the Mughal empire through the ravages of the Sayyid Brothers and Banda, and gave it a new lease of life.

Aurangzeb is entitled to a very high place as a ruler of the undivided India, but against the background of the creation of Pakistan, his importance increases still further. Iqbal has called him the first exponent of Muslim nationalism in the Indian sub-continent, and there is no doubt that fifty years of his reign, during which the Muslim point of view was consistently and successfully maintained, diffusion of Islamic education received a great impetus and a feeling of resolute self-confidence was gene-

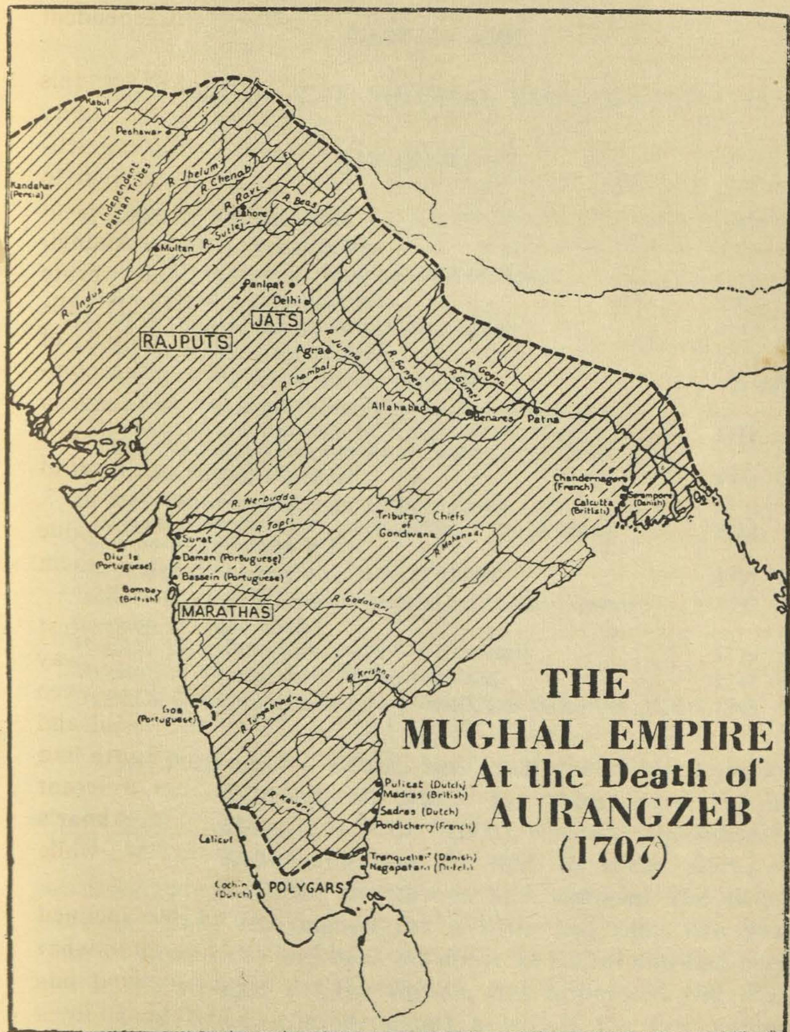
(*m*) See J. S. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

rated in the Muslim community, greatly strengthened the forces which not only enabled the Muslims to deal with the crisis in their national life during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries but ultimately led to the foundation of the independent state of Pakistan.

The memory of Aurangzeb is dearly cherished in this country, but it is not only due to his historical role. The purity of his personal life, the vigour of his character, his stern self-discipline and his efforts to uphold law have endeared him to Muslim hearts. Iqbal has, at one place, referred to three types of character of which he gives Timur, Jahangir and 'Alamgir as typical representatives. Timur represented the brute military force while Jahangir represented what Iqbal calls "the convivial type, which combines in itself the virtues of liberality, generosity and good fellowship." Babur was the combination of the two. Iqbal adds, "But these two types have a tendency to become reckless, and by way of reaction against them appears the third great type which holds up the ideal of self-control, and is dominated by a more serious view of life". This was represented by 'Alamgir and as Muslims highly value these qualities, his personality makes a powerful appeal to them and even in his lifetime, he was known as *'Alamgir Zinda Pir*.

It has also to be recalled that Aurangzeb was the greatest Indo-Muslim ruler in mere extent of his dominion. He held sway over a bigger area than any of his predecessors—than even 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, whose empire did not extend to Kabul and Kashmir. It is true that Aurangzeb's conquests in the South had not been consolidated but the position there was not different from the situation in Bengal at the end of Akbar's reign. Akbar's conquests were, however, consolidated under Jahangir, while Aurangzeb's successors proved unequal to the task.

Shibli, in his brilliant defence of 'Alamgir, was not inclined to give him a higher place amongst the Mughal rulers than what he got in the chronological order, but in the light of what has been stated it is not a matter for surprise that in Pakistan he is given a place at the very top of the list.



THE MUGHAL EMPIRE At the Death of AURANGZEB (1707)

CHAPTER XXII

DECLINE OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE—1707-1748

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Bahadur Shah	1707
Shahu returns to Maharashtar	1708
Death of Guru Gobind Singh; Revolt of Banda	1708
Khutba disputes at Lahore etc.	1711
Death of Bahadur Shah; War of Succession	1712
Farrukhsiyar becomes emperor	1713
Surrender of the Sikhs; Banda executed	1715/1716
Agreement between the Sayyid Brothers and the Marathas; Sayyid Brothers as King-makers; Murder of Furrukhsiyar; enthronement of Muhammad Shah	1719
Fall of the Sayyid Brothers	1720
Sa'adat Khan appointed governor of Oudh Nizam-ul-mulk virtually independent in the Deccan Qamr-ud-din becomes Wazir	1724
Marathas raid up to the suburbs of Delhi	1737
Shah Wali-Ullah's (Persian) translation of Holy Quran	1737-38
Invasion of Nadir Shah Mughals lose Kabul and trans-Indus country	1739
Invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali repulsed	1747
Deaths of Qamr-ud-din, Nizam-ul-mulk and Muhammad Shah	1748

Bahadur Shah (1707-1712).

After Aurangzeb's death, the usual "war of succession" followed, in which his eldest surviving son, Mu'azzam (Shah 'Alam), who was the *subadar* of Kabul and was the first to reach Agra, was successful. He ascended the throne and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. He reigned for a little less than five years. Mun'im Khan, who had been his *diwan* at Kabul and had helped him in the struggle for the throne, was appointed the *Wazir*, while Asad Khan, who produced a will of the late emperor desiring him to continue as *Wazir*, was appointed Wakil-i-Mutliq, with his son Zulfiqar Khan as his Deputy and as the First Bakhshi. At Zulfiqar Khan's suggestion Bahadur Shah permitted Shahu, the grandson of Shivaji, who had been kept as a

hostage at the royal capital, to return to Maharashtar. Before Shahu could establish himself, he had to fight a civil war with Tarabai (the widow of his step-uncle Raja Ram), who was heading the Maratha struggle. Shahu was successful with the help and advice of an ambitious Brahman, Balaji Vishwanath who as Peshwa became the real head of the Maratha organisation, while Shahu and his descendants maintained a raja's court at Satara.

Bahadur Shah was a mild and forbearing ruler, and tackled the problems with which he was confronted with tolerable competence. He had to face trouble in Rajputana, which he overcame without much difficulty. His longest campaign was against Banda in the Punjab. When the last Sikh Guru, Gobind Singh, died in November, 1708, he was on the best of relations with the Mughal government. Both the Sikh accounts and the court historians agree that Guru Gobind Singh joined the Mughal army as a *mansabdar* under Bahadur Shah. Irvine says: "It seems certain that Gobind Singh joined Bahadur Shah at some point, when that Prince was on his march down country from Lahore to Agra, to contest the throne with his brother, Azam Shah. Gobind Singh must have received some rank but what it was is not stated by the Muhammadans. A *mansab* of 5,000, as stated by the Sikhs, is preposterous, the greatest leaders at the head of thousands of soldier having no higher rank than two or three hundred men. In the same way the Sikhs make the battle fought at Janjua, between Agra and Dholpur, on the 18th Rabi I, 1119 (18 June, 1707), to have been won solely by the marvellous feats of Gobind Singh and his Sikhs. This is absurd, and may summarily be rejected. But, there is, I think, evidence that Gobind Singh was in the Emperor's army at Agra immediately after the battle. I think that he is to be identified in the entry of the *Bahadur Shah-Nama* of the 4th Jamadi I, 1119 (2 August, 1707), when a 'jewelled scarf was presented to Gobind Singh'."[1]

Much progress had been made in healing the wounds which had poisoned the relations between the Sikhs and the Mughals before the untimely death of Guru Gobind Singh, but those of his followers, and others, who were not well-disposed towards the Mughals, and had seen the ineffectiveness of the Mughal army in the Deccan took steps which ushered the saddest chapter in the history of Sikh-Mughal relations. "They produced a man who

exactly resembled him (Guru Gobind Singh) and secretly sent him to the Punjab declaring that he was Guru Gobind Singh miraculously brought back to life for leading his followers in a war of independence against the Muslims." This man who was known as *Banda* (the slave), took the title of Saccha Padshah, and calling himself Gobind Singh, summoned the Sikhs to join their Guru who had reappeared. In response to his call, many zealous Sikhs assembled and marched in arms to Sonepat, some tweney-five miles north of Delhi, where the Faujdar came out utterly unprepared, and was routed. This success emboldened Banda and brought many to his standards. Accompanied by forty thousand men, he next conquered Sadhaura near Ambala and committed unspeakable atrocities. This was followed by the defeat and slaughter of Wazir Khan, the commandant of the provincial capital, Sirhind (22 May, 1710). "Then the town of Sirhind itself was taken, pillaged for four days with ruthless cruelty; mosques were defiled, houses burnt, the women outraged and the Muslims slaughtered."[2]

The progress of Banda towards the south was checked by Shams Khan Khweshgi, the brave Faujdar of Sultanpur, but the situation became so serious that it was feared that the disruption which the Maratha rising had caused in the south may be paralleled or even exceeded in the north. Bahadur Shah, therefore, decided to address himself to the task. On December 4, 1710, he reached Sadhaura which was evacuated by Banda on his approach. The Sikhs moved to the strong fort of Lohgarh, where Banda had been living like a king and had issued coins in his own name. Bahadur Shah, who was accompanied by Mun'im Khan and Zulfiqar amongst other generals, captured the fort of Lohgarh, but Banda was able to escape. In January, 1711, Sirhind was reoccupied, and Banda took shelter in the hills. After Bahadur Shah's death next year, he took advantage of the new war of succession to recover Sadhaura and restore the fortification of Lohgarh, so that the whole problem had to be tackled afresh.

After a halt at Sirhind, Bahadur Shah moved to Lahore. His stay here was marked by the one major controversy of his reign. Soon after his occupation of the throne, he had ordered, at the suggestion of Wazir Mun'im Khan, that the title *Wasi* should be added after the name of Hazrat 'Ali in the Friday prayers. This

was considered a Shi'a innovation and led to trouble in many places. At Lahore, matters came to a head. Bahadur Shah called the leading local theologians to hold discussions with him and made a powerful plea for the change. The local *ulama,* however, did not agree, and the general population with the support of the Afghan soldiers, forming a body of a hundred thousand men, made ready to resist the measure by force. At first the Emperor ordered his Chief of Artillery to have the new form of prayer recited from the the pulpit of the Badshahi Masjid on April 22, 1711, but finding that a vast crowd, ready for violent resistance, had gathered in the streets of Lahore, the Emperor gave way and in the end the old form in use in the days of Aurangzeb was recited. Seven leading *ulama* of Lahore were, however, sent to the Gwalior fort.

Jahandar Shah.

Bahadur Shah, who died on February 27, 1712, left four sons, and as usual, each aspired for the throne. At this stage Zulfiqar Khan, who due to the death of Mun'im Khan and the old age of his father, was the most influential noble of the realm, started playing a role unworthy of a member of a family to which Aurangzeb had entrusted the affairs of the empire. Prince 'Azim-ush-Shan was his father's favourite and was generally expected to succeed him, but Zulfiqar secretly brought the other three princes together for joint action against 'Azim and they made solemn agreement for partitioning the empire amongst themselves with "Zulfiqar as Minister for all the three."[3]

In the battle which followed, 'Azim was drowned with his elephant in the Ravi, and then Zulfiqar threw aside the two youngest princes in favour of the worthless Jahandar Shah, who ascended the throne on 29 March, 1712. Zulfiqar became the all-powerful minister, and the king, infatuated with his concubine Lal Kunwar and free from all responsibilities of state, spent his time in an orgy of mad freaks and low amusement. The relations of Lal Kunwar robbed and mismanaged the state, and the entire tone of society and administration was vulgarised. The practice of royal favourites interfering in the affairs of state, which was to be the bane of Muhammad Shah's reign, really started under Jahandar Shah.

Nemesis was, however, not long delayed. Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, the second son of 'Azim-ush-Shan, who was his

fathers's deputy in Bengal, had not reconciled himself to the enthronement of Jahandar Shah. On learning of his father's death, he proclaimed himself emperor at Patna in April, 1712, and was able to interest the two powerful Sayyid brothers in his fortunes. One of these, Sayyid Husain 'Ali was his deputy at Patna and the elder Sayyid Hasan 'Ali (later 'Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-mulk) was the deputy at Allahabad. They agreed to espouse the cause of Farrukhsiyar, and by obtaining support from other quarters, defeated Jahandar Shah at the fateful battle-field of Samugarh (6 January, 1713). Jahandar Shah escaped from the battlefield, hidden in the *howda* of Lal Kunwar, and entering Delhi by stealth at night, immediately went to Asad Khan and appealed for protection, and sought help from Zulfiqar. "But the crafty old minister dissuaded his son Zulfiqar from making any other attempt on behalf of Jahandar Shah and in violence of their oaths to him decided to imprison him and hand him over to gain the new emperor's favour and retain their wealth, titles and influence in the state."[4] Jahandar Shah was murdered in the prison on 11 February, but Zulfiqar and Asad Khan did not gain their objectives. Zulfiqar Khan was put to death on 13 February, and although the old Asad Khan was allowed to linger on till his death at the age of 88 (15 June, 1715), all the houses and property of Zulfiqar and his father were confiscated and the family completely ruined.

Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719).

Farrukhsiyar ascended the throne on 11 June, 1713, but his position was far from happy. He owed his crown to the Sayyid brothers, who received the highest offices in the realm. Sayyid Hasan 'Ali became the *Wazir*, with the title Qutb-ul-mulk Zafar Jang, Sipah Salar, while Sayyid Husain 'Ali became *Mir Bakhshi* with the title of Amir-ul-Umara, Firuz Jang. The authority and power which the Sayyid brothers assumed was galling to the new king. He, however, lacked the ability and character of an Akbar to overthrow Bairam Khan, and only made schemes and ineffectual efforts which really made his position worse. He had not the courage to strike boldly, but with a low cunning and a weak mind encouraged others to face the Sayyids. Bold and resourceful Turani nobles like Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been kept in the background under Bahadur Shah and who might have dealt with the Sayyids, were reluctant to side with Farrukhsiyar on

account of his fickle nature, and remained aloof. The king's friends like Mir Jumla were men of straw and could not accomplish anything. In April, 1715, Husain 'Ali left Delhi as viceroy of the Deccan, but before leaving he warned the king that in case his brother was harassed at Delhi, he would promptly return to the capital. Matters came to a head in 1718 when Mir Jumla was recalled by Farrukhsiyar from Lahore. On hearing of this, the *Wazir* wrote to his brother to come back from the Deccan. Husain 'Ali immediately complied and arrived outside Delhi on 15 February, 1719. A particularly sinister feature of Husain 'Ali's return was that he was accompanied, apart from his own army, by some eleven thousand Marathas under the Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath. "Their help was secured by promising to Raja Shahu : (*a*) the *chauth* or one-fourth of the revenue of the Deccan, (*b*) *sardeshmukhi* or ten per cent on the collections, (*c*) the confirmation of Shivaji's hereditary dominions, and (*d*) the release of Shahu's mother and half-brother from captivity in Delhi, besides a cash salary to each Maratha soldier."[5] This monentous deal which changed the course of Indian history was negotiated by Husain Ali's envoy Sankaraji Malhar, who originally held a high post under Raja Ram, the younger son of Shivaji but had later entered the Mughal service and was then in the camp of Husain 'Ali.

On arrival at Delhi, the Maratha soldiers did not prove very effective. As a matter of fact, at their first appearance they were panic-striken and large numbers of them were easily butchered by the Mughal retainers and other inhabitants of the capital, but as pointed out by Owen, Husain 'Ali's deal with the essentially anti-Mughal community of the Marathas had a far-reaching importance. "Thus the Maratha plan of establishing virtually an anti-polity within the limits of the Mughal empire was realised, and in a most glaring and provoking from."[6]

On arrival at Delhi, Husain 'Ali assumed an openly rebellious attitude. He ordered his drums to be beaten loudly in defiance of normal Mughal ban on beating of a subject's drums near the emperor's residence and repeatedly said that he no longer reckoned himself amongst the servants of the Mughals. "I will maintain the honour of my race," Hasian 'Ali probably aimed at setting up a new dynasty but circumstances did not prove propitious. The sympathies of large sections of public were with Farrukhsiyar,

and there were large-scale demonstrations in his favour in the capital. This probably curbed Husain 'Ali's ambitions, but only hastened the emperor's end.

The conflict between the king and the "king-makers" absorbed the energies of the central government, but some provincial governors maintained firm administration, and the extermination of Banda and his companions, which led to the pacification of the East Punjab for one whole generation, belongs to Farrukhsiyar's reign. This was essentially the work of 'Abdus Samad Khan. Early in Farrukhsiyar's reign (22 February, 1713), he had heen appointed the governor of Lahore with his son Zakaria Khan as the faujdar of Jammu, with instructions to expel Banda from Sadhaura and, if possible, to destroy him altogether. 'Abdus Samad Khan made thorough preparations and "assembled an army of Mughals, Pathans, Bundhela Rajputs and Rajputs of Kotoch and Jasrota," but fulfilment of his mission proved a long and arduous task, especially as attempts had to be made to capture Banda alive. Sadhaura was besieged but the Sikh garrison escaped to Lohgarh, where Banda himself was residing. 'Abdus Samad Khan pushed on to Lohgarh but a panic seized Banda and his men, and they evacuated Lohgarh without firing a shot (Oct. 1, 1713). Now Banda took refuge in the hills from where he sallied forth at intervals, plundering the inhabited places and otherwise causing damage to the countryside, by cutting "the Shah-nahr canal" and other small streams, to allow the water to flood the contiguous fields. Ultimately he was chased back to the fort of Gurdaspur, and the patient and painstaking 'Abdus Samad Khan took elaborate steps to ensure that he did not escape. A high earthen wall with a trench behind it was raised all round Gurdaspur, so as to enclose completely the fort from all sides. Next a stockade was constructed near the fort walls with a deep and wide ditch at its feet. Banda's followers offered fanatical resistance but all their attempts to escape failed, and the garrison was forced to surrender unconditionally on 17 December, 1715, after a siege of eight months. Banda was taken to Delhi and put to death on 19 June. In dealing with him and his followers, stern vengeance was wreaked but the peace of the area was ensured for a generation or more. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, "after Banda and his personal followers had been crushed in 1715, the Sikhs remained quiescent for over one generation and did not

disturb the public peace."[7]

After the death of Farrukhsiyar, who was blinded and imprisoned on February 27, 1719, and strangled two months later, the king-makers placed on the throne Rafi'-ud-Darjat but "he lived and died as a captive of the Sayyid brothers." He was deposed on June 4, and a week later died of consumption. On 6 June, his elder brother, Rafi'-ud-daula, who "too lived within the fort, a prisoner of his two ministers in all matters, even in private life," was declared the king. He died on September 17, 1719, but the fact was kept concealed for nine days. On 28 December, 1719, Raushan Akhtar, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, was crowned king under the title of Muhammad Shah. During the nominal rule of Rafi'-ud-Darjat, the Sayyid brothers obtained his consent to post Nizam-ul-mulk to Malwa as viceroy "to get his Mughal troops out of Delhi" (3 March, 1719), and to send back Maratha contingent with the royal orders dated 13 and 24 March, confirming the promises made to them by Husain 'Ali, which Farrukhsiyar had refused to endorse. Another important development was that the two brothers had a violent quarrel over the treasures seized in the palaces of Delhi and Agra, and although this quarrel was patched up, the resultant coolness may have been partly responsible for Husain 'Ali not proceeding with his original dream of founding a dynasty.

Muhammad Shah (1719-1748).

The new emperor was crowned at the age of twenty and remained on the throne for some thirty years. During the first year, he was under the tutelage of the Sayyid brothers, but by now their hold, never very secure in the face of the powerful Turani nobles, had greatly weakened and they were widely unpopular. Hasan 'Ali, the *Wazir*, had left the management of all public affairs to his agent Ratan Chand, who interfered even with the Muslim ecclesiastical appointments. The Sayyid brothers were generous to their troops and followers, but they blatantly looted public property. At Delhi, the *Wazir* "making use of his position within the palace and the fort had taken possession of all the buried treasures, jewellery, armoury, and all the imperial establishments." The same thing was repeated at Agra. "After an acrimonious dispute, Sayyid Husain 'Ali Khan was obliged to surrender over two million rupees to his brother and the two were never again on their former terms of amity." Even otherwise the hold

of Sayyid brothers was never very secure. As the verses of Bedil show, there was widespread resentment over the way in which Farrukhsiyar had been treated. "Even on the day of blinding, several nobles appeared in the streets with their contingents and tried to fight their way to the fort," but withdrew to their homes when it was learned that all was over with Furrukhsiyar.

During Muhammad Shah's reign, the opposition to the Sayyid brothers took a more effective form. By now Nizam-ul-mulk had been estranged by the Sayyids and was in open rebellion. But the blow was struck by some other nobles, who represented both the Turani and Irani factions. Muhammad Amin Khan, the Turani noble (who occasionally spoke in Turkish to the Emperor), having ascertained his resentment of the Sayyids, formed a conspiracy to remove Husain 'Ali. Among his supporters was "Mir Muhammad Amin, a Sayyid of Nishapur who had lately received the title of Sa'adat Khan and had been, as a Sayyid and Shia, a protege and favourite of Husain 'Ali. The assassin, Mir Haider Beg, another Sayyid, was found by Muhammad Amin Khan from his own contingent."[8] Husain 'Ali was assassinated on October 9, 1720, a day after his boast "about making an emperor of anyone on whom he chose to cast his shoe."[9] 'Abdullah Khan, who gave battle was defeated and imprisoned on 15 November. Ratan Chand was beheaded the same day.

Muhammad Amin Khan, who became *Wazir* died of colic on 30 January, 1721. On 29 January, 1722, Nizam-ul-mulk reached Delhi from the Deccan and on 21 February was presented with the pen case, symbolical of the post of *Wazir*. He was an efficient officer but too strict a disciplinarian to be popular with the young emperor or his ease-loving courtiers. Muhammad Shah had come under the influence of such courtiers as the witty 'Umdat-ul-Mulk Amir Khan, the cultured Muhammad Ishaq, and the indolent Qamr-ud-din Khan, who were courtiers rather than statesmen, and neglected public business. Nizam-ul-mulk gave him serious advice "and entreated him to abandon the practice of letting out the reserved lands in farms, to abolish the wholesale bribery which prevailed at the court, to exact the levy of the *Jizya*, as in the time of Aurangzeb, from unbelievers and to requite the services rendered by Tahmasp I of Persia to his ancestor Humayun, by marching to relieve Tahmasp II, now beset by

Afghan invaders, who had sacked and occupied his capital."[10] Nizam-ul-mulk's advice was rejected and on 18 December, 1723, he left the court to return to the Deccan.

After Nizam-ul-mulk's departure, the affairs of the country and the court went from bad to worse. Nizam-ul-mulk was able to keep the Marathas away from his territories in the Deccan with skill and tortuous diplomacy,[(a)] but they were harassing other parts of the country. By 1732, they had partly occupied Gujarat, partitioned Bundelkhand and temporarily overrun Mewar. Next year Muhammad Shah resolved to march against them in person and made a couple of short marches, but the imperial camp never went beyond Faridabad, sixteen miles south of Delhi. The Marathas became bolder and spread themselves from Gwalior to Ajmer. They suffered defeat at the hands of Burhan-ul-mulk and Khan-i-Dauran, but reassembled again, and in 1737, Baji Rao Peshwa managed, by successful and rapid marches, to evade the imperial army and reach Delhi itself. After some looting near the tomb of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, he withdrew on hearing that the *Wazir* and the Mughal army were nearing the capital.

The situation became so grave that there was a general feeling that Nizam-ul-mulk was the only man who could save the kingdom and drive away the Marathas. A pressing invitation was, therefore, sent to him and he started from Burhanpur on 17 April, 1737. Many miles from the capital he was received by the *Wazir* with the highest honours. In April, 1738, he re-entered Delhi at a time when already a new danger, the invasion of Nadir Shah, was threatening the empire.

Invasion of Nadir Shah.

In Persia the ruling Safavi king had been driven out by an Afghan soldier, whose father had freed Qandhar—for long an object of dispute between the Mughals and the Safavids—from the Persians. He conquered

(*a*) "Unsuccessful in war, the Nizam at last entered into a secret compact with Baji Rao, by which the Maratha government promised to leave the Deccan unmolested and to levy nothing beyond the stipulated *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* while the Nizam agreed to remain neutral during the projected Maratha invasion of Hindustan" (*C. H. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 382). Baji Rao had succeeded his father Balaji Vishwanath as Peshwa on the latter's death on 17 April, 1720. He himself died prematurely twenty years later, after a remarkable career. By then the office of Peshwa had become hereditary in the family of Balaji Vishwanath.

Herat and Khurasan, and in 1722, occupied Isfahan, the Safavi capital. A saviour, however, arose in the person of Nadir Quli, who, acting in the name of the Safavi king, defeated the Afghans, and in 1729, expelled them from Iran. In 1736, he ascended the throne as Nadir Shah. He wished to punish the Afghans who still held Qandhar, and sent envoys to Muhammad Shah, requesting him to close the frontier of the Mughal province of Kabul to the fugitives from Qandhar. Favourable replies were sent from Delhi, but nothing tangible was done, and many Afghans escaped from Qandhar to Kabul. Nadir Shah sent another envoy to demand an explanation and return within forty days, but he could obtain neither an audience from the king nor leave to depart, and returned to Nadir Shah only after a year's absence. After the victory at Qandhar, Nadir moved towards Ghazni and Kabul, which he captured in June, 1738. From there he moved to Peshawar and Lahore, which he occupied after minor local resistance. From Lahore he addressed a letter to Muhammad Shah, complaining of gross discourtesy and saying that he was coming to Delhi to punish the royal counsellors who were responsible for this. Muhammad Shah along with his large army, marched to stop the invader at Karnal but the Indian army (to which Rajput chiefs had refused to send any contingent) was outmanoeuvred.

There was no major clash between the entire army of Muhammad Shah and the Irani army. There was a skirmish between the Irani scouts and the fresh troops which were being brought to join the main Indian army, in which Burhan-ul-mulk, the Subadar of Oudh, was captured, and Khan-i-Dauran, the premier noble and the first *Bakhshi* of Muhammad Shah, was fatally wounded through an accidental (or well-aimed) shot of the Iranian artillery. The main body of the Indian army, and the contingent of nobles like Nizam-ul-mulk were not yet involved in action, when the so-called battle of Karnal was over, with disastrous results for the Indo-Pak subcontinent. The damage, due to misfortune on the battle-field, was completed by treachery and poor statesmanship. Burhan-ul-mulk, who had been taken to the Persian camp and was originally from Nishapur, was able to persuade Nadir to agree to leave Muhammad Shah on the throne of Delhi and to retire from India, immediately on receipt of an indemnity of 20 million rupees. Burhan-ul-mulk, however, hoped

to be made Amir-ul-Umara in place of Khan-i-Dauran, but when Muhammad Shah conferred the office on Nizam-ul-mulk, Burhan-ul-mulk became so angry that he now advised Nadir Shah not to be contented with mere 20 millions, and to move to Delhi.[11] The Persian king decided to leave over the question of indemnity till he reached the capital. The two kings moved towards Delhi in apparent harmony, but what the realm had not yet suffered from the failure on the battle-field and the rivalry of the nobles, was brought about by the rashness and vainglory of the citizens of Delhi. Nadir Shah's troops were quartered in different parts of the city, when a rumour gained currency that the Persian king had been assassinated. This led to a massacre of the Persian soldiers, who were moving about unarmed, and nearly nine hundred Persians were slain. This enraged Nadir Shah, who ordered a general massacre of the citizens of Delhi, which continued for a whole day and resulted in the slaughter of nearly thirty thousand persons. In the evening, at the request of Nizam-ul-mulk, the massacre was stopped but the general loot and extortion continued. In addition to the seizure of Shah Jahan's wonderful Peacock Throne and a large stock of pearls, diamonds, and jewellery from the imperial treasury, large levies were imposed on the Mughal nobles, and wealthy citizens were plundered. On 16 May, Nadir Shah left Delhi laden with booty, the like of which had never been taken away from India by any conqueror. He left Muhammad Shah on the throne of Delhi, but annexed all territory west of the Indus, including the province of Kabul, and later, stipulated that a sum of twenty lakhs out of the revenue of four *mahals* of Gujarat, Sialkot, Pasrur and Aurangabad (in the Punjab) which had hitherto been reserved for meeting the administrative cost of the perpetually deficit province of Kabul, should be paid into the Persian treasury.

Nadir's defeat of the Indian army and massacre and plunder of people of Delhi, destroyed the prestige of the Mughal government and ruined it financially. This emboldened the Sikhs and the Marathas, and even the provincial governors became defiant and truculent. When addressing Muhammad Shah in a letter from Kabul, Nadir Shah had stated that he had occupied his north-western territory "purely out of zeal for Islam" so that in case "the wretches of the Dekkan" again move towards Hindustan, he might "send an army of victorious Kazil Bashis to drive them to

the abyss of hell."[12] Yet actually he had given a death stab to the empire "of the king of the Musalmans." Apart from the damage done by the Sayyid brothers and the Marathas, Nadir's invasion was the biggest factor responsible for the break-up of the Mughal empire.

Nadir's invasion of India was a stunning blow, but after a period of helplessness and stupor, apparently Muhammad Shah tried to reorganise his government. According to contemporary accounts, after the departure of Nadir, "the emperor and the nobles turned to the management of state affairs and gave up all sorts of uncanonical practices."[13] This phase was short-lived. Nadir Shah, by his attempts to influence Muhammad Shah against Nizam-ul-mulk and to buttress the influence of one faction, had further aggravated the conflicts at the court which had contributed to the Mughal weakness. Muhammad Shah's reign did not, however, close without at least one victory against a foreign enemy. In March, 1748, there was a battle between Ahmad Shah Abdali who had succeeded to the eastern territories of Nadir Shah's empire and the Mughal army near Sirhind, and resulted in the last victory which Mughals were to win against a foreign invader. At the head of the Indian army was the emperor's son, Ahmad Shah, with Wazir Qamr-ud-din, his son Mu'in-ul-mulk, and Safdar Jang on his side. There was a stubborn fight, in which Mu'in-ul-mulk and Safdar Jang covered themselves with glory and Ahmad Shah Abdali was forced to retreat. Just before the battle, however, the Wazir was hit by a cannon-ball, which inflicted mortal injuries, and in another six weeks his royal patron, whose confidence he had enjoyed for almost a quarter of century, also passed away (26 April, 1748).

OTHER MUSLIM STATES

One unhealthy development resulting from the growing weakness of the central Mughal authority was the establishment of hereditary viceroyalties in some of the major provinces of the empire. The process was due to the slackening hold of the central authority and in turn not only further weakened the centre by depriving it of financial resources and political power, but ultimately led to the establishment of practically independent kingdoms in the subcontinent. In Muhammad Shah's reign, the new phenomenon of hereditary viceroyalties was to be witnessed in the Punjab, the Deccan, Bengal, Sind and Oudh. In the Punjab and

Sind (mainly owing to the intervention of external forces from the west), this did not result in the immediate establishment of independent kingdoms, but in the Deccan, Oudh, Bengal and to some extent in Rohilkhand, it resulted in the rise of large principalities, over which the central government of Delhi had only nominal authority.

Nizam-ul-mulk in Hyderabad.

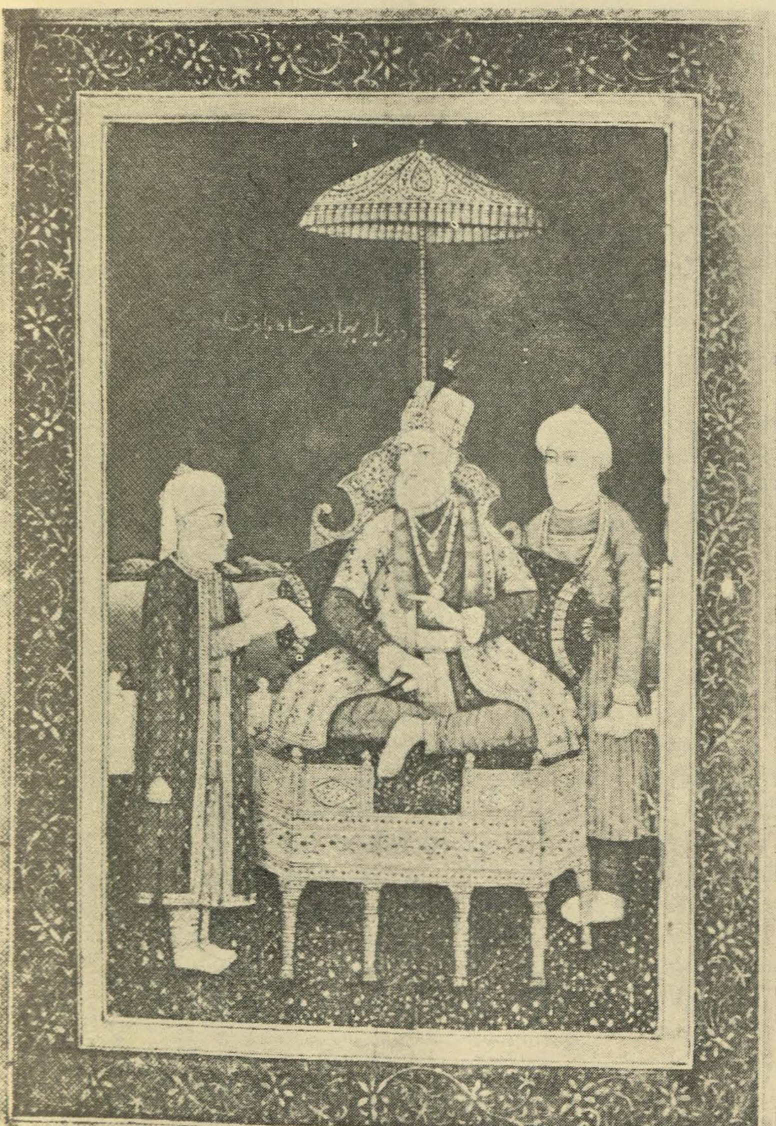
The most important of the new principalities was Hyderabad, which comprised six *subas* of the Deccan, and which at this time had a standard revenue of sixteen crores of rupees against seventeen crores from the other twelve provinces of the Mughal empire taken together. The founder of the state was Nizam-ul-mulk (Mir Qamr-ud-din Chin Qulich Khan), whose father Ghazi-ud-din Firuz Jang was a favourite of Aurangzeb, and had rendered signal services at the siege of Bijapur in 1686. Mir Qamr-ud-din was born in 1671, entered Aurangzeb's service at the age of thirteen and six years later received the title of Chin Qulich Khan. In 1714, Farrukhsiyar made him the viceroy of the Deccan. Nizam-ul-mulk's first tenure of office was brief, as the Sayyid brothers were opposed to him, but he was too powerful to be ignored and held high offices even during their ascendency. Muhammad Shah made him *Wazir* in February, 1722, with permission to retain the viceroyalty of the Deccan. Nizam-ul-mulk strove hard to introduce order and discipline in the government at Delhi, but was powerless against the frivolous and corrupt royal favourites. He was trained in a school of stern discipline "and was universally regarded as the sole representative of the spacious times of Aurangzeb and of the policy and traditions of that strenuous monarch." These traditions were not to the liking of the courtiers, who had delighted in the revelry of Jahandar Shah's time and had created a similar atmosphere of gaiety and frivolity under Muhammad Shah. Finding himself powerless to improve affairs at Delhi, Nizam-ul-mulk decided to save what he could from the impending ruin of the Mughal empire and on December 18, 1723, after obtaining royal permission for a shooting tour in the Doab set out for the Deccan. His enemies in the court urged his deputy to oppose him, but the latter was decisively defeated by Nizam-ul-mulk, whose power and prestige was such that soon Muhammad Shah confirmed him in the viceroyalty of the Deccan,

5 (a)



Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah I

5 (b)



Bahadur Shah II

with the additional title of Asaf Jah (June, 1725).

Nizam-ul-mulk worked hard to bring peace and order in a land which had been the scene of constant war for nearly forty years. He enforced law and order with a strong hand, kept the land revenue assessment low, made the prohibition of illegal cesses effective and by giving security to the peasants and traders enhanced the wealth of the country. The Marathas were the great menace to his state, and he tried to deal with them with a firmness tempered by realism and diplomacy. In 1732, he came to an agreement with the Peshwa that if the Marathas invaded northern India, he would not attack them in the rear. Five years later, when the Marathas carried their depredations right up to the city of Delhi, the emperor wrote to Nizam-ul-mulk for aid and the Nizam responded. He reached Delhi on 13 July, 1737,[14] and participated in the battle of Karnal against Nadir Shah, but found that even the tragedy of Nadir's massacre had not taught a lesson to the emperor and his courtiers. Despairing of all hopes of reforming Muhammad Shah's government, he finally left Delhi in August, 1740, and till his death on June 1, 1748, continued to work for the consolidation of the state which was to maintain Mughal culture and traditions for over two centuries.

BENGAL (1707-1757)

The history of Bengal for half a century after Aurangzeb's death is essentially the story of two remarkable men, Murshid Quli Khan and 'Alivardi Khan, who gave the province peace and prosperity when it was rare in other parts of the subcontinent.

Murshid Quli Khan.

Murshid Quli Khan, who was selected *Diwan* of Bengal by Aurangzeb, after great deliberation, to which the emperor's letters bear testimony, was a most remarkable person. By birth a Brahman, he had been sold as a boy to Haji Shafi' Isfahani, later *Diwan-i-tan* of the Mughal empire. Murshid Quli Khan, whose Islamic name was Muhammad Hadi received financial training under his new master and soon acquired a reputation for extraordinary ability. In 1698, the emperor appointed him to the *diwani* of the Deccan and two years later posted him as *Diwan* of Bengal, where Prince 'Azim-us-Shan was the *subadar*. Aurangzeb had the highest admiration for Murshid Quli's ability and honesty, but the *Diwan's* relations with the viceroy were most unhappy,

and in 1704, Murshid Quli shifted his headquarters from Dacca, the provincial capital, to "Makhsudabad," the name of which was some years later changed, with the Emperor's permission, to Murshidabad.[(b)] 'Azim-us-Shan was able to keep Murshid Quli out of Bengal for two years (1708-1709) but in 1710, he was reappointed *Diwan* of that province and in 1717, became viceroy of Bengal, in addition. He retained both the offices till his death on 30 June, 1727.

For ill or well, Murshid Quli Khan has left a lasting impression on the revenue history of Bengal. "The land revenue system taken over by the English was, in its main features, the creation of Murshid Quli Khan, and it was continued in a more refined but more rigid form under Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement."[15] Murshid Quli, with his industry and personal attention to details, was able to evolve a system out of chaos, but his success had a sorry side too. He adopted very oppressive methods of collecting the government dues, and in order to obtain maximum recoveries introduced *ijara* system—*i.e.* farming of revenue to contractors. Not only did the *ijara* system involve hardship to the cultivators, but the replacement of crown collectors by contractors brought about a change in the upper structure of society also. Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, "In choosing his contractors, Murshid Quli always gave preference to Hindus and to new men of that sect. He thus created a new landed aristocracy in Bengal, whose position was confirmed and made hereditary by Lord Cornwallis." A large number of Hindu revenue officials, acquired big landed properties, and in course of time "came to be called zamindars and many of them were dignified with the titles of Rajas and Maharajas."[(c)]

Murshid Quli Khan gave every encouragement to foreign merchants, and ensured that only lawful dues should be collected from them, but he kept a watchful eye on the activities of the East India Company, which had received very liberal concessions during the viceroyalty of prince Shuja' and had fortified Calcutta during the last days of Aurangzeb. Murshid Quli Khan refused to

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(*b*) In 1706, the prince also moved to Patna, thus reducing the importance of Dacca which was now placed under the charge of a deputy.

(*c*) For examples of subordinate Hindu revenue officials of Murshid Quli, who acquired large areas, and established big estates (including Natore, Dighapatiea and Mymensingh *rajs*), see *History of Bengal* edited by J. N. Sarkar, Vol II, pp. 409-14.

endorse the privileges granted by Shuja' to the British, and even otherwise curtailed their activity, but the English Company, with the consent of the directors, sent a mission to the court of emperor Farrukhsiyar. After spending some two years at the capital, the mission succeeded in obtaining very liberal concessions from the emperor "through generous distribution of bribes" and the success of Dr. Hamilton, a member of the mission, in curing the emperor of a painful malady. Murshid Quli tried to whittle down those concessions but although the Company decided to bide their time during his life time, its position was greatly strengthened by the concessions granted by Farrukhsiyar. Calcutta rapidly rose to importance not only on account of the operations of the English traders, but also because Portuguese, Armenian, Persian and Hindu merchants settled there and carried on commerce under the protection of the British flag. English law was in force in the British settlement. The population of Calcutta, which was 15,000 in 1704, rose to a lakh in 1750, and it became a major centre of commercial and economic activity.

'Alivardi Khan.

Murshid Quli Khan had no son, and on his death on 30 July 1727, was succeeded by his son-in-law, Shuja'-ud-din Muhammad Khan, in whose name the imperial patent of investiture was obtained. Shuja's regime was marked by peace and prosperity, but his administration contained the seeds of future trouble. In his government, Shuja'-ud-din was guided mainly by the advice of 'Alivardi and his brother Haji Ahmad, Rai Rayan 'Alam Chand and Jagat Seth Fath Chand, whose family was to play such an important part in the history of Murshidabad. Through various means, worthy and unworthy, Haji Ahmad acquired great influence over Shuja'-ud-din, and although there was no trouble during his reign, on his death in March, 1739, his son and successor Sarfaraz was deprived by 'Alivardi of the government of Bengal. 'Alivardi, whose original name was Mirza Muhammad 'Ali, and Haji Ahmad, were originally Arabs but 'Alivardi's father had married a Turkish lady who was related to Shuja'-ud-din Muhammad Khan. In 1733, 'Alivardi was appointed Deputy Governor of Bihar and governed with great ability. Differences, however, arose between the two brothers and Sarfaraz, and Haji Ahmad was able to enlist the support of 'Alam Chand and Jagat Seth. Haji Ahmad and his brother made thorough preparations,

and early in 1740, 'Alivardi marched from Patna. Sarfaraz lost his life on the battle-field, and on 12 April, 'Alivardi ascended the *masnad* as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Arrangements had already been made to secure the recognition for the new Nawab from Muhammad Shah, by offering a present of one crore of rupees over and above the usual annual tribute amounting to one crore and some lakhs. 'Alivardi Khan proved an able administrator. He subjugated Orissa, where the Deputy Governor, a brother-in-law of Sarfaraz, had refused to acknowledge his authority. He achieved a large degree of success in warding off the Maratha menace and was able to ensure peace and order in his dominions till his death on 10 April, 1756 at the ripe age of 80.

THE PUNJAB (1707-45)

The Punjab under Zakaria Khan (1726-45).

The disorders caused by Nadir Shah's invasion gave the Sikhs a heaven-sent opportunity and they started raising their heads, but the Punjab was at this time administered by a capable governor, Zakaria Khan, and he did not allow the Sikhs to get out of hand. The way his father, 'Abdus Samad Khan, had won his laurels against Banda in Farrukhsiyar's reign has already been described. In 1726, 'Abdus Samad Khan died and was succeeded by Zakaria Khan, who had been trained under the vigilant eye of his father, and if anything, was to excell him in renown and popular esteem. Not only was he able to deal firmly with the turbulent elements in his territory, but in those harsh days exhibited such a nobility of spirit and vigilance in protecting the people from injustice and oppression, that his personality shines like a beacon of light in a dark and troubled sea. Many were the stories, which the people narrated of his justice and impartiality, "and he was idolised by his subjects in a degree unequalled in that age."[16] Nadir's invasion gave him opportunities to exhibit his noble spirit. While passing Lahore on his return to Iran, Nadir pressed Zakaria Khan to ask for a personal favour, but "the only boon he asked the world-conqueror was the liberation of the artisans and other people whom Nadir was dragging away with him to Persia. Nadir agreed, and thousands of Indian homes, far away from the Punjab were rendered happy by this nobleman's unselfish generosity."[17] Zakaria Khan died on July 1, 1745. Anand Ram *Mukhlis* records how great was the grief of the people, especially of the city of Lahore, and this grief was justified. With

Zakaria Khan "ended the happiness of the Punjab", and this troubled land was not to know peace for more than a century.

The rise of the Kalhoras in Sind.

On his victorious return from Delhi, Nadir Shah annexed the areas to the west of the Indus river to his empire. This transfer included both Thatta and Shikarpur, and affected the greater part of what later became the province of Sind. There is infrequent mention of Sind in Mughal histories, and it appears that although Mughal officers were posted to Thatta and Bhakkar (which were subordinate to the Mughal viceroy at Multan), much power in this far off province remained in the hands of the local chiefs. Another important feature of the political situation, which continued practically till the British occupation, was the standing division of the area into Upper Sind (Sara) and Lower Sind (Lar). During the pre-Mughal period Sehwan, not far from the old Hindu capital at Rohri, was the main town of Upper Sind but under the Mughals, the river-fortress of Bhakkar, between old Rohri and modern Sukkur, occupied this position. In the Lower Sind, the capital was at Thatta, not far from modern Karachi, though subsequently its place was taken by Hala, and later by Hyderabad, founded in 1769. The language spoken in the Upper Sind was Saraiki.

Even after the Mughal conquest, governors of the *sarkars* of Bhakkar and Thatta were appointed for a long time from the old Tarkhan dynasty. Later the officers belonging to the general cadre of the *mansabdars* took their place. The local *zamindars* and religious families, however, exercised great influence. During early Mughal rule, the Da'udpotras came into prominence. In 1616, one of their chiefs founded Shikarpur in an area which was originally a *shikargah* or a hunting forest. The Da'udpotras came in clash with the Kalhoras who were a minor branch of the same family from which the Da'udpotras were descended, and were a family of *pirs*, claiming disciples. They came from the Upper Sind (Sara), were originally called Sarais, and spoke Saraiki. They came to notice about the middle of the sixteenth century when their spiritual leader Mian Adam or Adam Shah (*circa* 1520-1600) became the head of a large number of *faqirs*. He is said to have been a *khalifa*, or a spiritual successor of Sayyid Muhammad, Mahdi of Jaunpur, and was given lands by Akbar's general 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. His growing influence excited the jealousy of other

zamindars, and at their instigation, the viceroy of Multan let him be put to death when he was on a visit to that city, with a large contingent of disciples. The foundation of future Kalhora importance was, however, laid in Multan where Agha Shah Muhammad, the *Kotwal* of the city, himself became a disciple of A 'am Shah, during his imprisonment. After his *murshid's* martyrdom, the *Kotwal* took his dead body to Sukkur, buried it in a mausoleum built on the top of a hill, where it forms an impressive landmark outside the town, and looked after the descendants of the *pir*. Agha Muhammad Shah became the first successor of Adam Shah and after his death was succeeded by a randson of his *murshid*.[18]

The Kalhoras, like many other holy men, originally depended upon *madad-i-ma'ash* (land granted to them) and on offerings of the disciples, but gradually they acquired large areas of land, and developed political ambitions. About 1658 (during the dislocation caused by the War of Succession following Shah Jahan's illness) under Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhora, they began to defy successfully the local representative of the Mughal government. Mian Nasir Muhammad, who had become a powerful *zamindar* and the head of fanatical religious followers died in 1692 and was succeeded by his son, Shaikh Din Muhammad, who defied Prince Mu'iz-ud-din, the viceroy of Multan (afterwards Jahandar Shah), and was put to death about 1700.[19] His younger brother, Yar Muhammad, succeeded him as the chief of the Kalhoras, and greatly extended the family sphere of influence. He drove Da'udpotras from Sukkur, took possession of Shikarpur (about 1701) and Sehwan, and took, from its old landowners, Sibi Dara, an extensive area running from Sind frontier to Qandhar. A brave and resourceful warrior, Yar Muhammed was also a cool-headed statesman. While extending his territory at the expense of his local rivals, he realised the need for building up good relations with the imperial government at Delhi. He successfully persuaded the Mughal authorities that the Kalhoras had better claims to some areas which were previously under the Da'udpotras, and would pay imperial revenue regularly. Ultimately a royal *farman* was issued conferring on him, subject to certain conditions, the governorship of Sibi (which at that time comprised Shikarpur and Sukkur), a high *mansab*, and the imperial title of Khuda Yar Khan.[20]

Yar Muhammad died in 1719, and after a period of strife

between his two sons, the succession of Nur Muhammad was confirmed by the Delhi Government, which conferred on him, his father's title, Khuda Yar Khan and a *mansab*. Nur Muhammad greatly extended Kalhora influence. He fought bitter battles with the Da'udpotras, and practically drove them out of Sind.[d] In 1736, Muhammad Shah conferred on him government of the sub-province of Thatta, and of the fortress of Bhakkar. Thus Nur Muhammad became the virtual ruler of entire Sind, Upper and Lower, but he was now faced with unexpected difficulties. When Nadir Shah wished to invade India, he asked Nur Muhammad to grant him passage, and offered tempting rewards. The brave chief, however, refused to be a traitor to his Mughal overlord and fortified his frontier against the Irani ruler. After his return from Delhi, Nadir Shah decided to teach Nur Muhammad a lesson, and invaded Sind. The Kalhora governor desired to retire into the inaccessible desert, but Nadir Shah caught up with him at Umarkot (February, 1740). Nur Muhammad did his best to conciliate the Persian conqueror, but though he was given back the governorship of Sind on payment of an annual tribute, part of his territory, consisting of Shikarpur and Sibi, was handed over to the Da'udpotras and Bhakkar was taken over directly by Nadir Shah. Nur Muhammad, however, received the title of Shah Quli Khan. He extended his authority in the direction of the sea by subduing local chiefs, and was the principal power in Sind, when in 1748 Muhammad Shah died and Nadir Shah was murdered.

Shah Wali-Ullah (1703-1762).

In the eighteenth century, Islam in the Indo-Pak subcontinent was faced with such menacing problems in sectarian conflict, the low moral tone of society, poor understanding of the Holy Quran, and general ignorance of Islam, that there were valid grounds for fearing that political disintegration would be accompanied by religious collapse. That this did not happen and that in fact an era of religious regeneration was inaugurated, was due, more than anything else, to the activities of one man, Shah Wali-Ullah.

Shah Wali-Ullah was born on February 21, 1703, *i.e.* four years before the death of Aurangzeb. His father, Shah 'Abdur

(*d*) Ultimately they received a *jagir* in the province of Multan and established the modern state of Bahawalpur.

Rahim was both a Sufi and a theologian, and for a short time assisted in the compilation of the *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, the voluminous code of Islamic law prepared at the court of Aurangzeb. He was also interested in *ma'qulat* (the mental sciences) and was a favourite pupil of Mir Zahid, the well-known writer on philosophical subjects.

Shah Wali-Ullah received his academic and spiritual education at the hands of his father, who combined in himself three strands of Indian Islam—the theological, the Sufi and the philosophical. Shah Wali-Ullah was an heir to all this, and not only learnt *tafsir* and *hadis* and underwent spiritual discipline, but also studied metaphysics, logic and *'ilm-ul-kalam* under his father. He was in his teens when on his father's death, he started teaching in his father's *madrasa*. He continued doing this for twelve years, after which he left for Arabia for higher studies and for performing the *Hajj*. He was in Hijaz for nearly fourteen months and prosecuted his studies under the best known teachers of Mecca and Medina. His favourite teacher was Shaikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim of Medina, from whom he obtained his *sanad* (diploma) in *hadis*. Shaikh Abu Tahir seems to have been a man of encyclopaedic learning and broad catholic taste. Shah Wali-Ullah wrote about him :—

"In short he was gifted with the virtues of the godly past, like piety, independence of judgment, devotion to knowledge, and fairness in controversy. Even in minor matters of doubt he would not offer an opinion until he had pondered deeply and verified all references."

During his stay at Mecca, Shah Wali-Ullah saw a vision in which the Holy Prophet blessed him with the good tidings that he would be instrumental in the organisation of a section of the Muslim community. These were the days of political turmoil in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, when life and property were unsafe. Shah Sahib was advised by his relatives to settle down in the Hijaz, but he knew that the proper field of his activities was his native land, and he did not accept that counsel of despair. He returned to Delhi on July 9, 1732, and set himself to work on a planned and systematic basis. Prior to his departure for Arabia, Shah Wali-Ullah's main occupation was teaching. Now he changed his method of work. He trained pupils in different branches of Islamic knowledge and entrusted them with the teaching of

students. He devoted himself largely to writing and before his death on August 10, 1762, had completed practically a library of standard works in those branches of "Islamic Sciences," which were of special importance to the Muslims of the subcontinent.

Shah Wali-Ullah's most important single act was his translation of the Holy Quran into simple Persian, the literary language of Muslim India. Some translations of the Holy Book had been attempted earlier, but either they were a part of and incidental to a voluminous *tafsir*, or they did not gain currency. Shah Wali-Ullah's translation was in Persian, and after brief opposition it became current and popular. This was due not only to the translator's eminence in religious circles, but also to the fact that his translation was not a single, isolated act, but was connected with a broadbased movement, aimed at bringing the knowledge of Quran within the reach of the average, literate Indian Muslims. Within sixty years of this translation, the two sons of Shah Wali-Ullah prepared their Urdu versions—one compeletely literal and following the Arabic sentence-structure, and the other idiomatic and in accordance with Urdu usage. Shah Wali-Ullah's action, which involved not only scholarship, but imagination and great moral courage, smoothed the way for others. His example was followed not only by his sons but, in course of time, by scores of others and it is due to his initiative that, outside the Arabic-speaking countries, the Muslims of Hind-Pakistan have taken the lead in the study, understanding and propagation of the Holy Quran.

Not less important was his balanced understanding and fair-minded approach to different religious questions. In his day Indian Islam was rent by controversies and conflicts between the Shi'a and the Sunni, the Sufi and the Mulla, the Hanafi and the Wahabi, the Mujaddidi and the Wahdat-ul-Wajudi, the Mu'tazali and the Ash'ari. Shah Wali-Ullah, who called *'adl*, the primal virtue and the basis of organised, civilised existence, studied the writings of all schools of thought, tried to understand the view-point of each one of them, and wrote bulky, authoritative and comprehensive volumes expounding what was fair and just, in a language which did not hurt. In this way, he worked out a system of thought, beliefs and values, on which all but the extremists could agree, and a spiritual basis was provided for national cohesion and harmony.

In Shah Wali-Ullah three strands of our national consciousness—the Sufi, the theological and the intellectual—converge. Some of his mystic experiences puzzle a more sophisticated age, but he was astonishingly modern in his approach to many problems. His intellectual courage was, at times, truly astonishing. Those who have studied the history of Ottoman Turkey are struck by a running commentary which her statesmen maintained on the causes of her decline—even from before the retreat at Vienna. In Muslim India such analysis has been rare. Shah Wali-Ullah was almost the first to face the question of the decline of the Indo-Muslim society, and in *Hujjat-ullah-al-Baligha* boldly pinpointed the causes—religious and moral as well as social and economic.

Shah Wali-Ullah's success was partly due to the fact that he found able and devoted successors. One of his four sons was the father of Shah Isma'il Shahid, and the other three were leading scholars and writers of the day including Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz who, according to Sir William Hunter, was "the greatest Muhammadan doctor of the age," and occupied this position at Delhi for nearly fifty years. They followed the tradition of their illustrious father and grandfather of combining a study of "Mental Sciences" with *tafsir* and *hadis*, and though they specialised in the latter two subjects, they also wrote books on logic and philosophy. They taught and trained a large body of men, who carried the message of Shah Wali-Ullah to all parts of the subcontinent. Their students and successors organised *jihad* against persecution of Islam by the Sikhs in the north-west, brought about a revival of Islam in Bengal and were held in equal veneration by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the leader of the 'Aligarh Movement and Maulana Mohammad Qasim, the founder of the Deoband seminary.

Basically Islam is free from the problem of national churches, but owing to historic, racial, linguistic and geographical factors different schools and viewpoints have gained prominence in different Muslim countries. In Iran, Shi'aism is the state religion, while in the desert of Najd Wahabi puritanism is dominant. Similarly different countries have adopted, according to their peculiar developments, different schools of law—the Shaf'i, the Hanbali, the Malaki and the Hanafi. If the beliefs, the legal traditions and the religious tendencies of modern Muslim India

and Pakistan were to be examined from this point of view, it would be seen that the foundation of the religious structure which is the most dominant here, and which may almost be called "the national church" of Muslims in this subcontinent, was laid by Shah Wali-Ullah.

CULTURAL TRANSITION

Muhammad Shah is popularly known as *Rangila*—the Gay—and it is usual to consider his reign as the period in which the ruler and the court gave themselves up to riotous living, and completely neglected the administration. In fact, Muhammad Shah is often held responsible for the fall of the Mughal Empire. There is some truth in this view. In Muhammad Shah, there was nothing of Akbar's administrative vigour, or of Aurangzeb's ascetic self-discipline. Qamr-ud-din Khan (entitled I'timad-ud-daula II) who was his *Wazir* for quarter of a century was not very much better, and considered it the height of wisdom to let sleeping dogs lie and exert himself as little as possible. The historian Waris, whose youth had been spent under the vigorous administration of Aurangzeb, wrote bitterly about the policy adopted in Muhammad Shah's reign :

"For some years past it has been the practice of the imperial court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or Gujarat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, in order to soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited the gardens to look at the newly planted and leaf-less trees, or rode out to hunt in the plains, while the Grand Wazir I'timad-ud-daulah, Qamr-ud-din Khan went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times, the Emperor and the Wazir alike lived in total forgetfulness of the business of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief and no man thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people while these disturbances daily grow greater."[21]

Waris's observations are discreet and guarded. Reliable information about Muhammad Shah's private life is not available (as is the case with Jahandar Shah) but about his *Wazir*, it is known that his pleasures were not confined to gazing at lotuses or fishing and hunting deer. A contemporary chronicler has left

on record that the *Wazir* was fond of "wine and women" in a manner, which must have set a bad example for others, and lowered the general tone of the society.

The disastrous consequences of the "escapist policy" adopted by the ruler and the *Wazir* became manifest during the reign. The distant provinces became virtually independent, the Marathas grew powerful and began to challenge the Mughal government even near the capital and ultimately the regime had to face utter humiliation at the hands of Nadir Shah.

The weaknesses of the regime are obvious, but it would be unfair to ignore the positive side. In the cultural field, Muhammad Shah's reign stands as a landmark. It saw the rise of a new literature, and the maturing of a new language. Urdu, which had gained admission in the literary and cultural circles of the metropolis only a few years before the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign was a fully developed literary language at its end. A new school of music grew up around the Mughal court, and the names of Sadarang and his brother occupy a high place in the evolution of *Khiyal,* which was to supersede all other varieties of the Hindustani music. Indian dancing freed itself from the atmosphere of the temple, and instead of virtual devotion to Hindu gods and godesses became an art, ministering to human pleasure. The courtly *mujra* variety was at its height, and bewitched outsiders like Nadir Shah. Goetz, who has compared the Delhi of Muhammad Shah to the Rome of the Renaissance Papacy, says that until its sack by Nadir Shah, "Delhi like Renaissance Rome was the most refined, the most elegent, but also the most licentious city of the East, a model of luxury and culture for all other countries."[22] It is true that the licentious life of the capital repels sober students and has continued to shock orthodox Muslim opinion, but it need not be forgotten that the cultural life of Muhammad Shah's Delhi was something more than riotous living. This was the first Golden Age of Urdu poetry, and as Goetz says, "The reign of Muhammad Shah was the zenith of later Indian pictorial art of a new and original sweet style, which is closely connected with the rise of Urdu literature." Indian astronomy, also reached its peak in this reign—thanks mainly to Jai Singh, but with Muhammad Shah's full support. Nadir Shah paid an unconscious compliment to the cultural standards of Delhi when he "wished to take with him a number of artists,

scholars and musicians to Persia." He also took with him physicians from Delhi.[23] It was this period which saw the rise of Shah Wali-Ullah, the greatest Islamic scholar and reformer produced by the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Originally Shah Wali-Ullah was staying in his small family house in the suburbs of Delhi, but when, the number of his students grew, Muhammad Shah placed a large-sized building at his disposal, and induced him to move inside the city.[24]

To Muhammad Shah's reign belongs the first translation of the Holy Quran which gained currency. It also saw the first real broad-based synthesis of Hindu and Muslim cultures. A detailed study of the cultural life during Muhammad Shah's reign has not been made, but it will show that his principal courtiers, who objected to Nizam-ul-mulk's puritanism and are rightly condemned for keeping Muhammad Shah away from the path of stern duty, have something to show in the cultural field. Principal amongst the emperor's favourites was Amir Khan II, the son of Amir Khan, the famous governor of Kabul and the grandson of Khalil-ullah Khan, who played such an important part in Aurangzeb's accession to the throne. He wrote good Urdu poetry (under the surname Anjam), generously patronised poets, scholars and artists, and had a large number of Urdu poets attached to his household. He played an important part in the promotion of new Urdu literature. The important royal favourite was Ishaq Khan whose daughter was married, by the emperor's command, to Shuja'-ud-daula, and became the mother of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula of Oudh. Muhammad Ishaq and his son were the patrons of Arzu, the greatest Persian poet and scholar of the eighteenth century, and teacher of many Urdu poets. They also patronised at Delhi and later at Lucknow, Mir, the foremost Urdu poet of the times.

The cultural activities of the reign are impressive, but they represent a period of adjustment and compromise, indeed of lowered standards. Even the cultivation of Urdu meant that it was no longer possible to maintain Persian, the repository of the literary and intellectual heritage of Muslim India. In music *Khiyal* meant less arduous artistic standards than *Dhrupad*, and by revolving round the legends of Krishna and his Gopis, only provided an artistic pretext and mode of expression to a pleasure-loving age. One has only to compare the fraudulent Sufis like Namud-

wa-Namud who swayed Muhammad Shah and his nobles, with Hazrat Mian Mir and Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis, who were honoured by Jahangir and Shah Jahan, to appreciate the fall in moral and spiritual values. Even Hazrat Mazhar Jan-i-Janan, the greatest Sufi of the period, and a truly gifted person, was not uninfluenced by the prevalent atmosphere.

In Muhammad Shah, good was mixed with much that was rotten, but he was not a cipher even in the administrative sphere. There is no doubt that an air of cultured ease, relaxation and passivity dominated the Mughal court. It appears that after the dreadful sufferings and vicissitudes to which the Mughal royal family was subjected by the Sayyid brothers, something snapped within Muhammad Shah and he lost the capacity for energetic and sustained action.[e] If, however, the low level to which monarchy had fallen in the previous four reigns is taken into consideration, Muhammad Shah's record appears to show a distinct improvement. In those troubled times, it was something of an achievement for a ruler merely to maintain his position on the throne for twenty-nine long years. The ability of Muhammad Shah and his friends to overthrow the powerful Sayyid brothers also betokens a certain resourcefulness and initiative. The way Muhammad Shah got rid of his three undesirable favourites (Koki Ji, Raushan-ud-daula of Panipat and Shah 'Abdul Ghafur) also shows a certain capacity for resolute action. The Turkish archives show that after Nadir's return from India, Muhammad Shah sent an embassy[f] to the Ottoman ruler (1744) urging the Turks to maintain their pressure against the Persian ruler, and it was not entirely without merit that Muhammad Shah lived to see his armies victorious against a foreign invader, Ahmad Shah Abdali.

In Muhammad Shah's reign, more energetic of the nobles—like Nizam-ul-mulk of Hyderabad, Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal and Zakaria Khan of Lahore—were in charge of distant provinces, and the affairs at Delhi were handled by persons who were

(e) This is the view expressed in *Bayan-i-Waqi'* by the secretary of Hakim 'Alvi Khan, who was forced to accompany Nadir Shah after the sack of Delhi.

(f) For an account of the embassy, led by Sayyid 'Ataullah Bukhari and the return embassy led by Selim Efendi, see Bernard Lewis' article on "The Mughals and the Ottomans" in *Pakistan Quarterly* for Summer, 1958.

courtiers rather than administrators, but till the end of his day, the outward dignity of the central government was maintained. Perhaps the fairest judgment on Muhammad Shah is that of the author of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin*. "In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundations of the Delhi monarchy were really rotten, but Muhammad Shah by his cleverness kept them standing. He may be called the last of the rulers of Babur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it."[25]

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CHAPTER XXIII

FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1748-1803.

CHRONOLOGY

Accession of Ahmad Shah ; Safdar Jang becomes Wazir	1748
Punjab and Multan lost to Ahmad Shah Abdali	1752
Safdar Jang's revolt at Delhi	1753
Ahmad Shah deposed ; 'Alamgir II enthroned	1754
Abdali sacks Delhi ; Battle of Plassey	1757
Third Battle of Panipat ; Shah 'Alam becomes emperor	1761
Death of Shah Wali-Ullah	1762
Battle of Buxar	1764
Giant of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company	1765
Warren Hastings as Governor-General	1774-85
Birth of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi	1786
Permanent Settlement of Bengal	1793
Death of Tipu Sultan	1789
British take Delhi	1803

Ahmad Shah (1748-1754).

After Muhammad Shah's death, Prince Ahmad Shah, the hero of the battle of Sirhind in which Ahmad Shah Abdali was defeated, ascended the throne on April 29, 1748. He was a well-meaning and active young man, but he could effect no improvement in the affairs of government. Safdar Jang, who had distinguished himself at Sirhind, and was the first person to bring to Ahmad the glad tidings of his kingship, became Wazir, but this appointment proved singularly unfortunate. Sarkar writes :

> "The new imperial *wazir*, Safdar Jang, was the malignant star in Delhi firmament. Devoid of farsighted statesmanship, patriotism or devotion to the throne, he was destined to ruin the Mughal Empire by pursuing a policy of blind self-aggrandisement."[1]

Safdar Jang succeeded Qamr-ud-din, who had been the *Wazir* for almost tweny-five years and whose father, Muhammad Amin Khan,

the organiser of the successful revolt against the Sayyid brothers, had also held this office before his death. The new Wazir did everything possible to uproot and humiliate the relations of his predecessor, and in this did not shrink from measures likely to bring ruin to the state he was expected to safeguard. Sarkar has described in detail the steps taken by Safdar Jang to hamper and harass Mu'in-ul-mulk (Mir Mannu), the viceroy of the Punjab, because he happened to be the late Wazir's son. In July 1750, Safdar bribed Nasir Khan, who had been a trusted employee of the viceroy and was administering four districts to revolt against his master. When Nasir Khan was defeated by Mu'in-ul-mulk and packed off to Delhi, Safdar announced the appointment of Shah Nawaz as independent governor of Multan and instigated him to oust the viceroy. The result of Safdar Jang's efforts in this difficult province was that the Sikh power revived —never to be put down again by the Mughals—and Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had suffered a defeat in 1748 came and captured Lahore.

Safdar Jang's other principal aim was to uproot all Afghans in India. This was hardly a sound policy, especially in view of the danger from the Marathas, and was not in the Mughal tradition, which since Akbar's days had relied on harmonising different group interests and maintaining a balance between them. In Muhammad Shah's reign, Safdar Jang very nearly broke the power of 'Ali Muhammad Khan, the Rohilla chief, but Mughal emperor and the Wazir Qamr-ud-din did not agree with his extremism, and ultimately there was a *rapprochement* between the Rohillas and the Mughals. In the reign of Ahmad Shah, Safdar Jang had a freer hand, and with the help of the Marathas and the Jats, he destroyed the Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad (1751).

Safdar's policy brought him in conflict with the principal Turani family, but his initial difficulties came from the royal favourites headed by the chief eunuch Javed Khan, and the king's mother. Safdar Jang and Javed Khan assassinated in August, 1752, but now the king started encouraging Shihab-ud-din, a grandson of Nizam-ul-mulk, who after his father's death was known as Ghazi-ud-din II (and later 'Imad-ul-mulk), and was a clever, but completely unscrupulous youth of eighteen. Safdar Jang lost the support of the Emperor, and on 4 May,

1753, though still the Wazir of the realm, openly rebelled against his master, and encouraged Suraj Mal Jat to loot Delhi. Ghazi-ud-din II organised the opposition to Safdar Jang, and with his usual lack of scruple whipped up Shi'a-Sunni controversy and Afghan-Irani differences to gain supporters. Safdar was defeated and forgiven, but realised, like Nizam-ul-mulk, that the best field for the satisfaction of his high ambitions was away from the capital, and withdrew to Oudh. The king soon became estranged with Ghazi-ud-din II, who was now all-powerful at the capital. He was planning some action against his former favourites, but with the help of the Maratha chiefs, Ghazi-ud-din became Wazir, and on 2 June, 1754, deposed Ahmad Shah.

'Alamgir II (1754-1759).

The successor of Ahmad Shah, who ascended the throne under the title of 'Alamgir II, was a man of good intentions and placed before himself a pattern of Aurangzeb's life, whose title he adopted. He was, however, an old man of 55 and the situation was completely beyond his control. In 1757, the fateful battle of Plassey was fought, which resulted in the loss of Bengal and the beginning of British ascendency. This went almost unnoticed at the Mughal capital which was, at the time, undergoing invasion and plunder by Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Marathas who had grown more powerful owing to their collaboration with Ghazi-ud-din II, now dominated the whole of northern India. In 1758, they occupied Lahore and drove out Timur Shah, whom his father, Ahmad Shah Abdali, had appointed viceroy of Lahore a year earlier. This was the high water-mark of Maratha expansion. "Their frontier", says Elphinstone, "extended on the north to the Indus and the Himalaya, and in the south nearly to the extremity of the peninsula; all the territory which was not their own, paid tribute. The whole of this great power was wielded by one hand—that of Peshwa, who talked of placing Vishvas Rao on the Mughal throne."[2]

Third Battle of Panipat (1761).

Maratha dreams, however, received a shattering blow. Expulsion of Timur Shah provoked the wrath of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was joined in the war against the Marathas by Najib-ud-daula, Hafiz Rahmat Khan Rohilla, and Shuja'-ud-daula, the new *Wazir* of Oudh. The Afghan monarch entered India in August, 1759, and took a considerable time in the preliminary work of scouting and

preparation for the struggle against the Marathas. The principal battle, known in history as the Third Battle of Panipat, was fought on 14 June, 1761. "This, the most desperate of the three contests fought on the battlefield of Panipat, destroyed the great Maratha confederation." Later, certain Maratha chiefs recovered portions of the Maratha empire but the Peshwa's authority was broken and cohesion was lost. "Maratha alliances and confederacies again vexed India but all hope of a Maratha empire was destroyed at Panipat." The result of this battle made it clear that whoever succeeded the Mughals on the throne of Delhi, it would not be the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Abdali's own design of building up an Afghan empire in India was frustrated by the impetuosity of his soldiers, who hated the heat of the plains, and clamoured for immediate return to Kabul with their plunder. The Afghan troops, not always easy to discipline, had been away from their homes for a long time and were on the verge of mutiny. Ahmad Shah had, therefore, to abandon his dreams, and returned to his country.

In November, 1759, Ghazi-ud-din put to death 'Almagir II for co-operating with Najib-ud-daula and placed a puppet on the throne. After the battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali nominated 'Ali Gauhar, the son of murdered 'Alamgir II, as emperor of Delhi under the title of Shah 'Alam. Shuja'-ud-daula was appointed *Wazir* and Najib-ud-daula, as *Amir-ul-Umara*, became regent of Delhi. Ghazi-ud-din disappeared from political life but lingered in obscurity till 1800.

Najib-ud-daula (1707-1770).

From 1761 to 1771, the capital was without a king. Ahmad Shah Abdali had left the throne of Delhi to Shah 'Alam, but after his unsuccessful effort against the British at Buxar (1764), he had settled down as their pensioner at Allahabad, and did not return to Delhi till 3 January, 1772. These years were, however, full of peace and happiness for the capital and the realm. Najib-ud-daula, who during this period handled the affairs of the shrunken empire, was a most remarkable person, and with the exception of Nizam-ul-mulk, the ablest Muslim statesman of the eighteenth century. Originally named Najib Khan, he was born in 1707 in a village near Peshawar, but migrated to Rohilkhand and in course of time was entrusted with the command of 1,000 men by the Rohilla leader, Hafiz Rahmat Khan. His chance came when

nephew, Mirza Shafi, but neither was a success. In December, 1784, after both Shafi and Afrasiab had been assassinated, and Sindhia had crushed Muhammad Beg Hamdani, another officer of Najaf Khan, the Emperor invited the Maratha leader to take charge of the administration at Delhi. Sindhia accepted the invitation. "He presented himself before the emperor in his camp near Fatehpur Sikri, placed his head on the emperor's feet, and paid a *nazar* of 101 gold *muhars*".[4] He was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Supreme Regent (*Wakil-i-Mutliq*) of the empire. Sindhia tried to get the help of Ghulam Qadir in dealing with the Sikhs, but he was nourishing his own grievances, and showed no eagerness to accept the invitation. When in 1787, Sindhia suffered a serious reverse in his war with the Rajputs and was forced to retreat from Lalsat (1787), Ghulam Qadir felt that his opportunity had come. He entered Delhi, and in September, 1787, forced the Emperor to appoint him Mir Bakhshi and Regent. Hostilities, however, broke out between the Emperor who got the effective aid of Begum Samru, and the Rohilla chief and the latter had to leave the capital. Next year, he entered Delhi again, with more sinister designs. He deposed Shah 'Alam on 30 July, 1788, and blinded him, with great cruelty, on 10 August. The inmates of the palace, princes and princesses, women and tiny babies were subjected to great hardships and humiliation. The drunken, degenerate ruffian acted with a brutality, which has made him the ugliest character in the Indo-Pak history. He killed three valets and two water-carriers who tried to go near the bleeding king with a view to relieve his suffering. He would pull the beard of the old monarch, and say, "Serves you right. This is the return for your action at Ghausgarh". Servants and maid-servants were tortured to point out the hidden treasures, and the entire palace was dug up to trace the buried wealth.

After ten horrible weeks (18 July to 2 October, 1788) during which the honour of the royal family and prestige of the Mughal empire reached its lowest ebb, Ghulam Qadir left with the booty for his stronghold, but the officers whom Sindhia had deputed hunted him down. He was captured on 19 December and was done to death, with tortures which equalled his own fiendish cruelties.

When Sindhia's officers occupied Delhi, the blind Shah 'Alam was enthroned again. Ghulam Qadir had claimed that he would

free the Mughal king from the control of the Marathas, but his actions only strengthened the position of Sindhia. The steps taken by the Maratha chief to avenge the sufferings of Shah 'Alam reconciled the people to him, and though Shah Nizam-ud-din, his representative at Delhi, subjected the helpless Emperor and the inmates of the fort to want and humiliation, Sindhia continued to be the overlord of Delhi till he was defeated by Lord Lake in 1803, and Shah 'Alam came under the protection of the British.

The blinding of Shah 'Alam and looting of the fort increased the helplessness of the Emperor, and there was real poverty in the royal residence. This situation inevitably led to bickerings amongst the princes, intrigues and general degradation, but the usual impression of moral and intellectual decay in the Red Fort is not confirmed by those, who are well-qualified to speak. A French engineer, Pollier, was at Delhi from 1771 to 1779, and has left an account of the elder sons of Shah 'Alam and the Emperor himself, and although his personal knowledge extended to the time prior to the atrócities of Ghulam Qadir, his remarks are very complimentary about the court, which even then was afflicted with poverty and wrangling amongst the nobles. After describing various princes, Pollier says ; "I believe it may be affirmed, that few or no prince of India can vie with any of the royal persons above named, not only in acquired qualifications, but also in those qualities of mind, generally the gift of nature, and consequent to a good and virtuous education".[5] Some time after the atrocities of 1788, Mirza Zahir-ud-din Azfari, a prince of the royal family fled from the Fort and after wanderings in Northern India, made his way to Madras. His autobiography, *Waqi'at-i-Azfari,* has been published by the Madras University, and shows a mind remarkably well-informed, objective and alert.

The physical handicaps of Shah 'Alam did not completely destroy his political influence or ambitions. Indeed his sufferings evoked general sympathy, and provided a bond of sympathy between him and the general population, including the Marathas. As late as 1798 an attempt was made, to which the contemporary Afghan king Zaman Shah, Wazir 'Ali the ruler of Oudh, and certain Maratha chiefs were a party, to strengthen the position of the Mughal Emperor. The attempt was taken so seriously by Lord Wellesley that he took action in Persia, Afghanistan and India and defeated the scheme. Writing about this, Professor

H.W.C. Davis said in the course of the Raleigh Lecture on History, delivered at Oxford on 10 November, 1926, "Warned both by rumour and by open threats to expect Afghan invasion, the objective of which would be the restoration of the Mughal empire, Wellesley employed Mehdi 'Ali Khan, a Persian subject, who was then our acting Resident at Bushire to foment a quarrel between Persian Court and Zaman Shah, and to stir up a civil war in Afghanistan (1798). The novel experiment succeeded".[6]

Sir Percy Sykes gives some indication of the methods adopted by Mehdi 'Ali Khan. He wrote "letters from Bushire to the Court at Tehran in which he excited the indignation of the Shah by an account of atrocities committed by the Sunni Afghans on the Shias of Lahore, thousands of whom, he declared, had fled for refuge to the territories ruled by the East India Company, at the same time urged that if Zaman Shah were checked a service would be rendered to God and man".[7] Mehdi 'Ali Khan was received in person by the Shah and by "spending large sums in presents he succeeded in persuading the Persian monarch to continue hostility against Afghanistan". In course of time, Medhi 'Ali Khan's efforts were augmented by those of Captain (later Sir) John Malcolm. The success of these measures compelled Shah Zaman to withdraw from Lahore and remain confined to his Afghan kingdom. Wellesley took more drastic action against the Indian parties to the scheme. He removed Wazir 'Ali from his *Gaddi* at Lucknow and interned him in Benares where the furious Nawab later shot dead the British Resident and was removed to Calcutta. Wellesley also initiated action against the Maratha chiefs, which ended in the capture of Delhi by Lord Lake in 1803.

Change-over in Bengal (1757).

In the meanwhile far-reaching developments had taken place outside the capital. 'Alivardi Khan, the able governor of Bengal, died on 10 April, 1756, and was succeeded by his grandson, Mirza Muhammad, better known as Siraj-ud-daula. Soon, the disruptive forces which were kept under check by the resourceful 'Alivardi, got out of hand and overwhelmed the government. 'Alivardi's commander-in-chief Mir Ja'far, to whom his half-sister was married, started plotting against his brother-in-law and had for a short time to be removed from the command. Another source of weakness was the East India Company which had established at Calcutta

not only a commercial, but also a political centre (a state within a state). The third source of weakness was the attitude of the Hindu *zamindars,* bankers, and officials who, always influential in Bengal, had grown very powerful since the days of Murshid Quli Khan. 'Alivardi Khan made no distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims. He had gained his *masnad* with the support of the Hindu notables, and they shared the government with him. The position of the Hindu officers under 'Alivardi Khan was so strong that, in the words of Orme, "nothing of moment could move without their participation or knowledge". This, however, had not reconciled them to the Muslim Nawab. Two years before the death of 'Alivardi, Col. Scott, the Chief Engineer of the East India Company, wrote to a friend, "Gentu (Hindu) rajas and inhabitants were disaffected of the Moor (Muhammadan) government and secretly wished for a change and opportunity of throwing off their yoke."[8]

These three forces sealed the fate of Siraj-ud-daula. The role of the treacherous Mir Ja'far, generally held responsible for the fate of Siraj-ud-daula, was a comparatively minor one. It was the "alliance of the Hindu merchants with the Company which gave Bengal to the British" and brought an end to Muslim rule in that province.[9] On this point it would be useful to quote at length from Panikkar :—

> "When Siraj-ud-Daula became Nawab Nazim, he had succeeded to a situation which would have taken a far acuter mind to grasp and deal with. That situation was that while the Mughal viceroyalty conferred only the title to power, the actual authority had passed to the great Hindu merchant princes and their allies in the fort that dominated the Hooghly. The quarrel arose between the Company and the Nawab about the fortification they were erecting. In fighting that ensued Calcutta was captured and the English who had remained back imprisoned. This is the story of the Black Hole, evidence in regard to which is conflicting and scanty. Holwell, an early expert in war propaganda through horror stories, was a born liar and clearly the incident was exaggerated out of all proportion, though, no doubt, the Nawab was not particularly kind in the treatment of the prisoners. A British force under Watson and Clive, whom the defence of Arcot had made

famous, arrived soon after in Bengal as war had broken out with the French. There was as yet no quarrel with the Nawab, whose neutrality the English were anxious to secure. But the Hindu merchants in Calcutta and Murshidabad had made up their minds to engineer a change. Jagat Seth, the first of the great succession of Marwari millionaires whose wealth is still legendary, had been insulted by Siraj-ud-Daula and he offered through Amin Chand, another Marwari in close relation with the Company, to have the Nawab replaced. An alliance was struck between the head of European *baniadom*, the English Company, and the Marwari Banias who commanded the wealth of Bengal. The Nawab's fate was sealed".[10]

Panikkar has utilised new material available from contemporary French sources, but his analysis should not lead to the inference that the British were merely passive instruments of the Jagat Seth's policy. A major role was played by him at this juncture, but he succeeded because the British had long cast coveteous eyes on Indian territories, and only waited for a favourable opportunity. The accounts of Bernier and other travellers, with their detailed analysis of the military weakness of the Mughals, had already appeared in Europe. The example of the Portuguese, who had acquired a firm foothold on several key-points on the subcontinent was before all European nations. As early as in 1688, the Directors of the East India Company had formally adopted a resolution expressing "the determination of the Company to guard their commercial supremacy on the basis of their territorial sovereignty". The Company had actually been at war with Aurangzeb for seven years, and it was only its failure in active warfare which led to the postponement of the realisation of its aims.

Aurangzeb's firm handling of the East India Company delayed the British bid for political influence by half a century. In the meanwhile the initial probing into the weak spots of the empire, away from the centre of Mughal authority, was carried on by the European adventurers. Dupliex, the governor of French possessions of Pondicherry, was the first to realise that the European intervention in the local affairs could best be accomplished by sponsoring the cause of a local potentate, amenable to European influence. He got an opportunity when the aged Nizam-

ul-mulk died in 1748, and the succession was disputed. A similar situation existed in the Karnatic where Chanda Sahib was disputing the claims of Anwar-ud-din Khan, the local governor of Arcot. Dupleix interfered in both these disputes, and though owing to Anglo-French rivalry, in which Clive of the East India Company emerged successful, his efforts were frustrated, and he was recalled in 1754, the pattern for successful European interference in the political affairs of the subcontinent had been laid. When, therefore, Clive weighed the pros and cons of action against Siraj-ud-daula, he was influenced not only by the promptings of the Hindu merchants and Mir Ja'far but must have also been guided by the long standing policy of the East India Company and the example of successful intervention in the affairs of South India.

The resultant battle which was fought at Plassey, a few miles outside Murshidabad, has been called by a modern British writer, "the most miserable skirmish ever to be called a decisive battle".[11] An army, of which the commander-in-chief had been won over and took no part in the battle can hardly offer spirited contest. Siraj-ud-daula's Hindu *Bakhshi*, Mir Madan, however, was loyal to the Nawab, and fell in action. Clive's spirited leadership and British organisation, coupled with the help they received from powerful local elements, resulted in the rout and flight of Siraj-ud-daula. On June 28, 1757, Clive installed Mir Ja'far on the Masnad of Murshidabad and four days later Siraj-ud-daula who was captured by the new Nawab's son was executed.

Mir Qasim.

Many forces were at work at Plassey but inevitably Clive and the East India Company emerged as dominant factors in the affairs of Bengal. The legal position had not changed materially. Nawab Nazim continued to hold nominal sway, but real power was with the officers of the East India Company who appointed and removed Nawabs at their pleasure—often only for the sake of so-called "presents" from the new nominee. The administration of Bengal from 1751 to 1774, *i.e.* from the battle of Plassey to the application of the Regulating Act, has been universally condemned. Panikkar calls the regime a "robber state" and adds: "It is to be emphasized that at no period in the long history of India, including the reigns of Toromana and Muḥammad Ṭughluq, did the people of any

province suffer so great a misery as the people of Bengal did in the era of Clive."[12] The misfortune of the people was due not only to the extortions of the king-makers, but also to the fact that there was really no government. What existed was even worse than an administrative vacuum. Separation of power and responsibility inevitably breeds abuses in administration, but in this case—perhaps the first instance of such a division in history, in which power lay with an alien group of adventurers, not even organised as a government—,there were special features which made this division particularly harmful. A major instrument of oppression and economic ruin of Bengal was the so-called "internal trade," often on the Company's account but more often on behalf of the Company's servants or even "the servants of the Company's servants, or any-one who could show the pass with an Englishman's signa-ture." No duty was to be levied on these transactions, while native merchants had to pay duty to the Nawab and could not possibly compete with the Company's proteges. This ruined the law abiding traders, but what the countryside suffered was worse. Villagers were forced to part with their produce at a fraction of their value and purchase goods from the agents of the Company at many times their real price.[13]

It was the question of the internal trade which created a rift between the Company and Mir Ja'far's son-in-law, Mir Qasim, who was appointed Nawab Nazim in 1760 by the acting Gover-nor Vansittrat. As the Englishmen refused to pay any duty, Mir Qasim tried to restore the balance by abolishing all customs. This also was not acceptable to the Council and they decided to replace Mir Qasim who now left Bengal to seek help from other quarters. On October 23, 1764, was fought the battle of Buxar in which Mir Qasim's army had, to quote Smith, the "half-hearted support of the titular Emperor, Shah 'Alam, and the Nawab Wazir of Oudh". Even then the battle was furiously contested. The British losses were heavy, but the battle ended in a clear victory for them.

The results of the Battle of Buxar were more far-reaching than those of Plassey. Even before this battle the British had attempted to facilitate their military task by diplomatic means, and the newly crowned Shah 'Alam was only a fugitive from Delhi, but the East India Company had, after all, gained a

victory against what was given out as the combined army of the emperor and the rulers of Bengal and Oudh. It gave a much higher prestige to British arms than had the earlier victory against a provincial government. It also altered Shuja'-ud-daula's course of action. Henceforth dependence on the British became a cardinal point of his policy, aud Oudh was, for all practical purposes, drawn into the orbit of British influence.

While the military organisation and diplomatic skill of the officers of the East India Company continued to win victories, as at Buxar, the depredations caused by their economic and administrative policy also remained unchecked. Such news about misrule in India was reaching the Directors of the East India Company in London that on April 26, 1764, they averred that they were "at a loss how to prescribe means to restore order from this confusion" and in despair sent back Clive (now Baron Clive of Plassey) to handle Indian affairs. Clive arrived at Calcutta in May, 1765 and one of his earliest acts was to negotiate with Shah 'Alam, from whom he obtained the grant of *Diwani* (the right of revenue collection) of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in return for the districts of Allahabad and Kara and the annual payment of 25 lacs of rupees. This gave a legal basis to what had already been achieved by the force of arms at Plassey, and later at Buxar.

Clive's last years were unhappy. In February 1767, he left India for good. He had to face a Committee of the House of Commons over the large presents taken by him and the grant of the 24-Parganas to him by the helpless Mir Ja'far. He must also have been distressed by the reports of the devastating famine, which raged in the Company's possessions in 1770 and in which one-third of the inhabitants of the territory perished. The strain was too much for him, and in the end he lost his reason. In 1774, this brilliant but unscrupulous soldier and empire-builder cut his own throat.

FROM BUXAR (1764) TO DELHI (1803)

An account of British expansion is outside the scope of this book, but a few words may be said about the *modus operandi* adopted in this process. The British conquest of the subcontinent was achieved in a very deliberate, cautious and skilful manner. Before action with regard to an area was undertaken, long preparations would be made and information on all important

points collected. Periods of rapid expansion alternated with long periods of consolidation. Military action was effectively aided by diplomatic activity. The local differences and jealousies were most skilfully exploited. Not only did this facilitate victory, but also reduced the cost of the military operations. The commander of the Company's forces was normally able to depend on the direct or indirect co-operation of the commander or at least some major leader of the troops confronting him. At Plassey, it was Mir Ja'far; at Buxar, the differences between Shuja'-ud-daula and Mir Qasim were fully exploited, and though no figure like that of Mir Ja'far emerged out of this battle, Najaf Khan, an important commander of Mir Qasim, must have rendered signal services to Clive to have earned an annual pension of three lakhs. A similar pattern is visible in other battles (*e.g.* during the Sikh Wars). In fact the British success owed more to their diplomatic skill (and the demoralised state of the Indian society) than to their valour and military organisation.

After victories the British acted with moderation and circumspection. At Buxar, they had defeated the forces of Shuja'-ud-daula, and could have annexed Oudh, but they were finding it difficult to manage the affairs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and wisely curbed their ambition. This was, however, a temporary affair. After they had consolidated their position—mainly during the governor-generalship of Warren Hastings (1772-85) and Cornwallis (1786-94),—a period of rapid expansion was initiated under Wellesley (1798-1805). He overthrew Tipu Sultan (1799) and broke the power of the Marathas. As a result of his defeat of Sindhia, control of Delhi passed to the British (1803).

Nawab Wazir of Oudh.

The founder of the principality of Oudh was Burhan-ul-mulk Sa'adat Khan, who sided with the Turani nobles in the overthrow of the Sayyid brothers in 1719, and was rewarded with the viceroyalty of the eastern provinces in 1724. He died fifteen years later and was succeeded by his son-in-law and nephew, Safdar Jang. The disastrous role which Safdar played as *Wazir* at Delhi has already been described, but he had the good sense to patch up relations with the Mughal court, abandon his ambitious role at the capital and withdraw to Oudh, where he died on 5 October, 1754. He was succeeded by Shuja'-ud-daula, who followed a more sensible policy and has been described by Sir Henry Lawrence as "an able, energetic

and intelligent prince." Before the Third battle of Panipat both sides tried hard to win his support. On behalf of Ahmad Shah Abdali, *Malika-i-Zamani*, the widow of the late Emperor Muhammad Shah visited him, and the Maratha leader, Bhau, also sent to him special messengers, assuring him "that it was the duty of both of them to bring about the restoration of the Timurid dynasty at Delhi and that the Marathas' sole aim was to administer the empire in concert with him in the way best for all." Shuja' joined the Afghan king, who proved victorious, and as a result of the arrangement approved by Abdali, the Emperor Shah 'Alam named Shuja'-ud-daula as his *Wazir* (1761). Shuja' looked after Shah 'Alam when he reached the eastern provinces after his escape from Delhi, and espoused the cause of Mir Qasim, the Nazim of Bengal, who had fled from his former British patrons. Shah 'Alam, Shuja'-ud-daula and Mir Qasim jointly fought the battle of Buxar, where their forces were routed on 3 May, 1764. The unpleasantness which occurred between the allies before and during the battle, the ease with which the British were able to corrupt commanders and generals on the royal side, (including possibly Mirza Najaf Khan who later became the Regent at Delhi), and the irresistibility of the disciplined British forces marked a turning point in Shuja'-ud-daula's life. He came to terms with the British, and thereafter his career was that of an ally or an instrument of British policy. The most important and controversial measure in which Shuja'-ud-daula and his British allies joined hands, after signing a special treaty, was the notorious "Rohilla war," which later, formed an important item of the indictment against Warren Hastings, and which led to the extinction of the Rohilla power. On 23 April, 1774, the battle of Katra Miranpore was fought, in which the Rohilla chief Hafiz Rahmat Khan fell fighting bravely, and Rohilkhand was incorporated in the Oudh territory. Shuja'-ud-daula did not live long to enjoy his victory. Soon Oudh had to surrender Rohilkhand to the East India Company but the object for which Safdar Jang had worked all his life was achieved by his son.

Shuja'-ud-daula is better remembered for laying the foundation of his family's tradition of patronage of literature and fine arts, mainly poetry and music. Faizabad was the first capital of the Nawab-Wazirs of Oudh and owing to disorderly conditions

at Delhi, many men of note took refuge there. Sauda, Ja'far 'Ali Hasrat and Ashraf 'Ali Khan Fughan adorned the court of Shuja'-ud-daula, while the eminent Persian poet Siraj-ud-din 'Ali Khan Arzu (1689-1756) was patronised by his uncle, Salar Jang.

Shuja'-ud-daula was succeeded in 1775 by Asaf-ud-daula whose regime was marked by a much tighter British control over the affairs of Oudh. "The Oudh ruler had become a vassal, in name and in fact, of the East India Company." Immediately on Asaf-ud-daula's appointment, he was compelled to cede the *zamindari* of Benares and to contribute increased funds for the maintenance of the British brigade. Financial demands increased so much that the net annual revenue of Oudh in 1779 was only one-half of what it was four years earlier, and two years later Asaf-ud-daula entered into a secret treaty with Warren Hastings to rob his mother and grandmother, known in Indian history as the Begums of Oudh, of their treasures and *Jagirs*, and to deliver the proceeds to the Governor-General.

With all his faults Asaf-ud-daula's name is revered at Lucknow. For one thing, he was the real founder of Lucknow, as he shifted the capital there from Faizabad, partly to be away from his masterful mother and grandmother. He was also lavish in personal charity and was interested in architecture. His famous Imambara at Lucknow is one of the principal monuments of the city. On the literary side, he maintained the traditions of his father, and his court was adorned by principal Urdu poets of the day—Sauda, Mir, Soz, Insha', Jur'at and Mushaifi.

Asaf-ud-daula was succeeded after his death on September 21, 1797, by his son Nawab Wazir 'Ali Khan, who had soon to face the opposition of the British. He was deposed and his uncle Sa'adat 'Ali Khan became the Nawab on 21 January, 1798.

Kalhoras replaced by Talpurs.

After Nadir Shah's assassination in 1747, Nur Muhammad Kalhora became a tributary of Ahmad Shah Abdali who conferred on him the title of Shah Nawaz Khan. His death in 1754 was followed by anarchy and civil war, out of which his younger son Ghulam Shah, who had spent some years as a hostage at the court of Nadir emerged successful in 1757. He held power till his death in 1772 and has been considered the most capable ruler of his

dynasty. He extended the Kalhora rule to the south as far as the sea, and founded the sea-port of Shah Bandar. He repeatedly invaded Cutch and captured a small seaport situated on the Indus. In March 1769, he laid the foundation of the city of Hyderabad which became the provincial capital in place of Thatta.[b] Ghulam Shah died in 1771, and the Kalhora nobles chose his son Sarfaraz Khan to succeed him. He was a man of culture and literary gifts, but his reign was marked by sanguinary conflicts with the Talpurs, which ended after his death in the defeat of 'Abdul Nabi Kalhora by Mir Fath 'Ali Khan Talpur, who procured a *farman* from Zaman Shah, the contemporary Afghan king, for the government of the province of Sind.

The Kalhora period was marked by constant warfare and Dr. Sorley, the biographer of Shah 'Abdul Latif, says, "The whole episode of the Kalhora supremacy makes very sad reading. It was certainly unfortunate for the masses that a dynasty of their own people, which drew its original driving force from the appeal it made to the religious predilictions of the common man proved so poor a substitute for the government of the Mughal."[14] In spite of the unsettled conditions, however, the Kalhoras have much to show in the cultural and civic field. Their history has not been properly studied but the importance they attached to irrigation, the foundation of Hyderabad, the patronage of Persian and Sindhi literature and above all the emergence of Shah 'Abdul Latif, "incomparably the greatest man whom Sind has produced in the realm of imaginative art," make their era memorable one.

In 1783, Mir Fath 'Ali Khan Talpur established himself as the "rais" or the ruler of Sind. He had to face two Afghan expeditions for the recovery of the arrears of tribute but he was able to settle disputes amicably and before his death in 1801, the Talpur ruler was firmly established in Sind. The Talpurs, who were originally from Baluchistan and did not claim any saintly descent were not so popular as the Kalhoras but "they did succeed in giving a distracted land peace for forty years and within the limits of their administrative ideals their government was neither inefficient nor contemptible."[15] Mir Fath 'Ali's rule was mild, and he invited his three younger brothers to share the

(*b*) The original Kalhora capital was Khudabad (in Larkana District) in Upper Sind.

government at Hyderabad with him. In addition, there were two other sections of the Talpurs, ruling at Khairpur and Mirpur Khas. The Mirs extended and consolidated the Sind government. In 1795, they recovered Karachi, which had been given by the Kalhoras to the Khan of Kalat. In course of time, they established friendly relations with the East India Company but in 1843, their territory was annexed by the British.

Chaos in the Punjab (1753-1793)

'Abdus Samad Khan and after him, his son, Zakaria Khan, had ruled Punjab with a firm hand, and kept the Sikhs in check, but the disorganisation caused by invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, the disastrous role of Adina Beg, "the traitor who had for many years been at the bottom of every trouble in the Punjab,"[16] and the "war of succession" between the sons of Zakaria Khan, proved fatal to orderly government in that province and made things easy for the Sikhs. The imperial Wazir's son Mu'in-ul-mulk (Mir Mannu), who had been appointed viceroy early in 1748, tried hard to restore peace and order in the province, but he was hampered by extraordinary difficulties. For a long time, he had to struggle against the intrigues of his father's successor, Safdar Jang, who deputed one man after another to create difficulties for the Turani governor. Even more disastrous to the peace of the province were the repeated incursions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He was defeated near Sirhind in 1748, but returned to the Punjab next year, and Mu'in-ul-mulk, who on account of the hostile intrigues of Safdar Jang received no help from Delhi, had to accept his demand, as successor to Nadir Shah, to the annual revenue of 14 lakhs due from the four *mahals,* which Muhammad Shah assigned to the Persian king by treaty. This amount could not be paid, and Abdali returned within a year and besieged Lahore. Mu'in-ul-mulk defended the city valliantly for several months, but in spite of pressing requests and the Emperor's repeated instructions to Safdar Jang, received no reinforcement, and was ultimately forced to surrender. Abdali now became the overlord of the *subas* of Lahore and Multan, but he acted with moderation, conferred the two *subas* on Mu'in, accepted his advice not to strike coins at Lahore and agreed that the letters of the appointment of governors of Lahore and Multan (selected by Abdali) should be issued from Delhi. He introduced no change in the administration, but, in effect, confined his claims

to the surplus revenue of the two *subas*. These terms were confirmed by the Emperor in April, 1752.

While grappling with these problems, Mu'in-ul-mulk had striven hard to deal with the Sikh freebooters, who taking advantage of the unsettled conditions, were again very active. He had already captured and destroyed the fort of Ram Raoni, which the Sikhs had erected to guard the approaches to Amritsar. He organised a "flying column" to chase, capture, and destroy the Sikhs, who, as Zakaria Khan told Nadir Shah, "lived in their saddles" and had proved elusive. He stationed detachments of troops in areas infested by the Sikhs, with instructions to deal ruthlessly with the insurgents and gave rewards for the capture and destruction of Sikh horsemen. Hundreds of Sikhs were brought to Lahore, and put to death in the *Nakhas* (later known as Shahid-Ganj) outside Delhi Gate. After Abdali's departure, Mu'in personally took the field against the Sikhs, but as usual they dispersed on his arrival.

Mir Mannu's name is execrated by the Sikhs, but "the influence of his minister, Kaura Mal, who was himself a Sikh of the Khalsa Sect" and Adina Beg Khan "who saw in the turbulent tribe a means of advancing his own interests," could not have been conducive to a prolonged policy of repression. In the event, the stern measures soon came to an end with the death of Mu'in-ul-mulk on 2 November, 1753.

Mu'in-ul-mulk was the last effective Mughal viceroy of the Punjab. His office was conferred on his infant son with an able deputy, but his headstrong widow, Mughlani Begum insisted on running the administration herself. The resultant confusion which in three years completely destroyed the fabric of government in the Punjab, attracted Abdali again, and in May, 1757, he appointed his son, Timur Shah, as governor with Sardar Jahan Khan as *wazir*. Timur Shah began well, but in 1758, at the invitation of Adina Beg Khan, the Marathas invaded the province, occupied Lahore, and appointed Adina Beg Khan as governor. The expulsion of the Afghan officers brought back Ahmad Shah Abdali, who after the reconquest of Lahore and Sirhind severed the links with Delhi which had continued under Mu'in-ul-mulk and completely took over the administration of the area. In 1760 and 1761, Abdali was busy with all his forces round Delhi and Panipat, which left the field free for the Sikhs. They rose everywhere and

in November, 1760, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the founder of the Kapurthala state, came right up to Lahore and plundered its suburbs. After the battle of Panipat, Abdali turned his attention to the affairs in the Punjab. He realised that for Cis-Sutlej areas special arrangements were desirable, and granted Ala Singh Jat a rescript confirming his possession of the Patiala principality, in return for a tribute of five lakhs. At Lahore, he appointed his own *subadar*, but on his departure for Qandhar the Sikhs again came out, defeated the Afghan governor, who had gone to Gujranwala to destroy a fort built by the Sikhs, blocked the road to Peshawar, and inflicted severe defeats on Afghan *faujdars* of the Jullundur Doab. Abdali's ire was now aroused, and he resolved to completely exterminate the Sikhs. He returned to the Punjab and in February, 1762, inflicted such heavy casualties on the enemy in a running fight that some ten thousand Sikhs were slain and the day is still remembered as that of the *Gallaghara,* or the great scrimmage. Full of anger and hoping to strike terror amongst the Sikhs, Abdali razed to the ground the Sikh temple Harmandar at Amritsar and stayed in Lahore for the rest of the year to make arrangements ensuring a general peace in the area, but these sporadic attempts to deal with a deep-rooted problem by flying visits from across the border could hardly succeed. Abdali had probably the example of 'Abdus Samad Khan before him, but the Turani governor of the Punjab had avoided unnecessarily wounding religious sentiments, and had done a tremendous amount of detailed work to sustain and consolidate the military operations.[c] Abdali's policy, dictated by anger, had actually the opposite effect, and aroused the Sikhs to unprecedented frenzy. They assembled at Amritsar, held a *gurumata* (a council), and vowed to have their revenge. They first turned against the strong Afghan colony at Qasur, and then attacked Sirhind in a body of forty thousand strong. Zain Khan, the Afghan *faujdar* of Sirhind was defeated and slain. The Sikhs entered Sirhind and "looted and totally devastated it, turning the city upside own". Worse cruelties took place than were perpetrated by Banda. In February, 1764, the Sikhs attacked and

(*c*) As Khushwant Singh remarks, "Abdali was the bitterest antagonist of the Sikhs and paradoxically their greatest benefactor. His repeated incursions destroyed Mughal administration in the Punjab and at Panipat he dealt a crippling blow to the Maratha pretensions in the north. Thus he created a power vacuum in the Punjab which was filled by the Sikhs" (p. 167).

entered Lahore but were kept out by Kabuli Mal, the deputy governor, by cutting of the noses of the butchers who sold beef, and payment of a large contribution. Ahmad Shah rushed to Lahore next month, but after a fortnight's stay, he had to return to his own country to deal with a local uprising there. Immediately after his departure three Sikh leaders attacked and entered Lahore, dividing the city among themselves and each ruled and administered a portion until the city was taken over by Ranjit Singh some thirty years later.

Ahmad Shah's last invasion took place in 1767, when he tried to make arrangements for the future administration of the territories held in the Punjab. He was old and ill, and was realizing the impossibility of administering the Punjab from Qandhar. So far as the eastern parts of the province were concerned, Sarkar says: "The Durrani king was at first asked to make Zabita the Faujdar of Sirhind, but he was induced by his grand Wazir, who had been heavily bribed by Fattu, the widow of Ala Singh, to entrust the district to Amar Singh, the grandson of Ala, with the superlative title of the Raja-i-Rajgan, as the only man capable of keeping the trans-Sutlej Sikhs out, on his agreeing to an annual tribute."[17] He probably wanted to come to a similar arrangement with Lahna Singh, one of the three Sikh chiefs of Lahore, who was considered impartial and sympathetic, but Lahna Singh politely declined this offer as likely to affect his standing in the eyes of the Sikhs.[18]

Ahmad Shah Abdali died in June, 1773. His successor Timur Shah took steps for the realisation of tribute from the Kalhora rulers of Sind, but did not interfere with the Sikhs. For a quarter of a century, the three Sikh chiefs and their successors ruled over Lahore without any interruption from outside. In 1793, Shah Zaman, the son of Timur Shah, ascended the throne of Kabul. He wished to revive the glories of his grandfather and in the beginning of 1797 entered Lahore, but the insurrection of his brother in Afghanistan forced him to return. He repeated his invasion next year. As usual the three Sikh chiefs left Lahore, and Shah Zaman entered the city without opposition. For one month, he remained at Lahore discussing with his *wazir* and local Muslims the policy towards the Sikhs and plans for the future. He was advised to hand over the government of Lahore to Nizam-ud-din Khan, a reputed Pathan chief of Qasur, but before

this could be done, the Afghan king was again forced to withdraw to face trouble from his brother, Mahmud Shah.

During his return journey, Ranjit Singh was of assistance to Shah Zaman and as a reward was invested with the government of Lahore. This was, however, a formality, as the city had to be forcibly taken from the three Sardars who controlled it. Ranjit Singh was able to do this with the help of the *arains* of Lahore, who had some trouble with the local Sardars and approached Ranjit Singh, then resident at Rasulnagar (Gujranwala District), to come and capture Lahore.

Hyder 'Ali Khan and Tipu Sultan.

The second half of the eighteenth century is a depressing period in the history of Muslim India, but gallant efforts were being made by some individuals like Najib-ud-daula to revitalise the government of the country. In the south, we come across the remarkable figures of Hyder 'Ali Khan and his son Tipu, who by dint of personal ability carved out a large dominion, but whose efforts did not prove fruitful, owing to their clash with the rising power of the British.

Hyder 'Ali Khan rose from poverty and came to the notice of the ruler of Mysore as a brave soldier. In 1755, he became *faujdar* of a fort in Madura District. Two years later, when Mysore was attacked by the Marathas and the internal situation in the state was chaotic, charge of the entire army was entrusted to him. He rose to the occasion and the Marathas were forced to withdraw. In course of time, the authority of the government came into his hands, although the Raja continued to occupy the throne. He discharged his responsibilities with great ability and not only overcame the chaos within the state, but took advantage of the prevailing anarchy in the south to add fresh territories to Mysore and greatly enlarged its areas. The rise of Mysore was viewed with anxiety by the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad, and a pact was concluded between them and the British for a joint attack on Mysore. Hyder 'Ali was initially defeated by the Marathas, but he entered into friendly relations with the French, tried to secure the alliance of the Nizam, and concentrated against the British whom he considered to be a real danger. In the first Mysore War, he marched on triumphantly against the British forces, and defeating them time and again, reached the walls of Madras (at the beginning of 1769). The

Government of Madras was forced to lay down arms, this being the first occasion when the East India Company was obliged to sue an Indo-Pakistan power for peace. Hyder 'Ali acted with great forbearance and in March 1769, a treaty was arranged between him and the English, which provided, *inter alia,* for mutual military assistance in case of attack.

After this Hyder felt secure, but soon a large Maratha army arrived near Seringapatam. The British gave no help, and Hyder 'Ali was forced to cede a part of his territory to the invaders. The failure of the British to honour their commitments embittered Hyder 'Ali, but he acted with moderation, and continued negotiations with the Government of Madras. They, however, formed an alliance against him with the Nizam and the Marathas, and the second Mysore War began in 1780. Hyder 'Ali fought bravely and skilfully, and captured Arcot. The struggle was, on the whole, evenly balanced, each party winning and losing battles in turn. In December, 1781, Hyder 'Ali died of a carbuncle and was succeeded by his son Tipu Sultan. He was a brave fighter and maintained hostilities till they were terminated by the treaty of Bangalore, signed in March, 1784, under which the opposing parties agreed to restore the conquered territories.

The Treaty of Bangalore was nothing but a temporary truce, and this was realised by both parties. Tipu sent envoys to foreign Muslim rulers to secure their assistance and started negotiations with the French. The Ottoman Government replied that they considered the French worse than the British, while Tipu received no real help from the French either. He, however, tried to organise his army on modern, efficient lines and introduced many reforms in his administration and military organisation. Side by side with the reorganisation of the army, he tried to build up new indigenous industries, gave new impetus to trade and invited European craftsmen to Mysore. The third Mysore War for which both sides were preparing, commenced in June, 1790, and as usual the British tried to isolate the enemy, and build up a front in conjunction with other powers. They had on their side the Nizam, the Marathas and the Rajas of Cochin and Travancore. They were, however, so afraid of Tipu's army and generalship that Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, personally took over the command of the campaign. Tipu secured many successes, but by February, 1792, the British were

able to reach Seringapatam and surrounded it. Tipu was forced to open negotiations and had to cede half of his territory. He, however, did not give up the struggle. He strengthened the defences of his capital and reorganised his infantry and cavalry. He sent envoys to Arabia, Kabul and Constantinople. He also sent agents to Paris to secure French help. By now Napoleon had risen to power, and the French and the British were at war. The French in the Deccan promised support and the French Governor of Mauritius sent a hundred recruits. The new Governor-General Wellesley, who was only too painfully aware of the danger, especially after Napoleon's arrival in Egypt, decided to finish off with Tipu at all costs. The British joined forces with the Nizam and the fourth Mysore War started in February, 1799. Tipu's army fought with great bravery, but without success. Seringapatam was surrounded in March, and in April, the invading forces breached a portion of the city wall by heavy bombardment. The Sultan came to the breach, and fought bravely till the end, but he received two bullet wounds in the chest and met his end fighting.

With Tipu's death, Muslim rule in Mysore came to an end. As admitted by a British writer, Tipu "was, of course, brilliant in tactics and fertile in expedience" and was "regarded, until the day of his death, as the most formidable power with which the Company had to deal with. Against his personal defects, his intolerance[d] and his maltreatment of prisoners must be mentioned his incessant activity, his military genius which frequently baffled British generalship by the speed of his movements and the rapidity of his changes of front, and his skill as an administrator which kept his territories loyal under the severest tests and was acknowledged by the British invaders. His name dominates the writings of the time; his destruction gave to Wellesley a resounding prestige."

(*d*) Tipu Sultan has been the subject of a detailed study by Mr. Muhibul Hasan, who has exonerated him from charges of intolerance. See also Dr. Saletone on Tipu's policy towards non-Muslims, *Medieval India Quarterly*, Vol. 1, Part 2.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE TWILIGHT OF THE MUGHALS

CHRONOLOGY

Death of Shah 'Alam ; Akbar Shah II enthroned	1806
Birth of (Sir) Syed Ahmed Khan	1817
Battle of Balakot ; Death of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi	1831
Persian replaced by English as official language	1834
Bahadur Shah II succeeds Akbar Shah	1837
British Annexation of Sind	1843
British Annexations of Punjab, Kashmir & N.-W.F.P.	1849
Beginnings of railways, telegraph line and cheap postal arrangements	1853
Annexation of Oudh	1856
The Great Struggle	1857-58
Trial and Exile of Bahadur Shah	1858

The "Twilight of the Mughals" (1803-1858).

We conclude our account of the Muslim civilisation in the Indo-Pak subcontinent with the exile of the last Mughal emperor from Delhi in 1858, and not with the British assumption of overlordship of Delhi in 1803. This is partly because even in 1803 large areas of the subcontinent were outside the control of the East India Company, and partly because the Company retained in some respects, the legal fiction of Mughal sovereignty till 1857. At Delhi the Mughal ruler received all the courtesies of a king. The Company paid him large sums. These have been designated as a pension, but it was consistently claimed on the Mughal king's behalf that they were the " tribute paid by the Company by virtue of past arrangements and treaties ; that the Company was administering territories for him, as the Marathas had in constitutional theory done before the Company ; that the Company's authority was derived from his *farmans* in so far as it was covered by the *farmans*, and was mere illegal usurpation in so far as it was not so covered." Of course, these claims were against the background of actual military situation, mere "pretensions," but

legally and constitutionally the Delhi house had never been set aside from the position they had occupied when they granted the *Diwani* to the Company in 1765. The Mughal ruler was designated *Shahinshah* and later *Padshah* in official correspondence. He continued to bestow titles of honour until 1828, when the Company ceased to recognise such titles except when bestowed on the immediate descendants of the Mughal king. Coins continued to be issued in his name until 1835.

The British attitude towards the Mughals was the result of a careful and cool appreciation of the prevailing political conditions. Commenting on this, Sir William Hunter wrote in 1872, "The admirable moderation of the East India Company's servants, and their determination to let the Mohammadan power expire by slow natural decay without hastening its death at a single moment, averted this danger. India passed from a Country of Islam into a Country of the Enemy by absolutely imperceptible gradations. After many years' study of the Imperial and District Archives, I find myself unable to place my finger on any given year or decade of years as that in which the change was effected."[1] The policy underlying this process can be understood, but it also underlines the difficulty of determining the date for closing the Mughal period in 1803. Many careful historians have, therefore, terminated it with the exile of Bahadur Shah from Delhi and have called the period of the weakness of royal authority as the "Twilight of the Mughals."

Akbar Shah II (1806-1837) and Bahadur Shah II (1837-1858).

After the defeat of Sindhia by Lord Lake, the blind king, Shah 'Alam, came under British protection. Outwardly, there was no change in his status. The arrangements made by Lake and the attitude adopted by him towards the Mughal king may be judged by the tenor of his communications to Shah 'Alam, "I am cordially disposed to render Your Majesty every demonstration of my loyalty and attachment and I consider it to be a distinguished honour, as it is a peculiar privilege to execute Your Majesty's commands."[2] A high title was conferred on Lord Lake by the Mughal emperor, and to all appearance the British representative was stepping into the shoes of Sindhia. Special arrangements were made for the administration of Delhi, where Muslim law was to be administered in criminal matters. "Within the walls of the Red Fort the king retained his ruling powers.

The inhabitants of the Fort *bazar* were his direct subjects, and the members of the imperial family or *saltatin,* who lived within, enjoyed diplomatic immunity. The etiquette of the court was maintained, the sonorous titles and the language of the Great Mughals continued, and the Resident attended the Durbar in the *Diwan-i-Khas* regularly as a suitor. He dismounted like any other courtier at the *Naqar Khana,* and was conducted on foot through the *Lal Purdah* to the imperial presence where he stood respectfully like the rest."[3]

The arrangements introduced by Lake were maintained during Shah 'Alam's lifetime. The first British agent, Sir David Ochterlony, was a courteous and courtly diplomat and was succeeded by the equally considerate Setton. Shah 'Alam died on 18 November, 1806, and difficulties arose with his successor, Akbar II. With the consolidation of the British power, a tendency grew to treat the Mughal king more and more as a pensioner of the East India Company, while he insisted on the privileges accorded at the time of the British conquest of Delhi. The differences between Akbar Shah and the Company came to a head when a meeting between Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, and the king could not be held because "Akbar insisted that Hastings should appear as a subject and present the usual *nazr.*" The king also would not agree to allow the Governor-General a chair on the same level as his own at the time of the interview. Hastings refused to have a meeting on these terms, and soon thereafter, an attempt was made to curtail the Mughal king's privileges. The ruler of Oudh (hitherto called *Wazir*) and the Nizam of Hyderabad were encouraged to adopt royal titles. While the Nizam declined to do so out of regard for the Mughal king, the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh accepted the suggestion. To present his case in London, Akbar Shah appointed the celebrated Bengali reformer, Ram Mohan Roy, who was planning a visit to England, as the Mughal envoy to the court of St. James, and conferred on him the title of Raja. This visit took place in 1829, and Raja Ram Mohan Roy submitted an ably drafted memorial on behalf of the Mughal ruler, but he died soon after, and nothing came out of his mission.

Akbar Shah died in 1837, and was succeeded by Bahadur Shah II, who also refused to give up the claims put forward by his father. The East India Company, however, gradually curtailed his

powers and privileges, and in 1856 when his heir-apparent died, the claims of the next surviving son were recognised on the condition that the title of Bahadur Shah's successor would only be Prince or *Shahzada* and not *Badshah* or King.

Whatever may have been the disputes between the king and the Company, there is no doubt that materially the position of the Mughal ruler improved with the British occupation of Delhi. For one thing, there was peace and order, and the royal family was not exposed to those vicissitudes and uncertainties which it had suffered prior to the reoccupation of Delhi by Sindhia in 1788. There was an improvement in the financial position also. Income from the *Khalsa* lands increased owing to greater general security. Even with all this, the king's income did not exceed six lakhs a year, and he had to feed a horde of dependants. The respect and the position which the king enjoyed was, however, out of all proportion to his material resources. The Mughals had learnt the art of maintaining dignity and winning respect in most unpropitious circumstances and the tawdry Mughal court became the cultural centre of Muslim India. The court benefited by the return of peace and prosperity to Delhi, which once again began to attract the most distinguished Muslim noblemen, *ulama,* and men of letters. The Mughal kings also found out new, peaceful pursuits, in which they could maintain their privileged position. Bahadur Shah, for example, started accepting selected disciples. Even more important was his success in making the Red Fort the centre of a distinguished literary life. Already the Urdu, spoken within the four walls of the *Qil'a-i-Mu'alla* (the Sublime Fort), was the touchstone of purity and distinction of language. Bahadur Shah made the Fort the meeting place for the most eminent poets and writers. In particular, the great Ghalib, who epitomised in his personality and works the splendour, richness, humanity and wisdom of the Mughal culture, adorned his court, sang verses in his praise and on the age-old themes of love and life, which easily surpassed anything written by the court poets of Akbar and Jahangir.

The importance of the Mughal court, even at this stage, in the cultural life of the country has been summed by Dr. Percival Spear :

"The Mughal Court, so long as it lasted, was the school of manners for Hindustan. From the time of Akbar it had much

the same influence upon the Indian manners as the Court of Versailles upon European. Sorely pressed as it was in the eighteenth century by the rough Afghans, the uncouth Marathas and the rustic Jats, its influence revived with the new tranquillity of the early nineteenth century. *Nawabi* Lucknow was an offshoot which maintained and spread its influence farther down country. Another was Hyderabad in the Deccan. From Bengal to the Punjab, and as far as Madura in the south, Mughul etiquette was accepted as the standard of conduct and Persian was the language of diplomats and the polite. Forms of address, the conventions of behaviour and to a large extent ceremonial dress, approximated to the standards of Delhi. Even the Marathas felt its subtle and all-pervading influence, and the Jats were proud to decorate a replica of a Mughul palace at Dig with the plunder they had carried from Delhi. At a time when English cultural influence had hardly begun to spread beyond the Presidency towns, such an influence was an invaluable cement to society. The fall of the dynasty was a serious cultural loss, and inaugurated that period of nondescript manners and indefinite conduct from which India suffers today."

Dr. Spear goes on to say :—

"Thirdly, the Court under Bahadur Shah was a cultural influence of great value. With the royal patronage it became the centre of the second Delhi period of Urdu literature, whose brightest star was the great Ghalib. By its patronage it kept alive the Delhi school of painting which produced at least two painters of merit in Raja Jivan Ram and Husain Nazir. It was the natural centre of all the arts and crafts. By its influence it encouraged all these tastes in the leisured classes. Art in India has always depended upon aristocratic patronage. The end of the Court involved a break in cultural as well as political tradition, and ushered the garish period of utility into Indian life when education came to mean some knowledge of English, and culture foreign imitations. The Court of Delhi, faded though it was, had more in it than the tinsel of *khillats* or the honorifics of *shuqas*. It was the last refuge of traditional culture whose tragedy it was largely to perish at the hands of political passion and misplaced alien benevolence."[4]

Such was the respect enjoyed by the Mughal king amongst the native population, that there was no dissenting voice when in 1857 the soldiers of the Bengal army rose in rebellion against the East India Company in the name of the titular, feeble and aged Bahadur Shah.

The House of Oudh.

Sa'adat 'Ali, who became the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh on 21 January, 1798, had to bear the brunt of Wellesley's expansionist policy and was forced to cede one half of his territory to the East India Company, but he made a grim determination to reorganise his administration and effect economies. He was singularly successful in this, and before his death he had paid all the debts he inherited and created a reserve of fourteen crores of rupees in the treasury. Irwin calls him "the friend of the ryot" and considers him the ablest and most enlightened native ruler then living. Sa'adat 'Ali's tenure of office gave a new lease of life to Oudh, and he adorned Lucknow with many new buildings. He died in 1814, and was succeeded by Ghazi-ud-din who at the instigation of Lord Hastings took the royal title in 1819. This proved singularly inauspicious. It added little to Ghazi-ud-din's authority, and only increased his expenses. He drew heavily on the treasures left by Sa'adat 'Ali but his son Nasir-ud-din Haider, who succeeded him in 1827 proved even a bigger spendthrift and is "usually depicted as more debased and disreputable than any of his predecessors." Before he died in 1837, the treasury was almost empty. His successors tried to effect economies but he died in 1842. He was succeeded by Amjad 'Ali Shah, who was of a deeply religious disposition. From the beginning, Oudh rulers were Shi'a but until the days of Amjad 'Ali Shah "in agreement with the empire practice the only *Mufti,* or authority on law, was a Sunni, and all cases were decided by Sunni law. Amjad 'Ali appointed a Shi'a Mufti and introduced Shi'a law in his territory, except in cases where both parties were Sunnis or one was a Sunni and the other a Hindu."[5] This arrangement lasted till the annexation of Oudh—i.e. for less than 15 years. Amjad 'Ali was fortunate in the choice of his Shi'a Mufti, who was known for his piety, scholarship and uprightness, but the administrative weakness of the regime continued and was really inherent in the basic position, under which the British Resident had all the real power, but no responsibility. Amjad 'Ali died in 1847, and was succeeded

by Wajid 'Ali, who filled his idle moments by devotion to music and dancing. Oudh rulers had from the beginning been great patrons of Urdu poetry, and from Amjad 'Ali's days *Marsiyya* (elegy) attained great perfection. Wajid 'Ali was forced to abdicate in February, 1856, when Oudh was annexed by the East India Company. He was interned near Calcutta where he maintained a large establishment including a zoo and troupes of musicians who introduced Oudh music in Bengal. He died in 1887.

Cultural Importance of Lucknow.

An important development of the eighteenth century which has left its impress on the course of Muslim civilisation in Hind-Pakistan, was the rise of Lucknow as a great cultural centre. To some extent it was the heir of the older cultural centres of Budaun and Jaunpur, and could draw on a rich and fertile hinterland, which was the heart of Aryavarta. The influence of the old Hindu centres of religion, music, dancing and philosophy,—like Benares, Kanauj and Ajodhya,—has also been seen in its cultural pattern, and Dr. Radha Kumud Mukkerji[6] of Lucknow University has traced the ancestory of Lucknow culture to the days of Raja Janak of Ajodhya. These were, however, remote and indirect influences. The rise of modern Lucknow was due to its becoming the capital of the Nawab-Wazirs of Oudh, who were patrons of art and letters and made a sustained effort to turn their capital into another Delhi. The weakening of the Mughal capital and the successive raids of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Marathas in the eighteenth century, which drove poets, scholars, and artisans from Delhi to Lucknow facilitated their task.

In course of time Lucknow developed its own style and cultural pattern, but originally it was an offshoot of the Mughal cultural centre of Delhi. The first two Nawab-Wazirs of Oudh, their principal nobles, poets, scholars, artists and artisans had migrated from the Mughal capital, and naturally the basis of the new cultural tradition was that of the Mughal Delhi. The Mughal cultural pattern with which the founders of the Lucknow tradition were familiar was not of the days of Akbar or Aurangzeb, but of Muhammad Shah. The vigour and discipline of earlier days was gone. On the other hand, music and dancing were the rage of Muhammad Shah's Delhi and these arts engaged Wajid 'Ali Shah and his courtiers even to a greater extent than

was the case at the Mughal capital. The growing contacts with the West also encouraged this, and one of the interesting developments at Lucknow was beginning of Urdu opera with the *Indar Sabha* of Amanat first produced about 1847-53.

Cultural trends in Lucknow mainly followed Delhi, but there were important and even fundamental differences. Delhi, apart from being the seat of Muslim government, had also remained a great spiritual centre, and even in the dismal eighteenth century was the residence of Shah Wali-Ullah and his family. This was not the position in Lucknow. Of course, the great Farangi Mahal *madrasa* and the course of studies known as *Dars-i-Nizamia* belong to Lucknow, and many learned and venerable *ulama* adorned the city, but their influences were scholastic, intellectual and theological rather than spiritual. The fact that under *Dars-i-Nizamia* very little attention was paid to *tafsir* and *hadis,* to say nothing of the *'ulum-i-batini* (spiritual sciences), accentuated these trends. More attention was paid to the form than to the substance. At Lucknow, concentrated efforts were made to make the student proficient in grammar, logic and *fiqh,* while *tafsir, hadis* and *'ulum-i-batini* became the speciality of Shah Wali-Ullah's school at Delhi (and later of Deoband). Indifference to Sufism and *'ulum-i-batini* at Lucknow may have been due to the fact that here the court followed the tradition of the Safavid Iran, which abhorred Sufism, and in this respect differed from the more catholic Shi'a tradition of Uch, Multan etc. in West Pakistan, but it was also due to the local atmosphere. Hindu learning at Kanauj and Benares, and Muslim learning at Jaunpur, A'zamgarh and other centres of *purab* was biased towards formal subjects and *ma'qulat,* and Lucknow maintained this tradition.

This fundamental approach manifested itself in various forms, [a] but it is most clearly visible in the differing features of the Lucknow and Delhi schools of Urdu literature and language. According to Graham Bailey, "Lucknow poetry reflected the court. It gave itself upto external things, such as outward ornament, rather than beauty of thought. It developed rules for language and idiom, restricted poetic licence and laid down laws for prosody and figures of speech, especially similes and metaphors.

(*a*) Percy Brown characterises the greatest masterpieces of Lucknow architecture as works of "outward show and tawdry pretence" whose "style has no spiritual values" [*Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p.123].

Vigour of style and depth of thought counted for little, verbal accuracy and idiomatic use of words were the ideal. Delhi was less careful about words and gave more attention to thought and subject."[7]

With the annexation of Oudh, the court's patronage came to an end, but the fact that owing to Sir Henry Lawrence's policy, the *ta'aluqdars* and big *zamindars* of Oudh, many of whom were Muslims, were maintained in their privileges led to the continuance of the cultural influences of Lucknow long after Wajid 'Ali Shah had been exiled to Calcutta. The emphasis on the formalities of court etiquette, purity of language and appropriate enunciation became a permanent feature of the Lucknow culture, and added a distinct strand to the Indo-Muslim civilisation.

Punjab, North-West Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan.

With the weakening of the Mughal empire, the Sikhs had become powerful in the eastern and central Punjab. Towards the end of the eighteenth century their organisation consisted of a loose federation of 12 *Misals* or unions, and the chiefs of different *Misals* were independent of each other. Ranjit Singh, who came into prominence in 1799 during the invasion of Shah Zaman, resolved to reduce the *Misals* to submission, and establish a monarchy. He was a shrewd ruler. In 1809, he signed a treaty with the British under which he agreed not to interfere with the Sikh states south of Sutlej, which came under British protection, while he was to exercise suzerainty over the area on the other side of the river. He turned his attention westwards, so that by 1824 he was supreme in the Punjab and most of Kashmir, Peshawar and Multan.

There is an impression that, owing to the collapse of the Mughal rule in the area, Ranjit Singh was able to extend his sway rapidly and without much opposition. This is not correct. The weakening of the imperial authority in the Punjab had led to the rise of a large number of local principalities, many of which were in Muslim hands and offered stout resistence to the Sikhs. The Chathas of Rasul Nagar, the Khweshgi Afghans of Qasur and the Nawabs of Multan were only a few of these. Qasur became an important political and cultural centre in the eighteenth century. The famous Punjabi poet Bullhe Shah and Sufi 'Inayat Shah flourished here during this period, and in spite of the repeated Sikh attacks, the city held its own. In 1807, however,

Qutb-ud-din Khan, the last chieftain, was forced to give way before Ranjit Singh and to retire to his property at Mamdot, beyond the Sutlej, which was outside Ranjit Singh's zone. The Sikhs first appeared before Multan in 1771, and thereafter the city was constantly threatened, but for long Ranjit Singh's efforts failed and he did not attain his object till June, 1818, when the aged Nawab Muzaffar Khan fell fighting bravely along with his sons at the gate of the fort.

The history of the Muslim Punjab from the decline of the Mughal empire to the British occupation in 1849 is yet to be written, but a brief enumeration of the Muslim principalities which Ranjit Singh had to subdue before becoming a master of the area will be of interest. It shows that practically the entire area which became West Punjab on 14 August, 1947 was under Muslim domination at the end of the eighteenth century. Ranjit Singh inherited Gujranwala in 1792, but Lahore was conferred on him by Shah Zaman in 1799. He paid early attention to Qasur, but as stated earlier it remained with the Pathan chiefs till 1807. In the meanwhile Ranjit Singh took over Pindi Bhattian, and Chiniot from their Muslim chiefs. In the winter of 1803-4, he subdued Ahmad Khan Sial of Jhang and the Zamindars of Uch. In 1809, he entered into a treaty with the East India Company under which chiefs east of Sutlej came under the protection of the Company, while Ranjit Singh was given a free hand to the west of the river. He took full advantage of this position and in 1810 took over Khushab and Sahiwal from the Muslim chiefs. Daska and Mangla were occupied in the same year. In 1818, Multan was occupied and Kashmir was annexed in 1919. In 1820, the Sikhs ousted the Nawab of Dera Ghazi Khan. Next year the large estate of Mankera, which included important towns like Leiah, Bhakkar and Dera Isma'il Khan, was conquered. In 1822, Ranjit Singh modernised the army with the help of European officers and felt strong enough to invade the Pathan areas.

Ranjit Singh's conquest of the north-western areas was even more difficult. Timur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Durrani died in 1793, leaving twenty sons and thirteen daughters. There was bitter fighting between his sons, Shah Zaman, Shah Shuja' and Shah Mahmud. At this time Fath Khan Barakzai, the *Wazir* of the Durrani ruler and his brothers had gained great influence, and ultimately Shah Mahmud ascended the throne with the help

of Fath Khan. The latter, however, became, for all practical purposes, the real ruler of Kabul. This was resented by Mahmud. Things came to a head when during Fath Khan's visit to Herat, his younger brother Dost Muhammad Khan, with the help of a Sikh chief forced Shah Mahmud's son Kamran to open the local treasury. They "effected their purpose without a nice regard for the person of a royal lady, on whom hands were laid too eagerly."[8] In anger, Shah Mahmud and Kamran had Fath Khan assassinated. This led to retaliation by Fath Khan's brothers, Mahmud was driven out, the Durrani dynasty founded by Ahmad Shah Abdali was extinguished and Dost Muhammad Khan became the ruler of Kabul.

Fath Khan, as the *Wazir* of the Durranis, had placed his brother in charge of many key areas. Muhammad Azem was in charge of Kashmir and Yar Muhammad governed Peshawar. In 1815, Ranjit Singh tried to take Kashmir from Azem but failed. When, after Fath Khan's murder, Azem rushed to Kabul with his best troops from Kashmir, Ranjit Singh got his opportunity and in 1819 secured Kashmir, thus terminating 67 years of Durrani rule in that area. He also went as far as Peshawar, but the governor successfuly resisted him. In the meanwhile Ranjit Singh built a fort at Khairabad, opposite Attock. In 1822, Yar Muhammad came to an understanding with Ranjit Singh but Azem disapproved of it, and in March, 1823, the fateful battle of Nowshera was fought between the Sikhs and the Afghans. Azem had the support of the *lashkars* of Yusufzai and Khattak tribesmen who had gathered under the leadership of a well-known *pir*, Sayyid Akbar Shah of the family of Haji Pir Baba of Buner. The *mujahidin* fought bravely and Phula Singh, the principal Akali leader was slain, but Azem took no real part in the battle and soon retired. The *mujahidin* suffered great losses from the Sikh artillery, but next morning they were ready to resume the struggle under Sayyid Akbar. Azem had, however, already left, and the victory rested with Ranjit Singh's forces. As Caroe remarks, "Azem broken in heart but without a wound, died shortly after the battle. His record in this fight lives after him. No Yusufzai, Afridi or Khattak is anxious to rely on the word of a Muhammadzai Sardar, for it is doubtful if he will be there on the day."[9]

Dost Muhammad succeeded to his position in Kabul, while

Yar Muhammad retained Peshawar. With Yar Muhammad there were his three brothers, including the eldest Sultan Muhammad who were collectively known as *Sardaran-i-Peshawar*. After the battle of Nowshera, Ranjit Singh advanced to Peshawar, slaying and plundering as he went. He did terrible damage to property and human life. According to Caroe, the fact, "that Peshawar contains no architectural monuments of any value is due mainly to the devastations of 1823".[10] Ranjit Singh, however, did not stay at Peshawar and after accepting Yar Muhammad's submission returned to Lahore. He had now brought Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and the Derajat under his sway, and although no resistence was offered by the *Sardaran-i-Peshawar*, the tribesmen under Sayyid Akbar Shah, who soon joined hands with Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi, decided to fight the Sikhs.

Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi arrived in this area in December, 1826 and the tribesmen, who had suffered grievously from the raids and depredations of Hari Singh Nalwa and the Sikh armies, gathered around him. The Sikhs had established a strong force at Akora under the command of Ranjit Singh's cousin General Budh Singh. Sayyid Sahib's first battle with the Sikhs was a well-planned night assault. It was a great success, and the Sikhs suffered heavy losses. They were so demoralised that Budh Singh decided to withdraw from Akora. This was very heartening and Sayyid Sahib was now joined by many Pathan chiefs. He was able to extract an agreement from Yar Muhammad, the governor of Peshawar, to respect the territories of Yusufzais and exempt them from revenue-collecting raids. The Sikhs, however, brought pressure on Yar Muhammad, who attempted to have the Sayyid Sahib poisoned. In 1829, Yar Muhammed was killed in an encounter with the *mujahidin*, but a Sikh force under the French general Ventura saved Peshawar, which passed under Sultan Muhammad Khan. Sayyid Sahib now crossed the river into Hazara Hills and attacked the Sikh forces under Hari Singh and another French general Allard, but was repulsed. His assault on Peshawar was, however, successful. The Barakzai governor was defeated and late in the summer of 1830, Peshawar was occupied for two months by Sayyid Ahmad and his *mujahidin*.

Sayyid Sahib's success was partly due to the co-operation of Sayyid Akbar Shah of Sithana who, in spite of his high position and acknowledged leadership in tribal warfare, had readily enrolled

himself under the newcomer's banner. Soon, however, difficulties arose, not between the two respected religious leaders, but between the *ulama* accompanying Sayyid Sahib and the tribal chiefs. After the conquest of Peshawar, Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi tried to introduce an Islamic system of government, which cut across the influence of the tribal chiefs. He also introduced social reforms, which were unpopular with the local population. The extremism of some of his followers enhanced the leader's difficulties, basically due to the hostility of the Sikhs and their Barakzai allies. In November 1830, Sayyid Sahib had to relinquish Peshawar in favour of Sultan Muhammad on the promised payment of a fixed tribute. The biggest blow to him, however, came when his deputies in Yusufzai villages were murdered by the tribesmen themselves. As Khushwant Singh says, "Darbar [*i.e.* Ranjit Singh's] agents exploited the growing feeling of resentment and bribed some leaders to turn against Syed Ahmad and murder the Hindustanis." Sayyid Sahib, accompanied by a few faithful companions, left for Hazara, where after a few months of desultory warfare, he was surprised by a Sikh contingent and in May 1831, fell a martyr at Balakot, a small town in the subdivision of Mansehra in the district of Hazara.

Sultan Muhammad Khan had done his utmost to conciliate Ranjit Singh, even at the expense of his brother Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, but Ranjit Singh knew what he wanted. He gave "the crafty Sardar and his brothers considerable jagirs both in Peshawar and Kohat," [11] but turned his suzerainty over Sultan Muhammad at Peshawar into an actual occupation. In May 1834, Peshawar was formally annexed to the Sikh dominion and Hari Singh Nalwa became the first Sikh governor.

Ranjit Singh was even planning the occupation of Afghanistan and for this purpose a strong fort was built at Jamrud at the mouth of the Khyber Pass. Now even Amir Dost Muhammad Khan had to intervene and the famous battle of Jamrud was fought in April 1837. Dost Muhammad had to withdraw, but the Sikh general Hari Singh fell in the battle. He was succeeded at first by Teja Singh and later by the Italian general Avitabile who ruled Peshawar from 1838 to 1842 with unparalleled ruthlessness.

These areas remained under the Sikhs until the British replaced them in 1849. The British took over the area without much trouble as the hartred of the Sikhs "was accompanied by contempt for

Durranis,[b] such as Sultan Muhammad Khan and other Peshawar Sardars who had for their own convenience played the Sikh game." Sayyid Akbar Shah and his family, however, kept the fire burning. He gave shelter to those followers of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi who survived the disaster at Balakot or later arrived at his fort at Sithana, which in later years became the great centre of the anti-British struggle.

When the news of the Sikh defeat in the first Sikh War (1845-46) was received on the frontier, there was a general rising against them, and Diwan Mulraj had to evacuate the Sikh troops in April, 1846. After this, the tribesmen assembled together and elected Sayyid Akbar Shah as their ruler and Ghulam Khan Tarin as his Wazir. They revived the old land administration prevalent before the Sikh occupation. This period is known as "Lundi Musulmani"[12] in the history of Hazara district. Under the treaty of Lahore, Hazara was handed over to Maharaja Gulab Singh, along with Kashmir, but the tribesmen refused to accept his rule and Gulab Singh surrendered the area to Lahore Darbar and obtained Jummu in exchange.

Between the first and the second Sikh wars, a British Resident had been appointed at Lahore and picked British officers were posted in Hazara, Kohat and Bannu. In 1849, even the reduced Sikh dominion came to an end and the new British Government of the Punjab became directly responsible for the area.

Baluchistan remained outside the Sikh influence. The Mughals controlled this area from Qandhar, so long as that stronghold remained in their possession. Thereafter, the area was controlled from Sibi, which was under the viceroy of Multan. According to the family history of the former Brohi rulers of Qalat, their Khanate was established in the seventeenth century, but their position must have been that of tribal chiefs, who rendered loyal service to the Mughal viceroys of Multan—*e.g.* Prince Mu'iz-ud-din, grandson of Aurangzeb. The Khanate of Qalat was consolidated by Nasir Khan I, who was on the *gaddi* for 40 to 50 years (*circa* 1750-94). In 1839, the Brohi principality came under British influence, which

(*b*) Abbot recorded in his diary that at Peshawar, "the Durranis were more detested than the Sikhs." "For their part the Pathan tribes felt it impossible to detect any sense of national fervour or patriotism in a family which at that time was notorious for its own short-term interest than the overriding need" (Caroe, *The Pathans*, p. 311).

steadily increased. In course of time Quetta became a major cantonment and replaced Qandhar as the second gateway to the Indian subcontinent.

Sind.

Mir Fath 'Ali had firmly established Talpur rule in the former Sind area before his death in 1801. His family continued to rule the area without opposition, from their three headquarters of Khairpur, Hyderabad and Mirpur Khas. In 1824, they obtained peaceful possession of Shikarpur, the last place to remain under Afghan suzerainty. Talpur rule, however, soon came to an end as the British decided that a suitable time had arrived for the annexation of Sind. The treaties of friendship with the East India Company (concluded in 1809 and 1820) had given no valid excuse for interference, but the Mirs were forced to give way before the expansionist policy of the Company. Hyderabad Mirs had agreed to accept a Resident in 1839, and a British force was sent to Sind and the Mirs were forced to sign a treaty, providing for the location of a British force in Sind, part of the expenses of which were to be defrayed by the Mirs. Matters might have been pushed further even at this stage but the East India Company was about to embark on the disastrous campaign in Afghanistan, and it was thought inadvisable to bring matters to a head in Sind about the same time. In 1842, the British troops retreated from Afghanistan and soon thereafter Sir Charles Napier confronted Hyderabad Mirs with new conditions which obviously could not be accepted by them. They were asked to cede to the British in perpetuity "the towns of Karachi, Thatta, Sukhkur, Bhakkar and Rohri, with a strip of land on each side of the Indus" and to transfer to the Bahawalpur chief "the whole track of Khairpur territory, from Rohri to Sabzalkot." The helpless Mirs signed even this treaty on 8 February, 1843. Sir Charles Napier, however, continued the march on Hyderabad. Ultimately there were battles between the British troops and Mirs' army at Miani on 17 February, 1843 where the British were victorious. Napier's action was severely criticised even in England, but Sind was annexed by the British.

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz (d. 1824).

Whatever may have been the Muslim sentimental regard for the ancient ruling family at Delhi, and whatever may be the size and the splendour of the principalities of Oudh, Hyderabad and Sind, there is no doubt that the centre of gravity had shifted by the first half of the nineteenth century. The political metropolis of the Indo-Pak subcontinent was

Calcutta, and so far as the Muslim people were concerned, their intellectual and spiritual leadership was in the hands of the family of Shah Wali-Ullah. Shah Sahib was no longer alive, and the person to whom Muslims all over the subcontinent turned for guidance in those trying times was Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, his son and successor. It would be interesting to quote Justice O'Kinealy about the importance and outlook of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. He wrote in the course of an article in the *Calcutta Review* (1870):

"At this time Shah Abdul Aziz was admitted to be the most learned theologian in India. His fame had spread far beyond Hindustan, and the Arabian writers gave him the title of 'The Sun of India'. He exercised, and even now exercises, vast influence over the Muhammadans of India. His decisions on abstruse points of theology are still acknowledged as almost infallible and his name, which would be a tower of strength to any party, has been claimed as that of a supporter of their respective views both by Wahabis and Sunnis. His legal opinions are quoted by both parties to sustain their position, but on the whole, he appears not to have countenanced extreme views on either side, and to have been a liberal conservative (if such a term may be used)......Towards the English Government, considering the time in which he lived, he was somewhat liberal. He recognized the propriety of learning English and taking service with the conquerors, which is in advance of the opinion of the time prevailing among many Muhammadans of the present day."[13]

Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz who died in 1824 was a true successor to his father—wise, learned, liberal, realistic and progressive—but he was essentially a scholar and writer, and the most important Islamic movement of the period was headed not by him, but by a disciple of his. Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi, who led this movement was not only a disciple of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, but his two leading lieutenants were a nephew and a son-in-law of Shah Sahib and the contribution of Shah Wali-Ullah's family to his efforts was so overwhelming that some writers (for example, Maulana Maududi) have considered his movement merely a continuation of Shah Wali-Ullah's work.[14] There is considerable force in this and in any event the spiritual basis of the movement was provided by Shah Sahib's writings but Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi made his own contribution with his remarkable organising ability, practical experience of men and affairs, great mystic powers and knowledge of military matters

without which it would have been impossible to organise such a broad-based movement.

Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi (1786-1831).

Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi was born in Rai Bareli in 1786. He began life as a *sawar* in the service of Nawab Amir Khan, who later founded the state of Tonk. When the Nawab came to terms with the British in 1806, Sayyid Ahmad gave up military service and went to Delhi to study under Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz. He did not distinguish himself in book-learning but his spiritual powers and organising ability greatly impressed those in his teacher's inner circle. Sayyid Ahmad's reputation greatly increased when Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz's nephew Shah Isma'il and son-in-law, Maulvi 'Abdul Haiy, became his disciples. Both of them were distinguished scholars and their example was followed by many others. In 1818 with the help of his two learned disciples, Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi wrote *Sirat-i-Mustaqim,* which is an authentic expression of his viewpoint, and apart from the mystical portion relating to *Tariqa-i-Muhammadia* is largely a summary of the reforms which Shah Wali-Ullah had urged in his numerous writings. About this time, Sayyid Ahmad started to preach in public, and although his language was free from rhetoric and he used simple homespun words and images he was a great success as a preacher.

Sayyid Ahmad's activities were not confined to Delhi. He visited important places in the neighbourhood, and it was during a visit to Rampur that some Afghans complained to him against the Sikh persecution of Muslims, and he expressed a desire to conduct a holy war against them. He, however, knew that war required elaborate preparation and in any case he wished to perform *hajj* before undertaking the *jihad.* He left Delhi after celebrating *'Id-ul-fitr* at Rai Bareli (where in his own family he set an example of unpopular and unusual widow re-marriage). After this he left for Calcutta. In addition to Shah Isma'il and Maulvi 'Abdul Haiy, Sayyid Sahib was accompanied by a large number of admirers and his journey was a great success. The party visited Allahabad, Benares, and many other centres on the way. There was a long stay at Patna where so many people became Sayyid Ahmad's desciples that he nominated four *Khalifas* or spiritual viceregents and a high priest to look after them. The stay in Calcutta extended over three months, and the masses flocked to him in such numbers that at times Sayyid Sahib was unable to go through the ceremony of

initiation by separate laying on of hands, and his turban used to be spread out to be held by prospective disciples at the time of the taking of the oath of initiation. In due course the party left by sea for Jeddah and reached Mecca. Here they performed the *hajj,* met the *ulama* from other Muslim countries, and got an opportunity to know more about the Wahabis, who were in control of the *Hijaz,* shortly before their arrival.

After an absence of nearly three years, the party returned to Delhi—again, via Calcutta—and preparations for the *jihad* against the Sikhs were started. The *jihad* which was begun towards the end of 1825 was originally successful, as stated earlier, and at one time Sayyid Ahmad's supporters were able to occupy Peshawar and enforce the laws of *Shari'at* in the conquered territory. The success was, however, shortlived and ultimately Sayyid Sahib lost his life in a battle near Balakot on 7 May, 1831.

Sayyid Ahmad's military efforts ended in disaster and many of his distinguished companions, including Shah Isma'il, died on the battle-field, but his meteoric career left a lasting impression in distant corners of the subcontinent. For one thing, the scene of his activities on the Afghan frontier continued to attract *mujahids,* who gave considerable trouble to the Sikhs and later to the British. The effect of his activities in the eastern parts was even more far-reaching. During his leisurely trip to Calcutta and his long sojourn in that city, he had enrolled a number of disciples—many of them from distant areas in what is now East Pakistan—who continued his work after him, and themselves became centres of religious activity and enrolled other disciples. Some of them joined him in the *jihad* on the frontier and many continued to send men and money to the *mujahids* who kept up the struggle till the second half of the nineteenth century. But perhaps even more important was the extension of Shah Wali-Ullah's reform movement, through these disciples, to areas which had been cut off from Delhi for generations, and were now brought closer to the spiritual centres of Muslim India. Even on the frontier the work of the *mujahids* did not come to an end with the disaster of Balakot. After Sayyid Sahib's death his principal disciples met at Delhi and selected Maulvi Nasir-ud-din, son-in-law of Shah Muhammad Ishaq, the principal successor of Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz, to lead the *mujahids.* He proceeded to the Pathan

area via Sind and it was under his leadership that on the invitation of the Sayyids of Sithana, the *mujahidin* moved and settled there. When Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir of Kabul, proclaimed a *jihad* to fight the Triple Alliance of the Sikhs, the British and Shah Shuja', Maulvi Nasir-ud-din joined him and the *mujahids* suffered heavily in the battle of Ghazni (July, 1839). Maulvi Nasir-ud-din died shortly thereafter, and leadership of the movement was now taken over by Maulvi Wilayat 'Ali (d. 1852) and Maulvi 'Inayat 'Ali (d. 1858) of Patna. The *mujahids* took advantage of confusion in the Sikhs' affairs after the death of Ranjit Singh, and conquered Balakot, but this success was short-lived, as soon the British occupied the territory. A *Mujahid* colony continued near Sithana even after that, but its importance belongs to a later period.

Muslim Revival in Bengal.

Islam had been spread in Bengal by the Sufi missionaries in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, but thereafter, there had been a vigorous Hindu revival under the Vaishnava leaders which not only infused a new religious life among the Hindus and converted Assam and the neighbouring hill areas to Hinduism, but also, through literary and other channels of expression, influenced Muslim society. The stream of Muslim missionaries to the area had dried up, and not only was there a general ignorance of Islam amongst the masses, but a local variety of popular religion, thinly veiling Hindu beliefs and practices seemed to be growing up. As the *Travels* of Mirza I'tisam-ud-din Khan show, Bengal Muslims, who were informed about religion, were steadfast in their observance of Islamic injunctions, but in distant villages isolated by rivulets and streams, there were serious obstacles to the spread of Islamic knowledge.

The nineteenth century, however, saw a new movement of Islamic revival in Bengal and an end of its spiritual isolation. Largely, this was the work of the local reformers and scholars, who took advantage of the new conditions and the facilities of steamship travel to Arabia. "The first person who stirred his countrymen, by resusicating the dormant spirit of their faith" was Haji Shari'at-Ullah, who was born in 1781 in the village of Shamail (of Madaripur subdivision now in Faridpur District) which has long since been washed away by the Padma. He received his early education at Calcutta and

Murshidabad, and about 1799 left for Hijaz with his teacher Maulana Basharat 'Ali. He returned in 1818, after a prolonged stay in holy places. While he was in Arabia, he was influenced by Wahabi doctrines preached by Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdul Wahab, and he began to teach some of them on his return to the people of his native district. He denounced the superstitious and corrupt beliefs which had been developed by long contact with the Hindus. He was opposed to the prevalent procedure of Sufi initiation, and replaced the expressions *piri-muridi*, which suggested a complete submission, by the relationship between *ustad* (teacher) and *shagird* (pupil). He discontinued the laying on of hands customary at the time of initiation, but required from his disciples "*tauba*" or repentance for past sins and a resolution to lead a righteous and godly life in the future. As a matter of fact, although his followers are generally known as "Faraizis" on account of their insistence that everyone must perform the *faraiz*—religious obligations or the obligations imposed by God and the Prophet—they prefer to call themselves "*Tawbar*" or "*Tawbar Muslims*". Haji Shari'at-Ullah lived a life of piety, and with his sincerity and exemplary life won the confidence of the people, "who venerated him as a father able to advise them in seasons of adversity and give consolation in times of affliction".[15] He became the centre of a great spiritual revival, but this did not suit the members of the ruling classes. The local *zamindars* (mostly non-Muslim) "were alarmed at the spread of the new creed, which bound the Muhammadan peasantry as one man," and started harassing Haji Sahib with the usual lawsuits and disputes. Ultimately he was driven from Najabari, in the district of Dacca, where he had settled on his return from Arabia, and returned to his birthplace, where he continued his ministry till his death in 1840.

Even more influential was his son Mohsin-ud-din Ahmad (properly known as Dudu Miyan) whose name became a household word in the districts of Faridpur, Pabna, Bakarganj, Dacca and Noakhali. He was born in 1819, and visited Arabia at an early age. On his return he took up the leadership of the movement started by his father. He partitioned East Bengal into circles, and appointed a *Khalifa* to look after his followers in each circle. Under him the movement became the spearhead of the resistance of the Muslim peasantry of East Bengal against

Hindu landlords and European indigo planters. "It was against the levying of illegal cesses by landlords that Dudu Miyan made his most determined stand. That a Muhammadan ryot should be obliged to contribute towards the decoration of the image of Durga, or towards the support of any of the idolatrous rites of his Hindu landlord, were intolerable acts of oppression".[16] The landlords and indigo planters retaliated with their usual tactics —false or genuine criminal cases and lawsuits. Dudu Miyan was harassed all his life, and was repeatedly in jail on various charges. He died on 24 September, 1862 at Dacca and was buried in the back-yard of his Dacca residence (137-Bansal Road) where his grave still stands.

Another important local leader of the peasantry was Mir Nasir 'Ali, generally known as Titu Mir. He did not belong to the group headed by Haji Shari'at-Ullah and Dudu Miyan, but they all had similar religious and socio-economic objectives. He was a well-known wrestler of Calcutta, and came under the influence of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi either in that city or in Mecca, which he visited as an attendant of a member of the royal family of Delhi. After his return, he started to preach to the poorer classes in the districts of Jessore and Nadiya in Central Bengal, "among whom he established the sect known as *Maulvis*." The chief object of this movement was the rejection of all Hindu rites, and naturally the Hindu landlords had no sympathy with the new organisation. Cases against the "*Maulvis*" were lodged in the Zamindari courts, where fines were levied. A *zamindar* who earned notoriety in this connection was Kishan Rai, *zamindar* of Purnea, who, imposed a tax of Rs. 2 As. 8 upon each of his tenants professing to be a Wahabi. "As a general rule the Wahabis do not shave ; hence they called this new impost the Beard Tax."[17] This tax was collected in Purnea proper, but attempts to collect it in a near village caused a riot in which some houses were plundered and a mosque burnt. Ultimately this turned into a conflict between the government and Titu Miyan's followers, against whom a strong military contingent had to be sent, and a pitched action was fought on November 18, 1831. Titu Mir fell in action , 250 of the followers were jailed, and the movement died down in course of time.

The doctrines which were preached by Haji Shari'at-Ullah and Dudu Miyan for some forty years brought permanent changes

in the spiritual life of Bengal, but the influence of their group gradually declined. Apart from the conflict with landlords and authorities, Dudu Miyan's policy brought his group in conflict with the other Muslims. "He tried to compel all Muhammadan ryots to join his sect, and on refusal caused them to be beaten, excommunicated from the society of the faithful and their crops destroyed."

The main dispute between the Faraizis and the ordinary Muslims was about the Friday prayers. Ordinary Muslims attach great importance to the ceremonial observance of these prayers, while the Faraizis held that India, having come under the rule of the Christians was a *Dar-ul-Harb*, and Friday prayers were unlawful there. This led to acrimonious controversies, and the Faraizis started treating Muslims who did not share their point of view as *kafirs*. "They do not salute persons of another sect, and do not go to their mosques, but have even defiled many belonging to the Sunnis, by throwing impurities upon the pulpit, so that neither preaching nor Friday prayers can be held in them."[18] The Faraizis usually prayed in their own "Jama'at Ghar," [(c)] and not in the Muslim mosques. This opened up great schismetic possibilities, which were countered by the orthodox religious leaders, especially by Maulvi Karamat 'Ali who called them "Kharijis", and now the "Faraizis" have gradually merged into the main Muslim community.

Other religious leaders whose influence was the greatest in what is now East Pakistan and who were mainly responsible for re-linking Muslim Bengal with the main spiritual centres of the subcontinent were four disciples of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi. Amongst them Maulvi Imam-ud-din was born at Hajipur in the Sudaram subdivision of Bengal, and completed his education under Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz at Delhi. He became a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi at Lucknow in 1824 and thereafter never left him till his last day. He was with him at Calcutta (where he brought a large number of people from his own village for initiation at the hands of the Sayyid), during the journey to Arabia, and later during the *jihad* on the frontier. Sayyid Sahib

(c) Mr. Muin-ud-din Ahmad Khan, M.A. (McGill), Research Scholar, in Appendix B to his (unpublished) Report No. I addressed to the Secretary, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, says, "Special stress was put on the regular performance of daily prayers preferably at Jama'at Ghar."

thought very highly of him, and used to send his new disciples for further spiritual training to him. He studied *Sirat-ul-Mustaqim* under Sayyid Sahib himself, and many admirers of the latter (including Nawab Wazir-ud-daula of Tonk and Maulvi Karamat 'Ali Jaunpuri) studied the book under him.

Maulvi Imam-ud-din's brother lost his life at Balakot, but he himself returned to Bengal, after the disaster, and carried on his work of reform and religious regeneration in Noakhali district. He was so successful in his mission that the author of the *District Gazetteer of Noakhali* writes about the Muslims of that district: "Formerly it is said that the Muhammadans kept to many of their old Hindu customs, but about the middle of the last century they came under the influence of a reforming priest, Maulvi Imam-ud-din, and are now almost to a man,[d] Faraizi."[19] According to the tradition in East Pakistan, Maulvi Imam-ud-din left towards the end of his life for Hijaz, and at sea died during the return journey. According to some other accounts, he may have died at Tonk, where the Nawab had collected the family and surviving leading disciples of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi. Another prominent disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi, who hailed from what is now East Pakistan and ultimately returned there, was Sufi Nur Muhammad, who made Chittagong his centre of work.

There were many features common between the reforms preached by Shah Wali-Ullah and the Wahabis, but there were also profound differences. Shah Wali-Ullah opposed extremism of all kinds (even puritanical), practised and permitted *tasawwaf*, and was more a "forward-looking" reformer than a revivalist.

Maulvi Imam-ud-din and Sufi Nur Muhammad accompanied Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi during his journeys and *jihad* and came back to their native province after the disaster at Balakot. Even before this, prior to leaving for *jihad*, Sayyid and his co-workers had made thorough arrangements for preaching of his doctrines in different parts of Bengal, and for despatch of men and materials from these areas. According to an article in the *Calcutta Review*

(*d*) Early British writers often used the expression *Faraizi* or *Wahabi* to loosely denote what, in the *District Gazetteer of Dinajpur*, have been designated as "Naya Mussalmans". Actually the preachers, whose work was most fruitful in Bengal—Maulvi Karamat 'Ali, Maulvi 'Inayat 'Ali, Haji Nur Muhammad of Chittagong, Maulvi Imam-ud-din—were neither "Faraizi" nor "Wahabi", but followers of the tradition of Shah Wali-Ullah, through Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi.

(1870), already quoted, "One Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur travelled through Chittagong, Noakhali, Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur and Barisal. Inayat Ali of Patna confined his exertions to middle Bengal and preached in Faridpur, Pabna, Rajshahi, Malda and Bogra. His brother, Walayat Ali assisted him for a short time in Bengal, but his mission lay chiefly among the people of Central India, Hyderabad and Bombay."[20] In addition, Maulvi Wilayat 'Ali, when in Deccan, had sent Maulvi Zain-ul-'Abidin to preach in eastern districts of Bengal, "and the number of his followers in Sylhet and Dacca testify to his success as a missionary."

We shall deal separately with Maulvi Karamat 'Ali, but the work of Maulvi 'Inayat 'Ali in Bengal was also most important. He spent more than seven years at one time and three years at another in Central Bengal, and organised many centres of work. He built mosques at a number of places, and appointed qualified Imams in various mosques. Not only were these Imams responsible for the religious education of the population, but they adjudicated in the disputes of the local Muslim population, and saved them from resort to Government courts. Maulvi 'Inayat 'Ali's centre of work was at Rajshahi, or at Hajipur (in Jessore District) where his family resided. It was due to his great organising ability that Bengal became a major source of recruits for the *jihad* against the Sikhs, and later against the British.

Maulvi 'Inayat 'Ali was an efficient organiser and his missionary work in Bengal was of great importance, but he was even more deeply interested in the *jihad*, and ultimately the Frontier claimed him. The disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi, whose primary interest was in religious education and reform and who devoted a lifetime to the work in Bengal was Maulvi Karamat 'Ali. He was born at Jaunpur in June, 1800, became a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi during his tour of Northern India and was selected by him for work in the eastern provinces. Maulvi Karamat 'Ali, who chose East Bengal as the main field of his activities, was a great organiser and for forty years he moved up and down the elaborate river system of East Bengal with a flotilla of small boats, carrying the message of Islamic regeneration and reform from the Nagaland in the north to Sandip and other islands in the Bay of Bengal. His flotilla of country craft was often compared to a travelling college; one boat was for the residence of his family, another was reserved for the students and

disciples accompanying him, while the third was for *dars*, lectures and prayers. He repeatedly toured and halted in the districts of Khulna, Jessore, Barisal, Faridpur and Chittagong, but the district in which he worked longest was Noakhali. Through his well-planned and well-organised efforts extending over half a century, Maulvi Karamat 'Ali was able to revitalise Islamic life in East Bengal, and it has been said that one has only to contrast the religious fervour, or social life or even the normal dress and appearance of Muslims of East Bengal and West Bengal to realise the revolution which he brought about in the area in which he worked.

Maulvi Karamat 'Ali "exhibited remarkable power for the regeneration of Islam all his life, so that at the time of his death, there was scarcely a village in Bengal that did not contain some of his disciples."[21] He married in a village in Chittagong District, and except for occasional visits to Jaunpur, spent his entire active life in Bengal. He is buried in the principal mosque of Rangpur (in East Pakistan) where he died in 1873. After his death his work was carried on by his son and his nephew, and in many parts of East Pakistan his influence is alive even today. Comparing him with Keshab Chandar Sen of the Brahmo Samaj, Beveridge in his masterly study of the *District of Bakarganj* (Barisal) says : "From all that I have heard, Karamat Ali, who was a native of Jaunpur, was a man of a very pure and disinterested charactor, and did much good by preaching sound morality. He has certainly exercised much more influence over the common people than Keshab Chandar Sen, and I should think that he was the truer and more modest man of the two" (p. 381).

Maulvi Karamat 'Ali shared with the Faraizi leaders an abhorrence of un-Islamic practices, but he was violently opposed to their rejection of *'Id* and Friday prayers in British India, and their treatment of other Muslims as *kafirs*. He called them *Kharijia* and wrote pamphlets against them. His view was that India was not a *dar-ul-harb*, but he argued that even if India had ceased to be *dar-ul-Islam*, Muslims should do their utmost to carry on, as far as possible, observances which were followed in *dar-ul-Islam*. "If non-Muslims conquer Muslim lands, observance of Friday prayers and the celebration of two *ids* was not only lawful but obligatory". Maulvi Karamat 'Ali was successful as the *ulama* in Hijaz (where followers of Dudu Miyan went in such

large numbers for the performance of *hajj* that the group came to be called *Hajis*) supported his views regarding *'Id* and Friday prayers. The vast majority of Bengal Muslims did not give up Friday prayers or the celebration of *'ids* during the British period, but a small group continued to follow Haji Shari'at-Ullah and they did not offer Friday prayers until after the establishment of Pakistan. Maulvi Karamat 'Ali's efforts resulted not only in the spread of Islamic knowledge and a new, vigorous religious life, but if there was any danger of certain practices different from those in vogue in the rest of Muslim India being adopted in Bengal, that was averted.

The significance of the religious revival in Bengal in the nineteenth century is not generally recognised, but those who are aware of developments within the province know its importance. Wise wrote in his study of the *Mussalmans of Bengal* :

"The Muhammadan revival of the nineteenth century is one of the most momentous events in the modern history of India. The seed, sown by a few untitled men, has borne abundant fruit, and at the present day overshadows the whole of Eastern Bengal."[22]

About the characteristics and effects of this revival, the *District Gazetteer of Dinajpur* has the following entry :

"Of recent years there has been a Muhammadan revival under the auspices of itinerant Mullahs. They travel about the country and preach against idolatory and all practices not sanctioned by the Koran. The result has been that a considerable section of the community has joined what is locally called the community of Naya Mussalmans. They are strict in religious observances avoid participation in Hindu religious festivals, and the extravagance in connection with marriages and other ceremonies ...The better classes amongst them are particular in the matter of seclusion of women. In dress they effect the cloth worn like a skirt rather than the Dhoti worn by other Muhammadans of the district."[23]

Birtish Expansion (1803-1858).

The graph of British expansion in Hind-Pakistan follows a zigzag course. The ultimate goal of British policy —territorial sovereignty—had been indicated in a resolution of the Directors of the East India Company as early as 1688 but progress towards that goal was slow, cautious, and punctuated by long periods of "masterly

inactivity." This policy was adopted partly to avoid European jealousies and violent local reaction, as also to keep down the cost of territorial expansion. Besides, Britain was a small island and could not initially provide men for the administration of a vast subcontinent, and the long time taken in annexation provided a suitable opportunity for gradually training up the necessary personnel, gaining an intimate knowledge of local problems, and evolving a suitable *modus operandi*.

By the end of Lord Wellesley's governer-generalship (1805), there was no doubt about who was the master of the subcontinent, and Delhi itself was under British control. But it is typical of the zigzag course of British policy and the alternate predominance of expansionist and commercial-cum-economical schools of thought, that after all his conquests Lord Wellesley was recalled and Cornwallis was sent out a second time with clear instructions to adhere to a policy of non-intervention. He died within three months of his arrival, but George Barlow who held the office for two years after him (1805-1807) strictly carried out this policy. He was succeeded by Lord Minto, who also annexed no territory, and whose regime was notable for a treaty of friendship with Ranjit Singh (1809). Under Hastings (1813-23), there were the Gurkha war and the more important third Maratha war (1816-19). There was the first Burmese war under Amherst, but the long tenure of William Bentinck (1828-1835) was devoted, almost entirely, to administrative reforms and consolidation. Thereafter the pace of expansion quickened once again. The first Afghan war of 1837, fought, in co-operation with Ranjit Singh, to restore Shah Shuja' to the throne of Kabul, ended in disaster and although a year later, large British forces were sent to restore British prestige, the original objective, *i.e.* enthronement of Shah Shuja', was abandoned. Failing in Afghanistan, the British annexed Sind (1843). In 1839, Ranjit Singh died, and in 1845, the first Sikh war was fought, resulting in many advantages for the British in the Punjab. The great era of expansion, however, did not begin again till Dalhousie came on the scene in 1848. Soon after his arrival the second Sikh war was fought, leading to the annexation of the Punjab and the north-western areas (1849). Three years later, the second Burmese war was fought, and Burma was annexed. Oudh was annexed in 1856 and Dalhousie developed the "doctrine of lapse", under which Hindu

widows were refused the right of adoption and the states of rajas dying without natural heirs lapsed to the paramount power. This doctrine was applied to Satara, Jhansi, Nagpur, etc., and these territories were incorporated in the British dominions. Dalhousie also abolished the titles of the Nawab of Karnatak, the Raja of Tanjore and the Peshwa, and announced that on the death of Bahadur Shah, the title of his successor would be Prince and not King. There is evidence to show that but for the happenings of 1857, which led to a reversal of the policy regarding native states, Hyderabad would also have been annexed, but overt action by Dalhousie was confined to the transference of the administration of Berar from the Nizam to the British (1853).

Cultural and administrative consequences of British Supremacy

Clive, who is regarded as the father of British empire in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, had no interest in cultural matters, or even in real administrative reform. The position changed with Warren Hastings who was deeply interested in Oriental culture, and actively patronised Oriental learning. Such was his appreciation of the Muslim literary heritage, as treasured in Hind-Pakistan, that he advocated that a study of Persian might be made a part of the liberal education of an Englishman in the University of Oxford.[24] In this he failed, but he was able to attract to the service of the East India Company many gifted people from amongst the Hindus and the Muslims. Amongst the latter may be mentioned the author of the well-known history, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin,* who wrote this book for Warren Hastings, Nawab 'Ali Ibrahim, originally *Diwan* of Mir Qasim and well-known for many historical and biographical works, who was appointed Magistrate at Benares, and Munshi Sadr-ud-din, the donor of Buhar library (now incorporated in the National Library, Calcutta). One of Hastings' memorable actions was the foundation of the Calcutta Madrasa in 1786.

Hastings took early steps to make accessible in English the basic principles and text-books of Hindu and Muslim law. Learned pandits were invited to Calcutta from different parts of Bengal to make an authoritative compilation of Hindu laws. The pandits compiled the Code in Sanskirt. This was translated into Persian, the court language, under the supervision of one of the pandits and from the Persian translation an English version was prepared.[25] With respect to Muhammadan law, Warren

Hastings wrote to Lord Mansfield : "Your Lordship need not be told that this is as comprehensive and as well-defined, as that of most states in Europe, having been formed at a time in which the Arabians were in possession of all the real learning which existed in the western part of this continent. The book which bears the greatest authority among them in India is a digest formed by the Emperor Aurangzeb, and consists of four large folio volumes which are equal to near twelve of ours."[26] This was the famous *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, which except for a few portions published by Neil Baillie has not been translated into English. An English version of an earlier text-book *Hidaya* was, however, published in 1791 by Hamilton.[e] Being an English translation of a Persian rendering of the Arabic original, it was hardly satisfactory, but for the time being it served its purpose. The copy of this version in the Bodlean Library of Oxford has a note inscribed on it by Edmund Burke : "There is a great power of mind and a very subtle jurisprudence shown in this work."[27] Later Sir William Jones translated *Sirajia*, a book on Muslim law of inheritance, and added a commentary.

In 1794, the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by Sir William Jones. The next important cultural step was the foundation in 1800, by Lord Wellesley, of Fort William College. Its practical object was to train the officers of the East India Company in languages and customs of the newly conquered country, but it also played a significant role in the cultural history of the country during its brief existence.

The part played by the Fort William College in the cultural history of Hind-Pakistan has not been fully grasped. It lay partly in the impetus which it gave, under the enthusiastic guidance of its principal, Dr. Gilchrist, to a systematic study of Hindustani, and in the high literary quality of the works written under its auspices in various Indian languages. Gilchrist himself published an English-Hindustani Dictionary and a Hindustani Grammar, but even more important are the works of the group of competent indigenous writers, whom he was able to attract to his institution. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Urdu poetry had reached a high stage of development, but books in Urdu prose were very few, and with rare exceptions (like the far-seeing family of Shah Wali-Ullah), serious scholars ignored it.

(*e*) A reprint of Hamilton's *Hidaya* was published at Lahore in 1959.

Even the few works which existed contained the ornate and highly artificial rhyming variety of prose, which came into vogue for the embellishment of imaginative works and display of rhetorical and literary skill, and had come current during the decay of the Mughal empire. Prose books written at Calcutta were the work of a number of writers, who had their individual styles, but the best amongst them adopted the natural, spoken language of Delhi, and showed that it could give real aesthetic pleasure. Generally a high standard was maintained, and although the books were written primarily to provide text-books for foreign students, many of them, like *Bagh-o-Bahar*, have become classics of Urdu literature.

It has been claimed that the rise of modern Urdu prose was due to the work done at the Fort William. As A. Yusuf Ali has pointed out,[28] this can be true only in a qualified sense. The excellence of many of the works produced at Calcutta need not be denied, and it is also true that the prose style which ultimately gained currency in Urdu was closer to the pattern adopted at Calcutta than to anything else written so far, but the work of Dr. Gilchrist's associates was accomplished at a place far removed from the literary currents of Delhi and Lucknow, and did not affect them. There are practically no contemporary references to the books produced in Calcutta, and for more than half a century literary circles in northern India, which after all was the home of Urdu, either continued to ignore prose or (with the exception of the religious writers, who were not influenced by the experiments at Calcutta continued to follow the models rejected by the writers of Fort William College.

The literary and linguistic activity at Calcutta was not anunmixed blessing for the future of the Indo-Pak subcontinent. The splitting of the common spoken language of the Hindus and Muslims of Northern India into two separate languages was the work of Fort William College. Not only was the polite spoken language of Northern India (Urdu-Hindustani) cultivated at the Calcutta institution, but with the help of Lalu Ji Lal and other Sanskritists practically a new language was created in the form of new Hindi. This was not the literary form of the language spoken by the Hindus or an evolution of any regional dialect, but a new, artificial language. As Kaye, the historian of Hindi literature, says, "A literary language for Hindi speaking people,

which could commend itself to Hindus was very desirable and the result was produced by taking Urdu and expelling from it words of Persian or Arabic origin, and substituting for it words of Sanskrit of Hindu origin. The Hindi of Lalu Ji Shah was really a new literary dialect."[29] About modern Hindi, Sir George Grierson says:

"It is of modern origin having been introduced under English influence at the commencement of the last (*i.e.* nineteenth) century. Up till then when a Hindu wrote prose and did not use Urdu, he wrote in his own local dialect, Awadhi, Bundeli, Braj Bhasha or what not. Lallu Lal, under the inspiration of Dr. Gilchrist changed all this by writing the well-known Prem Sagar, a work which was, so far as the prose portions went, practically written in Urdu, with Indo-Aryan words substituted wherever a writer in that form of speech would use Persian ones. It was thus an automatic reversion to the actual vernacular of the Upper Doab. The course of this novel experiment was successful from the start. The subject of the first book written in it attracted the attention of all good Hindus . . . then, the language filled a want. It gave *lingua franca* to the Hindus. It enabled men of widely different provinces to converse with each other without recourse to the (to them) unclean words of the Mussalmans."[30] A similar process was adopted in respect of Sanskritisation of Bengali, wherein the Do-Bhashi form current in the eighteenth century[(f)] was discarded, and a highly Sanskritised form adopted.

Some other aspects of the language policy adopted by the East India Company in the beginning of the nineteenth century had equally serious consequences. In 1829, it was announced in an official communication that it was "the wish and the admitted policy of the British Government to render its own language gradually and eventually the language of public business throughout the country." A few years later English replaced Persian. The reason for this can be understood, but the British claim for the cultural unification of the country would have had a more solid basis if along with English an indigenous language had been

(*f*) Halhed wrote in 1778, "At present those persons are thought to speak the compound idiom (Bengali) with most elegance, who mix with the pure Indian verbs the greatest number of Persian and Arabic nouns" (*Vide* Preface to his Bengali Grammar).

given at least a secondary place. Instead, an entire plethora of vernaculars was encouraged, and instead of one common language Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, Sindhi, etc, all seemed to secure similar attention. Whereas in the past Hindustani was understood in its various forms practically all over the country, and local languages had, apart from ballads and simple verse, no developed prose literature, now the regional languages began to develop literatures of their own. Thus the cultural unity of the country became totally dependent on English, and the seeds of the present language problem of India and Pakistan were sown.

The Muslims of Bengal were particularly hit hard by the new turn of events. The "alliance between the head of the European Baniadom, the English Company and the Marwari banias"[31] had sealed their political fate at the battlefield of Plassey. The same alliance continued in other spheres. Lord Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement (1793), put into operation through Hindu intermediaries and accompanied by a ruthless application of the "Sunset" law, resulted, in extinguishing the proprietary claims of a large number of Muslim land-owners and the creation of Hindu *Zamindars*. Now they were to be ruined culturally. Not only was Persian replaced by English, but in regional affairs Bengali was given pride of place. This could have been accepted, if the language of the people had been adopted. But the Bengali which was made current under the new arrangements was not the language spoken either by the Hindus or the Muslims of Bengal. It was a completely artificial language, containing a preponderance of Sanskrit words, and in many respects was a new language for the Bengali Muslims who formed nearly half the population of the province.

Apart from these controversial developments, the British made important contributions to the social and civic life of the people, particularly of the Hindu community, at this time. In 1829, Lord William Bentinck ordered the abolition of *Sati*. Aurangzeb had issued peremptory orders to stop it, but as the practice was sanctioned by Hindu religion, stray cases continued to occur, especially after the weakening of the Mughal government. The well-organised and continuous British administration dealt with the problem more effectively. About the same time successful measures were adopted to root out *thugi*, which had assumed

serious proportions after the break-up of the Mughal empire.

An increase in the number of printing presses took place about the same time. Some time before 1778, Charles Wilkins had invented and cast printing types for Persian and Bengali characters. Not only was type printing used for official p inting of laws and regulations, and for the work turned out by Fort William College at Calcutta, but also in the great mass of the so-called Wahabi literature, printed in Urdu about 1820-1837, in connection with the movement headed by Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi. But the Muslims preferred good caligraphy to convenience and instead of developing type printing and making such modifications in letters as would cheapen its cost they preferred lithography which was introduced into India by 1837, within less than forty years of its invention in Germany. The first lithographic press was set up in Delhi, soon followed by the establishment of another at Lucknow. Lithography proved very popular and soon many printing presses were set up, bringing out a stream of newspapers, pamphlets, government notices and serious literary work.

Improvement in communications was largely the work of Lord Dalhousie. In 1853 a railway line, set up between Bombay and Thana, marked the beginning of the vast railway system of the subcontinent. The telegraph system was introduced in the same year, and coupled with the reduction in postal charges effected about the same time, provided easy and inexpensive means of communication.

Muslim Law Under the British.

When after the battle of Buxar, the fugitive Mughal emperor, Shah 'Alam, conferred the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the East India Company, the *farman*, in its original form, bound the Company to decide cases "agreeably to the rules of Mahomet and the Laws of the Empire". This clause disappeared from the later versions of the treaty, but it continued for a long time to influence the policy of the Company and the expectations of the people. Till 1857, the Company was administering vast areas in the name of the titular Mughal sovereign and had begun by administering Islamic law, except where the practice of the Muslims themselves had been to leave disputes between Hindus to be determined according to their Shastras as interpreted by Hindu pandits. Under the regulation II of 1772, it was laid down that "in all suits regarding inheritance, successions, marriage, and caste and other religi-

ous usages or institutions, the law of the Quran with respect to Muhammadans and those of Shasters with respect to Gentoos (Hindus) shall be invariably adhered to." In case of courts under the Company's control, dealing with even other categories of cases, Muhammadan law officers were attached to all of them, original and appellate, civil and criminal, to advise on questions of law." Sir Roland Wilson on whom we have relied for this paragraph, continues to say, "Criminal proceedings in particular were assumed to be governed by the Shari'at (irrespective of the religion of the offender) unless and until the Company's Government should think fit to order otherwise. Not till 1790 was this jurisdiction withdrawn from the Nazim; and although from that date the system was gradually Anglicized by successive Regulations, the Muhammadan element did not entirely disappear until 1862, when the Penal Code and the first Code of Criminal Procedure came into force, nor as regards rules of evidence till the passing of the Indian Evidence Act in 1872."[32]

Struggle for Independence (1857-1858).

1857 saw a great national rising which convulsed the subcontinent for over two years, and completely changed the course of its history. It has been variously described as the Mutiny or the War of Independence. Both designations are open to objection. It started as a "mutiny" of the troops, but large sections of the civil population participated in it and it had the willing or unwilling support of the titular but lawful Mughal monarch. On the other hand, it can hardly be called the War of Independence in the accepted sense as it failed and did not lead to the independence of the subcontinent.

The causes of this great upheaval were many—political, social, economic, and religious. The expansion of the area under the direct control of the East India Company, especially during the administration of Lord Dalhousie, had created a general feeling of unrest. The annexation of Oudh, the absorption of Satara and Nagpur, and the possibility of the application of Dalhousie's policy to all the remaining native states disturbed the old ruling classes. The economic consequences of his policy were also far-reaching. All the principal civil and military appointments under the East India Company came to be reserved for the Europeans, and a large number of well-placed people in the old native administration were thrown out of employment. On the other hand,

a large-scale confiscation of estates, hitherto held free, had been going on for various reasons, in the territory under the East India Company.

Political, economic and social factors had engendered popular discontent, but the spark that kindled the conflagration was religious. The British government was universally suspected of a design to convert people to Christianity. The question of the future religion of the subcontinent was freely discussed in English magazines and other publications, missionaries occupied a position of privilege, especially in the educational structure of the new government. As Sir Syed Ahmed Khan later pointed out in his brilliant *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, British officers would invite their servants and subordinates and make them listen to the preaching of the Christian missionaries. Canning, the new viceroy, was particularly friendly to the Christian religious leaders. In this atmosphere of tension, discontent and distrust, were introduced the new greased cartridges, which had been recently imported from Europe. The rumour spread that the grease used in these cartridges came from animal fat—of cows and pigs—which Hindus and Muslims could not touch for religious reasons. At Meerut some troopers of a regiment refused to use these cartridges, and were severely dealt with by their British officers. This brought to a head the pent-up feeling of distrust and hostility. On May 10, 1857, the Third Cavalry regiment at Meerut took the lead, raided the jail, released their comrades who had been imprisoned for refusal to accept the greased cartridges and raised the standard of revolt. They killed their European officers, and reaching Delhi next morning, proclaimed Bahadur Shah as the Emperor. They attacked the Delhi magazine, but it was blown up by the British officer in charge and only a small quantity of ammunition fell into their hands. The disturbances now spread over the greater part of the subcontinent. In the Punjab, the native soldiers were quickly disarmed and the British officers were not only able to keep the area quiet but by whipping up Sikh animosity against the Muslims and promising unlimited loot, were able to enlist a number of enthusiastic Sikh soldiers. In Hyderabad, Sir Salar Jang had prevented any disturbance. Bengal was also quiet, but there were serious disturbances at Cawnpore, where Nana Sahib, the displaced son of the last Peshwa, took charge of affairs, Lucknow, where the British officers had to face a prolonged siege, Jhansi,

where Lakshmi Bai, the famous Rani of Jhansi, was the leader of the revolt, and also at Kolhapur, Bombay, and the southern Maratha territory. For some time the British lost control of very large area, but the well-armed and well-organised British troops gradually brought the situation under control. A siege train arrived before Delhi on September 6 and a week later the Kashmiri gate was stormed and after six days of well-contested fighting, the city and the fort were captured. Bahadur Shah was arrested, and his three sons were shot by Major Hodson to whom they had surrendered.

Perhaps, the most contested fight was at Lucknow, which was relieved by the British troops on September 26, but was lost again, reconquered and after another loss had to be finally relieved a third time (March, 1858).

The struggle at Lucknow was led by Maulvi Ahmad-ullah, and the Begum of Oudh. Amongst the Marathas, Nana Sahib, Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi were the principal leaders.

The Fate of the Mughal Delhi.

The British re-entered Delhi on September 20, 1857, but it was not the end of the agony and uncertainties of the people of the Mughal metropolis. The cruel massacre of British women and children[h] had enraged the British officers, and perhaps partly to inspire terror and thereby facilitate reconquest of the unsubdued parts of the subcontinent, a general massacre of the civil population was ordered. According to Mrs. Saunders, the wife of the contemporary Commissioner of Delhi, "for several days after the assault every native that could be found was killed by the soldiers."[33]

Women and children were spared but according to native accounts many women, who did not flee from the city drowned themselves by jumping into wells, to escape a worse fate at the hands of the soldiers. Commissioner Saunders himself wrote,

(*h*) The manner in which this reprehensible act of the mutineers had affected even the most responsible people may be judged from a communication addressed to Sir Herbert Edwards by Sir John Nicholson. He wrote, "Let us propose a bill for the flaying alive, impalement or burning of the murderers of the women and children at Delhi. The idea of simple hanging for the perpetrators of such atrocities is maddening. I wish I were in that part of the world that if necessary, I might take the law into my own hands.........If I had in my power today and knew that I were to die tomorrow, I would inflict the most excruciating tortures I could think of on them with a perfectly easy conscience." See Nicholson's letter to Edwards, quoted in Edward Thompson's *The Other Side of the Medal*, London, 1925, pp. 43-4.

"The troops were completely disorganized and demoralized by the immense amount of plunder which fell into their hands and the quantity of liquor which they managed to discover in the shops of the European merchants of Delhi."[31] The initial massacre, which lasted for some days, was followed by a "systematic reign of terror," which according to a modern British historian "lasted for several weeks," but in reality seems to have continued for several months.

The entire population of Delhi, which survived the early massacre was driven out of the city. Mrs. Saunders wrote on October 25, "Every house in the city was desolated and many of them injured......the inhabitants of this huge place seven miles round are dying daily of starvation and want of shelter. The Prize Agents are digging for treasure in houses where rich natives are said to have hoards."[35] The entire population of Delhi had to spend this winter either in the open or in hastily prepared shelters, far out of the city. In December a European observer reported that the search and plunder still continued. "He visited the outlying bands of fugitives from the city and found a very serious share of misery and sickness among the lower orders, the infirm and those with large families." During these months the city was subjected to a loot and plunder which it had not suffered in its dismal history during the eighteenth century. The massarce of Nadir Shah and plunder by the Marathas, Jats or Afghans, continued, at the utmost, for a few days (Nadir's massacre which has the most evil reputation lasted, according to the *Oxford History of India,* for 9 hours). The looting was in the presence of the owners, who could offer some protection or conceal some property. Now the entire civil population had been driven out of the city, and in the absence of owners, houses were broken into, floor dug up, and the contents removed or destroyed. Responsible, thoughtful Englishmen, who had not caught the "vengeance" fever, were greatly distressed at what was happening. Elphinstone, governor of Bombay, wrote to Lawrence, the future governor-general ; "After the siege was over, the outrages committed by our troops are simply heart-rending. Wholesale vengeance is being taken without distinction of friend or foe. *As regards looting, we have indeed surpassed Nadir Shah* (Italics ours)."[36]

Next to suffer were the city buildings. The principal mosques

were occupied by the British troops, and there was a general discussion in the Anglo-Indian press regarding their fate. There was a proposal to sell the Grand Mosque of Shah Jahan. Another was to use it as a "barrack for the main guard of European troops," as in the opinion of some officers at Delhi it could "never be allowed to remain in the hands of the Muslim population." Muslims were allowed to use the mosque only after five years. Some parts of the Fathpuri Masjid, the second largest in the city, remained in non-Muslim hands till 1875. The beautiful Zinat-ul-Masajid, built by Aurangzeb's daughter, was only given back to Muslims by Lord Curzon in the beginning of the twentieth century.

What the royal palace and the Fort suffered was even worse. The palace proper, *i.e.* the residence of the royal family and the other connected buildings were completely razed to the ground. Fergusson, the historian of Indian architecture, says that "the harem and the private apartments of the palace, covering more than twice the area of Escurial, or in fact, of any palace in Europe" and containing gardens, courts and buildings which to judge by the corresponding structures in the Agra Fort, built by the same monarch "must have vied with public apartments in richness and beauty" were completely destroyed. "Not one vestige of them now remains. The whole of the *harem* courts of the palace were swept off the face of the earth to make way far a hideous British barrack without those who carried out this fearful piece of vandalism, thinking it even worthwhile to make a plan of what they were destroying or preserving any record of the most splendid palace in the world."[37]

The public buildings in the Fort also suffered. The more important ones were retained, but "without the courts and corridors connecting them they lose all their meaning and more than half their beauty." The contents of the palace were of course, looted, and even structural decorations were dug out. Fergusson continues, "When we took possession of the palace, every one seems to have looted after the most independent fashion. Among others, a Captain (afterwards Sir) John Jones tore up a great part of platform, but had the happy idea to get his loot set in marble as table-tops." Some of these table-tops he again sold to the government, presumably to the India Office. "Two of these he brought home and sold to Government

for £500, and were placed in the India Museum. No one can doubt that the one with the birds was executed by Florentine, or at least Italian artists," while the other was a copy from Raphael's picture of Orpheus charming the beasts.

Perhaps an even bigger loss was the destruction and dispersal of the royal library, where rare and illuminated works had been collected since the days of Babur and Akbar. It must have suffered during the ravages of the eighteenth century, but there is evidence to show that it was in existence in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and was being used by certain scholars of the capital.[38] Its contents were so varied and comprehensive that religious teachers like Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz and Maulana Nazir Husain Muhaddis are stated to have utilised it for rare religious works. This library was looted and scattered to all corners of the earth so that we find some leaves of one royal album at Patna, a few in Berlin, some more in the Bibliotheque Nationale at Paris, though of course, the major portion found its way to the public and private libraries of England.

What happened to the royal library is a matter of conjecture, but there is clear, contemporary evidence about the looting and destruction of other big libraries built up by rich nobles, interested in arts and sciences. For example, those who have seen the papers of Sir Henry Elliot in the British Museum are aware of the use which he made of Nawab Zia-ud-din's extensive library. Nawab Sahib was a brother of the Nawab of Loharu and had spent a fortune in building up a library of rare historical and literary works. About this library (and another) Ghalib, who for some time suffered the nightmare of having lost his own works, wrote in a letter: "I have a brother-in-law, Nawab Zia-ud-din Khan. He used to collect my prose and poetry, and his library contained complete manuscripts of my prose and poetical works. This library, which at a very modest estimate was worth Rs. 20,000/- has been looted. Not a sheet has been left". Ghalib has the same tale of woe to tell about the library of another friend, Husain Mirza, the *Nazir* of the Mughal king. Ghalib also wrote about his and Zia-ud-din's houses. "Both these houses were swept clean. Neither a book was left, nor chattel". Another major library, whose plunder has been recorded was that of Maulana Sadr-ud-din Azurda, the famous scholar and *Sadr-us-Sudur*.

The Hindu population was allowed to return to the city in

January, 1858, and Muslims were allowed a few months later, but the destruction of buildings continued for long thereafter. The large areas between the Jami'a Masjid and the Fort, which are now covered by an extensive park were originally the principal residential quarters of the Mughal nobility, and contained the large Akbarabadi Mosque, where Shah Wali-Ullah used to teach. All these buildings were ploughed up and the entire area cleared, so that there should be a suitable field of fire beyond the walls of the Fort, which was to house the British garrison.

Perhaps the biggest loss was cultural. In this the most vital loss was that of the libraries, but human beings also suffered grievously. Many scholars, poets and men of letters (like Sahbai, Maikash and Maulana Muhammad Baqir) perished in the massacres. Others like Dagh, Hali and Azad, had to seek refuge at Rampur, Hyderabad, and Lahore, and other distant places where they could keep body and soul together. The cultural importance of Delhi came, of course, to an end with the Mughal court, but it also ceased to be a place of learning.

In course of time peace and order returned. The civil authorities, many of whom were all along unhappy at what was happening, were at last able to assert themselves. Canning, the governor-general, who was nicknamed "Clemency Canning," was of a kindly disposition, and the extracts, we have quoted from the writings of Commissioner Saunders and his wife, would indicate their humane and gentle outlook. The Anglo-Indian press was, however, preaching vengeance, and the tradition of the bloodthirsty Hodson did not die easily, but gradually good sense prevailed, and by slow stages a return to civil administration was effected. Even some arrangements for a partial payment of compensation for losses suffered by citizens were made. Delhi recovered but it was now a small appendage of the "non-regulated" province of the Punjab. The grand edifices built by a succession of the Mughal monarchs remained as a reminder of what had existed once, but they were an empty shell. The Delhi of the Mughals had perished for ever.

FRUITS OF THE GREAT STRUGGLE

The sack of Delhi in 1857-58 was a human and cultural tragedy, but every cloud has a silver lining. Even the enforced dispersal of scholars and writers of the Mughal capital had its value. Lahore now replaced Delhi as the cultural centre of

Muslim India, and this was possible—and Urdu became firmly rooted in the Punjab - because of the work of Hali and Azad, two migrants from Delhi. Similarly, although Delhi ceased to be a place of learning, those who had drunk at this fountainhead and had imbibed the spirit of Shah Wali-Ullah and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz established two great centres of learning at Deoband and 'Aligarh, not far from the old capital.

Ghalib, sheltered behind the protecting walls of the court physician of the Sikh Maharaja of Patiala, saw the whole tragedy of Delhi enacted before his eyes. His letters contain a poignant account of these happenings, but he was too much of a robust Mughal to be permanently downcast. He had long foreseen the break-up of the old system, and his "message" was :—

They gave me the glad tidings of the dawn in the dark night.

They extinguished the candle and showed me the rising sun.

The fire-temple got burnt ; they gave me the breath of fire.

The idol-temple crumbled down and they gave me the lamentation of the temple-gong.

They plucked away the jewels from the banners of the kings of 'Ajam.

In its place they gave me the jewel-scattering pen.

They removed the pearl from the crown, and fastened it to wisdom.

Whatever they took away openly, they returned to me in secret.

To all appearances the nation-wide uprising was a dismal failure, bringing suffering and misery to the subcontinent and in particular to the leaders of the movement and.its participants. In reality, however, the struggle had far-reaching results. It led to a complete administrative overhaul, a reorientation of the British policy in religious and other matters, and developments in the political field which were to pave the way for the later political struggle and the final independence. For one thing, the control of the subcontinent was transferred from the East India Company to the British Government, which now for the first time took direct responsibility for the administration of the area. This meant the replacement of an indirect and even irresponsible rule by a direct system of administration. The old expansionist policy at the expense of the native administered territory was totally abandoned. No Indian state was later annexed, and Hyderabad

which was marked for an early annexation in the days of Dalhousie, escaped that fate. In religious matters also, the British learned a bitter lesson and adopted a policy of tolerance and respect for local sentiments, which had not been visible in the first half of the nineteenth century.

In the political field a beginning was made, which was to have far-reaching consequences. Even before the embers of the Great Revolt had died down, and while Martial Law was yet in force, (Sir) Syed Ahmed Khan, a sincere friend and fervent admirer of the British, whose loyalty had been tested in the Great Struggle itself, sat down to analyse the "Causes of the India Revolt". With his sturdy commonsense and characteristic fearlessness, he pointed out that the basic cause of the revolt was that the government had no means of knowing the views of the vast population, which was directly affected by its legislative and administrative measures. This criticism, coming from a well-tried friend, was reinforced by the observations of many Englishmen who wrote books, pamphlets and articles analysing the causes of the revolt, and the British with their characteristic ability to learn from experience, took remedial measures. In 1861, the Indian Councils Act was brought into operation, which provided for the appointment of Indians to the Governor-General's Council for the first time. It marked the beginning of the association of the native population with the upper administrative councils of the subcontinent, which gradually expanded under the pressure of public opinion, and ultimately led to the complete transfer of political control to India and Pakistan, in 1947.

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CHAPTER XXV

MUGHAL ADMINISTRATION

Mughal administration owed much to earlier reforms and experiments.

The administrative history of Muslim India has a certain unbroken continuity. In the disturbed conditions of pre-Mughal India dynastic changes were frequent, but Muslims have a strong sense of historical tradition and it would have been surprising if the results of administrative experiments in one generation had not been passed on to the next. The administrative structure which goes under the name of "Mughal administration" and which the British took over in the eighteenth century was the culmination of the experience gained during centuries of Muslim rule, and owed not a little to 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, Sher Shah Suri, and even to pre-Muslim system of government. The histories dealing only with rulers like Akbar "have not been able to bing Akbar in proper historical perspective with the result that they have ignored the heritage of the past and the forces that were responsible for his actions." Professor Qanungo, on the other hand, has tried to prove in his study of Sher Shah Suri, "that most of the credit that has gone to Akbar should have been given to Sher Shah in the field of administrative reforms." These controversies are due to the narrow compass within which writers studying a particular ruler or an age have dealt. By describing the prominent and permanent features of administrative organisation of all periods, we have tried to steer clear of this difficulty, but it may be useful to reiterate that although in this chapter we shall deal mainly with the administration of the Mughals, that administration had drawn heavily on the past.

The Central Government.

The organisation of the Mughal central government was essentially on the same lines as that of the Sultanate. The principal officers of the central government, having ranks similar to the ministers, were four: (1) *Diwan* ; (2) *Mir Bakhshi* ; (3) *Mir Saman* ; and (4) *Sadr*.

The first dignitary was often called the *Wazir*. He was mianly

concerned with the revenue and financial administration, but as he had a say in all matters involving expenditure, the work of other departments also came under his supervision, and he functioned as the king's minister *par excellence.* All the imperial orders were first recorded in his office before being issued, and the provincial governors, district *faujdars*, and leaders of expeditions came to him for instructions before proceeding to the assumption of their duties. All the earning departments were under his direct control, and the *Bakhshi*, the *Khan-i-Saman* and the *Sadr* could spend only the revenues, which the *Diwan* raised.[1] Occasionally a higher dignitary, designated the *Vakil*, was also appointed and functioned like the *Na'ib* (Deputy) of the Sultanate period, but creation of this office as of the corresponding post under the Sultanate, was sporadic, and depended on the wishes of the monarch and the requirements of the situation.

The *Mir Bakhshi* performed the duties which were the responsibility of the *Ariz-i-Mumalik* during the earlier period. Owing to the organisation of the civil services on military lines, his power extended far boyond the War Office, and some foreign travellers have called him the Lieutenant-General or the Captain -General of the realm.

Sadr-i-Jahan (or briefly *Sadr*) was, as in the earlier period, head of the religious department, charities and endowments. The main departure from the Sultanate was in respect of the fourth minister. Work relating to state *karkhanas*, stores, ordnance and communications was now so important that the dignitary dealing with it, and called *Mir Saman*, ranked as an important minister often senior in rank to the *Sadr*.

Wazir or Diwan.

The splendour and stability of the Mughal rule was due to a succession of very capable rulers, but they attempted to build up an efficient administrative system, and chose their principal officers with care and on the basis of merit. The most famous *Diwan* under Akbar was Raja Todar Mal, who for a time acted as the chief minister of the realm, but the contribution of Khwaja Mansur and Mir Fathulla Shirazi to the building up of Akbar's revenue administration was perhaps equally great. Under Jahangir, I'timad-ud-daula, the father of Nur Jahan, who was a *Diwan* even before the king's marriage with his daughter, remained the chief *Wazir* and *Diwan* till his death. He was succeeded by his son Asaf Khan, who became the

Vakil just before the death of Jahangir. In course of time, I'timad-ud-daula and Asaf Khan became connected with the throne on account of family ties, but both were able, efficient officers, and held high positions in the state even before Jahangir's marriage to Nur Jahan. In the next reign, Asaf Khan maintained his position until his death, but his successors were selected on the basis of their scholarship and technical efficiency. 'Allami Afzal Khan remained Shah Jahan's *Diwan* for ten years, and the office was held from the nineteenth to the thirtieth year of Shah Jahan's reign by the celebrated Sa'dulla Khan, who, like his predecessor, had risen from the ranks on the strength of his learning, wisdom, character and resourcefulness.

The *Diwan*, who can perhaps well be called the Finance Minister, had under him two principal officers, called *Diwan-i-Tan* and *Diwan-i-Khalsa*, who were in charge of salaries and state lands respectively. It is interesting to note that all the assistants of the *Diwan-i-Khalsa* under Shah Jahan's reign were Hindus, and five out of the seven Heads of *Diwan-i-Tan* (salaries) Division belonged to the same community. Raja Raghunath Rai, who had been *Diwan-i-Khalsa* for some years, became sole *Diwan* in the thirty-first year of Shah Jahan's reign, and maintained this position until his death, during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Aurangzeb's principal *Wazir*, who held this office for 31 years, was Asad Khan, originally his *Mir Bakhshi*. Apart from him, the most famous *Mir Bakhshi* of the Mughal period was Shaikh Farid, who played a decisive role in the enthronement of Jahangir.

The Organisation of Public Services.

While the departments of the Central Government under the Mughals were organised broadly on the same lines as under the Sultanate, Mughal rule saw a far-reaching development in the domain of public services This was the building up of a graded *mansabdars*' cadre of picked, well-paid officers, who were appointed by the emperor, and manned all important offices in the empire.

Percival Spear has compared the higher *mansabdars* of the Mughal period to the British civil service which ruled India in the nineteenth century, and adds, "In fact the British officials may be called their reincarnation in Anglo-Saxon form. They inherited their prestige and much of their power, their aloofness and some of their pride, their subordination and something of their wealth.

There is even a curious correspondence in their numbers" (p. 150). There is no doubt that a centrally recruited and centrally controlled corps of officers, who could be transferred anywhere within the empire, contributed greatly to the cohesion of the Mughal rule, and to the administrative unification of the country.

Under the *Mansabdari* system, every important officer of state held a *mansab* or an official appointment of rank and emoluments. In 1573-74, Akbar classified the office-holders in thirty three grades, ranging from commanders of ten to commanders of ten thousand. The principal categories of Mughal *mansabdars* were, however, three; those in command of ten to four hundred were commonly styled *mansabdars*; those in command of five hundred to two thousand and five hundred were *amirs*, and those in higher ranks belonged to the category of *umara-i-kibar* or *umara-i-'izam*. The highest *amir* in the third category was honoured with the title of *amir-ul-umara*. Till the middle of Akbar's reign, the highest rank which any ordinary officer could hold was that of a commander of five thousand; the more exalted grades between commanders of seven thousand and ten thousand were reserved for princes of the royal blood. Towards the end of Akbar's reign and under his successors these limits were relaxed.

Originally each grade carried a definite rate of pay, out of which the holders were required to maintain a quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden and carts. But even in Akbar's day and in spite of safeguards introduced by him, the number of men actually supplied by a *mansabdar* rarely corresponded to the number indicated by his rank, and under Akbar's successors greater latitude was allowed. The *mansabdars* were paid either in cash or by temporary grant of *jagirs*. Theoretically, the *mansabdars* received fabulous salaries, which appear all the more excessive when it is realised that they were not normally maintaining all the troops they were expected to keep. The salaries of the *mansabdars* in the highest grade, for example, ranged from Rs. 12,000 a month to Rs. 30,000. As against this the highest salary of a provincial governor in British India before 1947 was Rs. 10,000 a month, but as pointed out by Sri Ram Sharma, the comparison is misleading. "The salaries of the Mughal governors represented their total cost to the State and a part of it returned to the State in the excess of the value of the presents governors

made to the emperor over the gifts which they received from him. No extra travelling allowances and no entertainment money were sanctioned, no extra staff provided for and no amusement arranged for. Further, out of his salary the governor was expected to maintain a certain number of beasts of burden and carts[a]...This was only a part of the monthly charge. The whole staff of the provincial governor was to be maintained by him. The governor had a diwan, a bakhshi, sometimes a wazir, a chief-secretary, a news-writer, a personal assistant, a reader and a mir-i-saman ; besides a host of minor officials of his own whom he paid out of his own pocket. He maintained a vakil at the imperial court."[2]

Even with all the expenditure which *mansabdars* had to incur, their emoluments were very high, and it was also known that by their failure to maintain the proper number of horses, etc. the *mansabdars* defrauded the government. During the days of Shah Jahan, the practice was introduced of paying salaries for a period less than the full twelve months of the year. Sometimes only four months' pay was allowed, with a view to neutralising the unauthorised profits of the *mansabdars*. Even with these safeguards, and allowing for the fact that the income from *jagirs* did not often correspond to expectations, the *mansabdars* were very highly paid. This led to an extravagant style of living, especially as on the death of a *mansabdar* all his property was taken over and sealed by the state, pending the satisfaction of the claims of the state, and there was therefore a reduced incentive to economy. The high scale of salaries, however, enabled the state to attract the ablest and the most ambitious individuals, from almost the whole of southern and western Asia.

Recruitment to the ranks of *mansabdars* was made by the emperor, who "usually acted on the recommendation of the leaders of the military expeditions, the governors of the provinces and high officials of the court." There were no public examinations or formal arrangements for selections. In addition to the *mansabdars*, who may be treated as gazetted officers, there was a class of *ahadis*, who though holding no official rank, were employed in posts in proximity to the royal court or palace or

(*a*) Thus a *panj-hazari*, who received Rs. 30,000 a month had to pay Rs. 10,796 for the maintenance of elephants, horses, camels, mules and carts (S. R. Sharma, *Mughal Administration*, p. 108).

important offices. They were usually young men of position and good family, who were not fortunate enough to secure a *mansab* on their first application, but were given an opportunity to show their worth, and were promoted for good work to the ranks of *mansabdars*.

Provincial Administration.

Provincial administration was greatly improved by Akbar and in this respect Mughal period differs substantially from the Sultanate. The boundaries of the provincial units were more definitely fixed and a uniform administrative pattern, with minor modifications to suit local conditions, was developed for all parts of the empire. Further, drawing upon the experiments introduced by Sher Shah, the provincial administration was strengthened, and each province was provided with a set of officials representing all branches of the state activities. By the introduction of an all-India cadre of *mansabdars*, liable to be transferred anywhere at the behest of the central government and by introduction of other checks, the control of the centre over the provinces was made more effective.

The principal officer was the governor, who was called *sipah-salar* under Akbar and *nazim* under his successors, but was popularly known as *subadar* and later only as *suba*. Next to him in official rank, but not in any way under his control, was the provincial *diwan*, who was in independent charge of the finances of the province. He was usually a *mansabdar* of much lower status than the governor, but he was independent of the governor's control and was directly under the imperial *diwan*.

Next important functionary was the *bakhshi*, or the paymaster. He performed a number of duties, including occasionally the functions of the provincial newswriter. The *diwan-i-buyutat* was the provincial representative of the *Khan-i-Saman*, and looked after roads and government buildings, supervised imperial stores and ran state workshops. The *sadr* and the *qazi* were entrusted with religious, educational and judicial duties.

The *faujdar* and the *kotwal* were the two other important officials. The *faujdar* who was the administrative head of the *sarkar*, roughly corresponding to the modern destrict, was appointed by the emperor but was under the supervision and guidance of the governor. He combined in himself the responsibilities which were entrusted under the British to two officers—the district Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police.

The *kotwals* were not provincial officers, but were appointed by the central government in the provincial capitals and other important cities, and performed a number of executive and ministerial duties similar to the modern Police Commissioners in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. The important ports were in charge of the *Mir Bahr*, corresponding to modern Port Commissioner but with powers over customs also.

The Mughals, like their predecessors, did not interfere with the local life of the village communities. These functioned practically like small village republics, and as pointed out by Sir John Malcolm were "an establishment which had formed the basis of all Indian governments." The Mughals had no resident functionary of their own in the villages. The *muqaddam* was normally the *sarpanch* (head of the village *panchayat*) and these *Panchayats*, or village councils, continued to deal with local disputes, arrange for watch and ward, and perform many functions now entrusted to the local bodies.

Fiscal System.

The Mughal fiscal system was based on a division of revenue and expenditure on an imperial or central and a provincial or local basis. The principal heads of central revenue were land revenue, customs, mint, inheritance of unclaimed property, presents, monopolies, and indemnities. Land revenue was the principal source of income and was estimated during Akbar's reign at 363 crores of *dams*. It rose to 880 crores of *dams* during Shah Jahan's reign. The principal items of expenditure were the defence services, the general administration, including all grades of the civil service, the court and the royal palace, and buildings and other public works. The provincial sources of income were the assignments of land revenue granted to the provincial governor and his officials as a remuneration for their services, miscellaneous taxes and cesses, transit dues and duties, fines and presents.

Land Revenue.

The Mughal revenue system was based on the division of the empire into *subas* or governorships, *sarkars* or districts, and *parganas*, sometimes styled *mahals*, consisting of a number of villages. The revenue staff had also to perform miscellaneous administrative duties. The revenue officials in the rural areas were also entrusted with the task of keeping the public peace, and performing miscellaneous and emergent work. The revenue work in the *sarkar* was looked after

by the *amalguzar*, who would correspond to the modern Afsar-i-Mal (Revenue Officer).

The levy of land revenue was based on "survey settlement" calculated after a detailed measurement of the cultivated area and classification of the soil. The nature of the crops grown and the mean prevailing market prices were taken into consideration in fixing the final assessment. This assessment system, which was evolved after many experiments, became the basis of the survey settlement of the British period. Akbar's revenue system in most of the areas was *rayatwari*, the revenue being assessed directly as far as possible on the individual cultivator, and was payable in cash. Akbar introduced the system in the greater part of northern India, while during the viceroyalty of Aurangzeb, it was extended to the Deccan. The revenue system, as evolved under Akbar, was thoroughly sound, but the government demand was heavy and amounted to one-third of the total produce. Abul Fazl tried to justify it by referring to the abolition of many miscellaneous cesses and taxes, but it is not certain whether all the cesses abolished by the royal order were given up by the subordinate officials. In the settlement of the Deccan during Aurangzeb's viceroyalty, the state share was reduced to one fourth.[3]

Mughal kings, particularly Akbar and Aurangzeb, continued to make cautious experiments and improvements in the land revenue system. The basic data was collected by detailed measurement of land and assessment of the yield and estimates of productivity of each *pargana* or assessment circle. When sufficient data had been collected, the system of Group assessment was introduced, with the alternatives of measurement and sharing being held in reserve. "Measurement being practised for a period long enough to furnish adequate data of productive capacity and being then replaced by Group assessment based on those data, and continued until such time as economic changes should render them obsolete"[4] was the usual practice.

Mughal rulers wanted the revenue system to operate fairly. "One has only to read the rules for the guidance of Collectors of revenue included in the Ain-i-Akbari to realise that fact. The Collector was directed to be the friend of the agriculturist ; to give remissions in order to stimulate cultivation ; to grant every facility to the ryot, and never to charge him on more than

the actual area under tillages ; to receive the assessment direct from the cultivator and so avoid intermediaries ; to recover arrears without undue force ; and to submit a monthly statement describing the condition of the people, the state of public security, the rate of market prices and rents, the conditions of the poor and all other contingencies."[5]

In a predominantly agricultural area like the Indo-Pak sub-continent, the land revenue system is the touch-stone of a government's efficiency and benevolence. The Mughal system has been studied in detail, and even critics like Edwardes and Garrett have had to admit "without hesitation that the principles of the land revenue system were thoroughly sound, and were conveyed to the officials in a series of instructions which were all that could be desired."

The state demand—at least on paper—was high, but anyone who studies the procedure for giving relief to the ryot in case of hardships, the general instructions to the collectors and the details of the system of assessment and mode of recovery is bound to be struck not only by the professional competence of men like Todar Mal, Shah Mansur, and Amir Fathullah Shirazi, but also by the statesmanlike benevolence motivating the basic policy of the state. The British paid special attention to revenue administration, and introduced many improvements, but it can be said without injustice that on certain important points the Mughal system was superior to that which was evolved over a long period. As an example, one may take the assessment of lands newly brought under cultivation or reclaimed after having fallen out of cultivation. "Some additional light is thrown on the policy of development by the chapters in the *Ain* dealing with the assessment of land which had fallen out of cultivation, and then been broken up afresh. Three scales of assessment were recognised, to be applied according to circumstances. In the first of these, the assessment began at two-fifths of the ordinary rates, and rose to the full amount in the fifth year. In the second, and more favourable scale, a very low charge in grain was made for the first year, rising by degrees until the full demand was taken in the fifth ; while under the third scale, applicable to land which had been uncultivated for five years or more, the initial charge was nominal, rising to one-sixth, one-fourth, and finally one-third of the produce. A collector was thus in a position to

contribute materially to the recovery of villages which had been impoverished by the calamities."[(b)]

These well-considered concessions applied also to "the improvement in the class of the crops." The Collector was "authorised to reduce the standard rates on the more remunerative crops, when this was necessary in order to secure an increase in the area under them ; he could make temporary reduction in the schedules of rates in case of land which had gone out of cultivation, so as to stimulate its reclamation ; for extension of tillage in waste land he could agree to almost whatever terms the peasants offered ; and when the village headmen exerted themselves successfully with this object he could allow them a substantial commission by way of reward."[(c)] It is very doubtful whether the corresponding provisions under the British system were half as liberal or flexible.

The British revenue organisation was essentially based on the Mughal system, but with one important difference. "The village accountant (*i.e., patwari*) who throughout the Mughal period was a servant of the village and not of the state"[(d)] became now a servant of the government. Those who are acquainted with the conditions in the villages know the far-reaching consequences of this one measure. Not only did it nullify much of the gain accruing to the agriculturists owing to the reduced government demand in modern times, but it destroyed at one stroke the autonomy of the ancient small self-contained village republics.

Military Organisation.

Mughal rulers did not maintain a large centrally recruited standing army. They depended for the purposes of war and defence upon four different classes of troops; (a) soldiers serving under the *mansabdars,* who were expected to bring to the field a certain number of soldiers indicated by their *sawar* rank or otherwise specified in their warrant of appointment; (b) contingents raised and commanded by autonomous but tributary chiefs; (c) *dakhili* or supplementary troops paid by the state and placed under the command of the *mansabdars;* (d) *ahadis,* or a body of gentlemen trooper. The pay of an *ahadi* was higher than that of an ordinary trooper. According to *Ain-i-Akbari,* several *ahadis* drew more than Rs. 500 a

(*b*) Moreland, p.113.
(*c*) *C.H.I.*, Vol. II, p. 463.
(*d*) E. & G., p. 205.

month, while an ordinary trooper drew nominally Rs. 7 or Rs. 8 a month after deduction of the maintenance charges for his horse and equipment.[6]

The cavalry was the mainstay of the Mughal Army. The infantry was very numerous on paper but its only effective section consisted of the musketeers. The artillery was wholly paid out of the imperial treasury. Akbar gave it special attention, but his efforts to secure from the Portuguese some of their better pieces were unsuccessful. Later on European gunners were employed in appreciable numbers but no permanent improvement was effected, and during the eighteenth century the Mughal army, considerably weakened during the period of decline, was outclassed by the *jazair* or swivel-guns manned by Nadir Shah's disciplined gunners.

The exact strength of the Mughal army cannot be correctly ascertained. Sir Jadunath Sarkar estimates Shah Jahan's army in 1648 at 440,000 infantry, musketeers and artillery men, and 185,000 cavalry commanded by princes and nobles. The effectiveness of the army depended on the personal vigour and martial qualities of the commander of the individual contingent, but pitted against the disciplined European soldiers, or hardy, resourceful Maratha horsemen, it did not prove effective. The Italian writer and adventurer, Manucci, who himself was a gunner in the Mughal army for some time, wrote during the reign of Aurangzeb that 30,000 good European soldiers could easily sweep away the authority of the Mughals and occupy the whole empire. A similar opinion had been expressed by Bernier during the last days of Shah Jahan. This may be an exaggeration, but basically it was true. The loose composition of the army, the paucity of officers, the failure to build up a well-knit and active pyramidical organisation, reduced military efficiency. There were no uniforms, and discipline was poor, particularly in lower ranks. The cavalry was the only branch which was considered respectable and fit for a gentleman to join, while the ordinary Indian foot soldier "was little more than a night watchman and guardian over baggage, either in camp or on the line of march." The Mughal practice of taking a huge number of camp followers, including occasionally the families of the soldiers and the royal *harem*, made the army a very cumbersome, slow-moving, organisation.

The Mughals coming from land-locked Turkistan were even

The Navy.

less effective on the sea. They had no large fighting vessels and the ships that they maintained were primarily for the furtherance of the commercial operations of the state. After the conquest of Gujarat, the Mughal army reached the shores of the Indian Ocean, but Akbar failed to build a navy and tacitly acquiesced in Portuguese supremacy by making no effort to challenge it, and by taking out licences from them for the ships which he sent to the Red Sea.

There was not much of a Mughal navy, but to deal with the pirates in the Bay of Bengal and also for the purpose of communication over the vast river system of Bengal, a river flotilla was maintained at Dacca. Under Akbar it consisted of 768 small armed vessels and boats, and was estimated to cost about Rs. 29,000 a month. It was not effective against the Magh and Portuguese pirates, but under the efficient administration of Mir Jumla and Sha'ista Khan, it was reorganised, and in 1664 the latter was able to inflict a decisive blow on piracy in these regions.

Shortly thereafter, an opportunity offered itself to Aurangzeb to make some naval arrangements on the West Coast. The Sidi of Janjira, who was originally in the service of the Sultan of Bijapur guarding the course of shipping with his fleet, found that the Sultan was either unable or indisposed to assist him when he was attacked by Shivaji, and in 1670 offered his services to the Mughal emperor. Aurangzeb welcomed the offer. The Sidi was placed under the Mughal governor of Surat and was subsidised out of the imperial exchequer. In 1682, an additional fleet was fitted at Surat to co-operate with the Sidi against Marathas. The Mughal government treated him as part and parcel of its organisation, but owing to the poor organisation of its naval side, the Sidi was very much of an independent power and in course of time his descendants founded the modern state of Janjira near Bombay.

Judiciary.

The judicial system of the Mughals was practically on the same lines as that of the Delhi Sultanate. It became more systematic, particularly under Auranzeb, but as compared with the judicial structure of British India, it was very simple, being based on a different approach to many categories of disputes and even in judicial procedure. Normally no lawyers were allowed to appear.[e] Disputes were speedily settled,

(e) Moreland and some other British writers consider this a great defici-

primarily on the basis of equity and natural justice, though of course, in the case of Muslims the injunctions and precedents of Islamic law applied, where they existed. Many crimes—including murder—were treated as individual grievances rather than crimes against society. The complaints in such cases were initiated by the individuals aggrieved, rather than by the police, and could be compounded on payment of compensation (*qisas*). The aim of the judicial system was primarily to settle individual complaints and disputes—the criminal court was normally called the *diwan-i-mazalim*, *i.e.* the court of complaints—rather than enforcement of a legal code.

All foreign travellers have commented on the speedy justice of the Mughal courts and the comparative paucity of cases coming before them. The latter position was due partly to the general prejudice against litigation, but even more to the fact that a large number of disputes particularly those affecting the Hindus, were settled by the village and caste *panchayats*, and did not come before the official courts. The Hindus were not debarred from taking cases before the *qazi* or the governor—and frequently did so where other arrangements did not prove effective—but normally had their own arrangements for settling their disputes. Badauni has recorded that according to Akbar's orders the cases of Hindus were to be decided by the Hindu judges and not by the *qazis*. The Jesuit Father, Monserrate, says that "Brachmane (Brahmans) governed liberally through a senate and a council of the common people"—referring presumably to the administration of justice by these agencies. (f)

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ency. The share of an efficient bar in building up a sound judicial system is obvious, but if the number of the new statutes, from which, for good reasons, lawyers are now being excluded, is taken into consideration, the omission would not appear to have been necessarily harmful. Modern judicial system is one of the great gifts of Britain to this subcontinent, but it has its darker side. At least, in its initial stages it proved ruinous to the simple peasantry. Maurice Zinkin, formerly a member of the Indian Civil Service, writes, "It was not without reason that the peasants of Allahabad, who had faced with equanimity the Marathas and the Mughals and the Englishmen fled in panic when they heard that the High court was coming" (*Asia and the West*, p. 81).

(*f*) The local usage or "the custom" ruled in rural areas. When the Punjab Customary Law was under discussion in the British Parliament in 1872, it was said about the pre-British period, "Not one out of ten—perhaps not one out of a hundred—persons in the Punjab was governed by the strict pro-

The judicial courts provided by the Mughals were principally of two types—the secular and the ecclesiastical. Except during the reign of Aurangzeb, the principal courts for settlement of disputes were presided over by the king, the governors, and other executive officers. Akbar used "to spend several hours of the day in the disposal of judicial cases and appeals and sometimes would order the transfer to his own tribunal of original civil suits of importance." Terry speaks of Jahangir "moderating (*i.e.* mediating) in all matters of consequence which happened near his court, for the most part judging *secundum allegata et probata.* Shah Jahan held his court every Wednesday in the Diwan-i-Khas, and after hearing the plaints reported by his judicial officers in the presence of the parties, and ascertaining the law from the *ulama* (canon lawyers), pronounced judgment on the facts submitted to him. Aurangzeb likewise dispensed justice daily in his private chamber."[7] Manucci and others have eulogised Shah Jahan's justice and commented on the admirable character of his judicial administration.[8] The governors followed the same procedure in provinces and in the *Ain-i-Akbari* we find the instructions issued to the governor of a province detailing the judicial procedure he should follow.

Apart from the secular courts and the *panchayats,* the principal agency for the settlement of disputes was the *qazi's* court. The *qazi*, being the repository of Muslim law, attended the hearing of cases by the executive authority, whether governor, *faujdar* or *kotwal*, and assisted them in arriving at decisions consonant with the Quranic precepts. Presumably the civil disputes of Muslims were, as a rule, left to the *qazi* to be settled according to the canon law. Where both the disputing parties were Hindus "the point was referred to the judgment of the Pandits or Hindu lawyers."[9] According to Baillie's *Digest of Muhammadan Law*, "Non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim state are not subject to the laws of Islam. Their legal relations are to be regulated, according to the principles of their own faith."[10] Baillie bases this principle on the *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri,* the authoritative digest of Islamic Law prepared under the instructions of Aurangzeb. The great latitude given to non-Muslims under Islamic system can be seen by the relevant entry in this authoritative work to which Baillie

visions of the Hindu or Muhammadan law" (Quoted in Rankin's *Background to Indian Law.*, p. 16.).

refers (*Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, Vol. II, p. 357) and which he sums [g] up by saying, "Zimmees or infidel subjects of a Mussalman Power do not subject themselves to the laws of Islam, either with respect to things which are of a religious nature such as fasting or prayer, or with regard to such temporal acts, as—though contrary to the Muhammadan religion—may be legal by their own, such as the sale of wine or of swine's flesh, because 'we' have been commanded to leave them at liberty in all things, which may be deemed by them to be proper, according to the precepts of their own faith"[11] These provisions presumably related to the areas wholly or mainly populated by the *Zimmis*. In case of Muslims, the secular types of criminal suits went to the *kotwal* while the religious and civil cases, such as concerning inheritance, marriage, divorce and civil disputes went to the Qazis' courts.[12]

The death punishment had normally to be confirmed by the emperor, but there seem to have been departures from this rule. A Dutch resident of India states that fines represented the normal mode of settling all disputes in Mughal India. Capital punishments and mutilations were, however, not rare and were occasionally enforced with cruelty. There are even records of im-

(*g*) Baillie's version of the relevent entry in *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri* is somewhat misleading. This comprehensive book is a compendium of all authoritative rulings—including those which are not in perfect or apparent harmony with one another. The chapter relating to the *Zimmis* (which has been given a wrong heading—*Bab-ul-Jizya* in the Urdu translation, (*vide Fatawa-i-Hindia*, Vol. III, pp. 435—447) is a very comprehensive one, but the large majority of the authorities hold that in non-religious matters the laws and practices of the *Zimmis* will not prevail in the cities where the Muslims predominate. A distinction is, however, drawn in all cases where the *Zimmis* had surrendered on certain agreed terms, which have to be respected at all costs. Incidentally, according to the *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*, the *Zimmis* are free to construct or repair their places of worship in the non-Arab towns and villages in which they are in a preponderating majority, and can restore them to their original condition even in the Muslim cities. Apparently, orders regarding the wholesale destruction of new temples, and banning of repairs which appear in some of the contemporary histories and even in some *farmans* were issued by Aurangzeb before the compilation of the *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri* and were the work of enthusiasts. While considering these orders, it has to be borne in mind that at one time Aurangzeb's Qazi issued an order prohibiting the reading of *Maktubat* of Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani, although there is ample historical evidence of the emperor's regard for the saints of this *silsila*.

paling, dismemberment and other cruel punishments, but they were limited in number, as they were inflicted only under the royal orders, and were confined to those occasions where an example was to be made of the individual concerned. Imprisonment was not a method of punishment that appealed to the Mughals. It was seldom used as a sentence in private cases, though it was sometimes resorted to for preventive purposes. Whipping was more largely used. The Muslim punishment of parading the offender in an ignominious condition (*tashhir*) seems to have been frequently resorted to as it coincided with the Hindu tradition as well.

Aurangzeb had a Digest of Islamic Law, covering several volumes, prepared to facilitate the task of the *qazis*. He was, perhaps, the first ruler to appoint a separate Chief Qazi, the previous practice having been generally to treat the Sadr, in charge of religious endowments, as the Qazi of the Realm. Under Aurangzeb the number of *qazis* was greatly increased. Previous to him many cities were without *qazis*. In the early days of Jahangir, even a big city like Sirhind remained without a *qazi*. Aurangzeb, believing that the appointment of *qazis* to administer Islamic law in all towns was a major responsibility of a Muslim king, took steps to secure this. There were, however, frequent complaints of the corruption of the *qazis* under Aurangzeb and the later rulers. This was probably due, as pointed out by Ibn Hasan, to the fact that the *qazis* were paid inadequately. The *qazi*, for example, of the capital, was in the *mansabdari* grade of only five hundred *zat*.[13] The presumption with regard to *qazis* and teachers in Muslim society has been that, although they should be provided with subsistence, they perform their functions out of a sense of religious duty. In the atmosphere of luxury and high living, which developed in later Mughal society, this presumption was rarely fulfilled and very few *qazis* maintained the high standards of integrity expected of them.

ESTIMATES OF MUGHAL GOVERNMENT

The government of "the Grand Mogul", as it was often called, enjoyed a high reputation in contemporary Europe. For a long time afterwards, when memories were still fresh, the same impression continued. Warren Hastings spoke warmly of the work done by the Mughals and called on the officers of the East India Company to keep their example before them. Sir John

Shore, who was Governor-General of India from 1793 to 1798 also spoke appreciatively of the Mughal system of government "in which the rights and privileges of different orders of the people were acknowledged and secured by institutions derived from the Hindus, which while faithfully and vigorously administered, seemed calculated to promote the prosperity of the natives, and to secure a due realisation of the revenues of the state."[14] Scrafton, who was British Resident in Murshidabad in 1758, and published his *Reflections on the Government of Indostan* only six years after the battle of Plassey, says about the Mughal system of administration that till the invasion of Nadir Shah, "there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce and agriculture flourished exceedingly ; and none felt the hand of the oppression but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power."[15]

Recently, however, the administrative system of the Mughals has been the subject of very adverse comment by Vincent A. Smith[(h)] and W. H. Moreland, which now appears in a concentrated form in the *Mughal Rule in India* by Edwardes and Garrett. These comments have led to spirited rejoinders, among others, by Faruki, Sri Ram, Saran, and Banarsi Prasad. Moreland, relying mainly on the accounts of the European travellers and in particular on the complaints made by the English and the Dutch traders against the Mughal officials in charge of ports and customs, has painted a very grim picture of the Mughal administration. His *Akbar to Aurangzeb,* though ostensibly a study of the social and economic conditions of the Mughal period, is, apart from sections dealing with the foreign trade, designed solely to bring out the deterioration in the condition of the country at the hands of the Mughal officials from the death of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb, and has very little to say about the principal matters with which historians usually deal in relation to social and economic conditions. In paragraphs more reminiscent of

(*h*) For a detailed analysis of Smith's criticism of Mughal administration and of Shah Jahan's failure to deal with the famine of 1631-32, see P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, pp. 425-431. He considers Smith's estimate and criticism "not only quite wrong, but also most unfair and unbecoming". Sri Ram has also devoted several pages to deal with Vincent Smith's "undue severity of biased criticism" and the "skilful use of 'suggestive disparagement' adopted by Messrs Edwardes and Garrett" (See *Mughal Empire in India* by Sri Ram, pp. 472-476).

Hyde Park oratory than sober history, Moreland sums up : "Weavers naked themselves, toiled to clothe others. Peasants themselves hungry, toiled to feed the towns and cities. India, taken as a unit, parted with useful commodities in exchange with gold or silver, or, in other words, gave bread for stones. Men and women, living from season to season on the verge of hunger, could be contented so long as the supply of food held out ; when it failed, as it often did, their hope of salvation was the slave trader, and the alternatives were cannibalism, suicide or starvation."[16]

To make out his case for the misery of the peasants, Moreland has relied on Aurangzeb's order that in order to bring more land under cultivation, every method should be employed, and if by use of concessions, grant of loans and other reasonable and favourable treatment, the required results were not obtained, force should be used. Moreland's main line of argument, brought out largely by quotations from the accounts of foreign travellers,[i] is that the condition of the peasantry very much deteriorated under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, and became infinitely worse during the reign of Aurangzeb.

There is no doubt that under a personal system of government there is a great scope for administrative oppression, and owing to the prolonged war in the Deccan conditions in certain rural areas must have been abnormally bad during the later days of Aurangzeb. We have dealt elsewhere with the general deterioration in administration which began in Jahangir's reign. Moreland's basic thesis regarding the treatment of peasantry under Aurangzeb is, however, not warranted, either by the data available or by a fair and careful study of Aurangzeb's conscientious and perfectly defensible instructions. Moreland has held that the increase in revenue from the days of Akbar to the days of Aurangzeb in itself is a measure of increased burden which the peasantry had to bear. Faruki has, however, shown that owing to the large-scale addition of new territories, and continuous efforts at increased cultivation, the area under plough had increased by 119%

(*i*) We have strongly urged on extensive but a cautious use of the accounts of these travellers, but their weaknesses need not be overlooked. According to Tara Chand, these accounts are "interesting but not altogether reliable" (T. Chand, *A Short History of the Indian People*, p. 376). Sir Jadunath Sarkar has also dealt at length with the deficiencies of these accounts (*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. 1, pp xxi-ii).

(*i.e.* from 12,70,440 *bighas* in 1594, to 27,81,76,156 *bighas* in 1720), while the revenue assessment increased by 75%. Further, although standard assessment of revenue was Rs. 33,26,96,241, the actual collections amounted to Rs. 18,99,34,863, *i.e.* a little above one half of the actual demand.[17] Faruki has dealt at length with various points raised by Moreland. It is not possible to deal with these details here, but even on a superficial study of the subject, it appears a strange misreading of Aurangzeb's fiscal policy to hold that he favoured increase of financial burden upon his subjects. The full effect of his remission of early eighty taxes or cesses, has not been worked out, and even if it is accepted that some of these remissions were not given effect to by dishonest officials, these must have brought considerable relief to the general population. So far as the land revenue in northern India is concerned, Aurangzeb made no change in the old arrangements. He, however, worked out a new revenue system for the Deccan, and here one can clearly see the characteristics of his fiscal policy. He fixed the state demand at one-fourth, against one-third fixed by Todar Mal during Akbar's days. Even this proportion was high by modern standards, but surely it was lower than Akbar's and shows the direction in which the wind was blowing in Aurangzeb's reign.

The shift from rural areas to the cities was not confined to Aurangzeb's days, and need not have been due merely to causes unflattering to the Mughal administration. The position of the Indian agriculturist with agriculture being a proverbial "gamble in rains", could not have been happy under the Mughals, as it is not very happy even today, in spite of a series of measures taken for the agriculturists' benefit. In 1932, the Reserve Bank of India, after a careful survey of agriculture in the subcontinent, came to the conclusion that by and large it was "uneconomic". The position under the Mughals must have been similar, if not worse, but the development of new cities under the Mughals, the growth of foreign trade with its economic consequences, increased scope for employment under the government, must have also made towns and cities more attractive than the rural areas.

According to Smith, "the hired labourer in the time of Akbar and Jahangir had probably more to eat than he has now".[18] Moreland also admits that in Akbar's days "speaking generally, the masses lived on the same economic plane as now".[19]

So far as official oppression is concerned, there is no doubt that the Mughal system of government was, in the last analysis, despotic and as we have stated earlier, official corruption increased from Jahangir's days. There were cases of oppression and official corruption, but Moreland omits to mention the continuous efforts made by the rulers to deal with them and the large number of instances in which officials against whom complaints were received, were punished. On these points, he ignores the evidence not only of Muslim chroniclers, but of Hindu writers like Sujan Rai. Saran has quoted numerous such cases. After examining the entire system, he has come to the conclusion: "In view of these agencies of restraint and supervision of the local administration, it would be no exaggeration to say that due allowance being made for stray cases of misgovernment or oppression—cases which occur even under the best of Governments and which no Government can entirely eliminate—peace and security reigned and the people were on the whole happy and contented."[20]

Dealing with the "European criticism" of the Mughal government, Sri Ram says: "European critics, partly judging by modern standards and partly reluctant to acknowledge that India was even more prosperous than in modern times, are rather chary to admit the truth of the above (favourable) description........."[21] It is not necessary to attribute motives, but apparently many modern English writers, by concentrating attention on some facts of the situation, and by ignoring others, have painted a picture which is, by and large, misleading. For example, by concentrating on occasional acts of religious discrimination and intolerance they have created an impression that there was systematic and continuous persecution of the Hindus, while the contemporary European travellers and particularly the Jesuits were almost shocked at the state of toleration, which they saw in the country.

Some continental writers have seen things more clearly and fairly, Bartold, the eminent Russian orientalist says in his survey of *Mussulman Culture*: "Only India under the grand Mughals lived under different conditions; and the Islamic state in that country was superior to contemporary Europe in riches and religious tolerance" (p. 144).

It is interesting to turn from Vincent Smith and Edwardes and Garrett to a slightly earlier British historian. Sydney Owen

writes in *The Fall of the Mogul Empire*:

".........the Great Mughul winked at and condoned the misbelief of the bulk of his subjects, and their strange practices ; showed special favour to their more eminent men ; admitted them freely to high posts, both civil and military, and thus, figuring in the capacity of the father of all his people, made it their interest and their pride to serve and sustain a regime so liberal, comprehensive and considerate".[22]

Sydney Owen describes the principal features of the Mughal government in the following words :—

"Though the Government was despotic, and particular acts of great severity are recorded, its general tone was mild and humane. Taxation was light ; and its most productive source, the land revenue, was moderately assessed, and equitably adjusted. Foreign commerce was protected and favoured ; and the English East India Company throve, and multiplied its factories, under the shadow of the Imperial authority. The judicial system, though what we should consider crude and capricious, as well as too often corruptly exercised, was not liable like our own to the tedious delay, which have been its reproach, and which have so much tended to obstruct, and even defeat, the course of justice. And the right of appealing to the Emperor from inferior tribunals, though too generally a futile privilege, was sometimes really remedial, and probably was a standing check to judicial iniquity. Much the same may be said as to the provincial Governors."[23]

Owen recalls that in the middle of the seventeenth century, the empire of the Great Mughal "was renowned both in Asia and in Europe", and sums up the position thus : "Whatever its defects, it was, on the whole, a grandly conceived, well-adjusted, and beneficient structure of dominion."[21]

Causes of the Mughal Downfall.

A number of factors were responsible for what appears to be the sudden collapse of the Mughal authority after the death of Aurangzeb, but the basic cause was one. The Mughals maintained a mighty empire for centuries, and established a government and a social organisation, impressive by Asiatic standards, but they had not been able to keep pace with the rapid, almost cataclysmic changes which were taking place in intellectual matters, military organisation, instruments of offence and defence, and other factors which make for stability and prosperity of a state. The intellectual

revolution in western Europe, the new spirit and the new discoveries, the wide diffusion of knowledge due to the introduction of printing had released forces which were bound to result in European domination. "At the same time that Europe has been steadily advancing, the stationary Muhammadans had been relatively falling back, and every year has increased the distance between Europe and Asia in knowledge, organisation, accumulated resources and acquired capacity, and made it increasingly difficult for the Asiatics to compete with the Europeans." It was merely a question of time when a medieval organisation, however impressive, would give way before the modern.

Modern Muslim apologists are never tired of saying that the Muslim Arabs took the torch of learning to Western Europe, and were at one time the intellectual leaders of the world. They, however, fail to point out that while Europe steadily continued to march forward, in the East forces of progress were defeated by the forces of conservatism and reaction. Partly it was the fault of the "progressives" to which we have referred while dealing with the intellectuals at Akbar's court. Partly it was the result of historical developments. The destruction of libraries and seats of learning during the Mongol holocaust and the rigorous methods adopted by the ruling groups, vested interests and champions of conservatism, were other factors responsible for Muslim intellectual stagnation. The political system which came to dominate the Muslim world was not conductive to free intellectual growth. The result was that not only progress stopped, but there was actual regression, resulting in increasing loss of objectivity, moral courage and intellectual curiosity.

The decline of Muslim government in India as in other lands was basically due to their failure to progress in vital fields in proportion to the progress elsewhere. Most of the causes directly responsible for the Mughal decline stemmed from this root. Even a ruler so open-minded and receptive as Akbar failed to see the possibilities of the introduction of printing. Without a general spread of knowledge, unattainable without printing, no great society could be built. The paucity of books resulted in comparative ignorance, lower standards of education, and limitation of the subjects of study. These factors were responsible for the governing classes being ignorant of the affairs of the outside world. The position becomes clear if we only study the list of

the books about the Indo-Pak subcontinent which were printed in Europe during the seventeenth century, *i.e.* before the death of Aurangzeb. While the European statesmen had penetrating and up-to-date studies of the conditions in Mughal empire by Bernier and others before them, there was no real addition to the Mughal knowledge of their own dominion since the days of *Ain-i-Akbari.*

The stagnation visible in the intellectual field was paralleled in the military sphere. Babur had introduced gun-powder in India but after him there was no real improvement in military equipment of the Mughals. The organisation and discipline of forces had been completely revolutionised in the West. The Portuguese had brought ships on which cannons were mounted and had thus introduced a new element which made them masters of the Indian Ocean. What was a fortified wall round the country became a highway, and opened up the empire to those countries, which had not remained stagnant. In spite of this, the Mughals neglected the navy. Mughal helplessness on the sea was visible from the days of Akbar. Their ships could not sail to Mecca without a 'safe-conduct' from the Portuguese. Foreigners knew this weakness and exploited it. Sir Thomas Roe had warned Jahangir that if Prince Shah Jahan as governor of Gujarat turned the English out, "then he must expect we would do our justice upon the seas." The failure of the Mughals to develop a powerful navy and control the seas surrounding their dominions was a direct cause of their replacement by an European power having these advantages.

On land no real progress or large-scale training of local personnel in the use of artillery was made or undertaken in Mughal India and the best they could do was to hire foreigners to man the artillery. The military weakness resulting from this was obvious, and was clearly visible to discerning foreign observers. Writing about the Mughal army, Bernier wrote in the early years of Aurangzeb's reign : "I could never see these soldiers, destitute of order, and marching with the irregularity of a herd of animals, without reflecting upon the ease with which five-and-twenty thousand of our veterans from the army in Flanders, commanded by Prince Conde or Marshal Turenne would overcome these armies, however, numerous."[25] With this condition of the Mughal army, of which the alien observers were aware, the

downfall of the empire was only a question of time.

The causes of the military weakness of the Mughals were not merely technical. The deeper causes were economic. If the army was to be properly organised trained and equipped, it had to be a large professional army. The greatly increased use of firearms and artillery necessitated this. The feudal cavalry was unequal to the task, but the maintenance of a large standing army on modern lines was not possible without a proper economic base which was not provided by the predominantly agricultural economy maintained on a low technological level.

The other important factor which contributed to the fall of the Mughal empire was the moral decay of the ruling classes. This was partly due to the ease and luxury, which was engendered by the peace and prosperity introduced by the Mughal government and which became the order of the day under Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The good things of life were in such abundance and such high standards of living were maintained by monarchs like Shah Jahan and queens like Nur Jahan that rich ostentatious living became the ambition of everybody who could afford it. The puritanical Aurangzeb tried to arrest the tide but without success. His own *Wazir* did not follow his example, and in any case the evil had gone too far and was only driven underground to reappear, within ten years of the Emperor's death, in the uncontrolled orgies of his grandson Jahandar Shah, and a few years later under Muhammad Shah *Rangila*. Perhaps the extreme asceticism and self-denial of Aurangzeb only intensified the reaction and the inner resistance on the part of the spoiled nobility. Aurangzeb was nearly 20 years in the hills of Deccan, while his nobles pined for the pleasures of the capital. Some of them like Ni'mat Khan 'Aali had their revenge in verses ridiculing and satirising the fate of the Mughal army. The moral breakdown of others took a more reprehensible shape. Mughal commanders were no longer the tough, hardy soldiers of the days of Babur and Akbar and they adopted all stratagems to shirk arduous, unpleasant tasks. Many a Maratha hill fortress captured after a long and dreary siege was lost because the Mughal commander was unwilling to spend the monsoon months in his lonely perch and came down to the plains, while the hardy Marathas, awaiting for the opportunity, moved in. "The demoralisation of the army was one of the principal factors in the disintegration of

the empire."[26]

The moral decline of the nobles showed itself not only in a loss of spirit, lack of discipline, laziness, evasion of duty or even treacherous conduct, but made them rapacious and heartless in dealing with the public. The extravagant standards, which the Mughal bureaucrats tried to maintain were not possible without corruption, extortion and the enrichment of officers directly or indirectly at the expense of the state. These evils increased as the Mughal authority weakened during the eighteenth century, but their seeds had been sown in earlier days and they were a natural result of the efforts of the officers to maintain standards beyond their means.

The demoralisation of the Mughal nobility was greatly accelerated by the play of economic forces. Extravagant living was facilitated by the new sea-borne trade with Europe which made large scale import of European novelties and luxuries possible. Corruption of bureaucracy was also engendered by the fall of the value of money, due to the import of specie and other factors. The economic structure of the society was also undergoing far-reaching changes. The place of Muslims in the vastly increased maritime trade was taken by foreigners or their local agents, who were Indian Christians or Hindus or Parsis. At the ports or big commercial centres a new class of businessmen and financiers was arising, but Muslims had no share of this economic activity.

The moral decline deepened with the breakdown of the fabric of government, and later of society. Even ordinarily society under a despotic regime, largely unregulated by written and enforced civil laws, has many ugly features. It breeds sycophancy and stunts moral growth. The position becomes much worse when there is little to share, and everybody is cruel and ruthless and indulges in unscrupulous struggle to grab what he can. In Muslim India of the eighteenth century, the position was saved for some by spiritual influences. Later the reforms of Shah Walli-Ullah and his sons infused a new life among the Muslims and provided the basis for the efforts of Sayyid Ahmad Brelvi and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. In the later half of the eighteenth century, however, it appeared that the political affairs of the community were, to quote Keene, in the hands of "an aristocracy without conscience" and were governed by "that base and tortuous selfishness, which in the East more than elsewhere, usually passed for state-

craft."(j)

These were the basic factors responsible for the downfall of the Mughal empire. Many others were contributary. The fact that after the death of Aurangzeb no ruler of the requisite vigour and resourcefulness sat on the throne made recovery of the position lost impossible. Even the very long life of Aurangzeb was an asset of doubtful value in its last stages. He sat on the throne till the age of ninety and though, till the very end, he drove himself hard and resolutely, and conscientiously performed his duties, he was subject to the laws governing human machinery. When Aurangzeb died, his son and successor Bahadur Shah was already an old man of sixty. He began well but was on the throne for barely six years before death overtook him, and with his death a disastrous chapter opened in the Mughal annals.

An important factor, which militated against the peaceful continuity of the Muslim government, was the absence of a well-defined rule of succession. Islam had not visualised monarchy, and Muslim law did not lay down any principles for monarchical succession. The result was that every son of a deceased king felt that he had an equal claim to the crown, and succession to the throne was invariably accompained by bloody warfare. "Within a little more than a decade after Aurangzeb's death, seven fierce battles for imperial succession occured, in which large numbers of princes, and trained soldiers were slain." One of these wars brought the Sayyid brothers to the fore, and released forces which struck a devastating blow to the prestige of the Mughal monarchy. Apart from this loss of valuable personnel in repeated wars of succession, there was a continuous dislocation of administration. A disastrous development started when the princes, often viceroys governing vast territories, and their supporters, started making deals with the outsiders, to ensure their support at the time of the fateful struggle. Shuja' started this in Bengal with foreign settlers. Later the Marathas were called in and that was the beginning of the end.

Vincent Smith has stated that the basic cause of the decline of the Mughal empire consisted in its "shallow roots," as it

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(j) *Vide* Surgeon Gray's appraisal of a later Oriental court in a neighbouring country, "where, indeed, each man strives to harm his neighbour, where truth is not, nor honour ; where Vice and Villainy walk at noonday unveiled" (*Vide, At the Court of the Amir*, p. 523).

"lacked popular support, the strength based upon patriotic feelings, and stability founded upon ancient traditions."[27] Edwardes and Garrett have endorsed this view. It is, however, totally incorrect. Mughals, of course, came as foreigners, but they so completely identified themselves with the population here that they ceased to be treated as such. The aim of the Mughal kingship was, as pointed out by Sydney Owen, to be "the father of all the people," both the Hindus and the Muslims, and this aim was normally pursued. The Mughal empire, far from having any "shallow roots," was so deeply embedded in the affection of the people, that long after it ceased to be a major military or political force, it continued to exist mainly on account of its prestige and the affection it inspired. Even when the Marathas, the declared enemies of the Mughals, secured real power at Delhi, they did not disturb Shah 'Alam. [k] The fact that the Mughals had never to face any widespread rising, like the Indian Struggle of 1857, would itself show how deep-rooted and strong their hold was.

It has also been stated by Edwardes and Garrett that Aurangzeb's "jealous orthodoxy" estranged the Shi'a Muslim population and paved the way for political disintegration[l]. The learned historians of Mughal rule do not seem to be aware, that, as Hollister points out, the majority of Aurangzeb's nobles were Shi'a. In his early youth—especially when referring to the Shi'a and Iranians who supported the kingdoms of Deccan—he occasionally spoke as a bigoted Sunni, but he relaxed after ascending the throne and many of his principal nobles, like Mir

(*k*) It is true, a Maratha became the *Vakil-i-Mutliq*, but the relation of Shah 'Alam with Sindhia was no different from that of Raja of Satara with that of Peshwa. It seems very likely that but for the British intervention, a new political pattern, preserving Mughal monarchy might have become stabilised. Dr. Topa says in *Our Cultural Heritage*, "The Indo-Muslim kingship had successfully ruled because of its inherent capacity for adjustability to political conditions" (p. 97). This capacity does not seem to have disappeared even in the days of Shah 'Alam.

(*l*) E. & G., p. 338. Dr. Qureshi seems to share this view, when he says, "that one of the causes of the downfall of the empire was the failure of the emperor [Aurangzeb] to secure better cooperation from the non-Sunni sections of the empire" (*The Muslim Community*, pp. 164—5).

In the light of a careful appraisal of facts, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Qureshi's *obiter dictum ;*

"It was natural that a tradition should grow up of cooperation between the Shi'as and the Hindus against the major section of the Muslim community" (Vide, *The Muslim Cammunity*, p. 169.),

Jumla, Amir Khan, Murshid Quli Khan, were known to be Shi'as. The view that Shi'a-Sunni differences amongst the nobles led to the downfall of the empire is not borne out by close study. Of course these differences became intensified in the eighteenth century and were occasionally exploited by ambitious adventurers—like Safdar Jang and 'Imad-ul-mulk—to promote their personal interests, but by and large they remained within manageable limits, and rarely assumed a shape where Muslim interests were seriously jeopardised. As Scrafton says, "The Mohammedans in other parts of the world are enthusiasts to their religion ; but here the sects of Osman and Ali never disagree about who was the lawful successor to the Caliphate, if they agree about succession to the Government they live under."[28] Mir Jumla was a Shi'a, but he commanded Aurangzeb's army against his Shi'a brother, Shah Shuja'. Similarly the Sayyid brothers were Shi'as, but in the supreme crisis of the day, the leading Shi'a noble, Burhan-ul-mulk (and many other Shi'as) sided not with them, but with the Sunni Turani nobles. Another crucial moment was, when before the third battle of Panipat in 1761, the Marathas tried, by offering every possible bribe and argument, to obtain Shuja'-ud-daula's support against his hereditary enemy, Ahmad Shah Abdali, a Sunni Afghan, but failed. It is unnecessary to go into detailed reasons for the situation, but a careful study of the history reveals that although Shi'a-Sunni differences had ugly possibilities, and at time led to strained relations, they did not alter the course of events.

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CHAPTER XXVI

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Trade.

The financial and commercial sector of national life was, during the Mughal rule as under the Sultanate, almost exclusively monopolised by the Hindus, and was characterised by the same high level of achievement which is noticeable, under the Mughals, in the other spheres of national activity. Vera Anstey, a recognised authority on the economic history of India, has pointed out that up to the eighteenth century, Indian methods of production and of industrial and commercial organisation could challenge comparison with those in any other part of the world.[1]

The accounts of European travellers bear testimony to vast wealth which the Indian merchants, mostly the Hindus, accumulated, their organisation, and their ability to control political life through their power of the purse. On this point it would be worth while quoting O'Malley at length :

"Manrique estimated that there were as many as six hundred brokers and middlemen at Patna, most of whom were wealthy men. At Agra he met merchants of immense wealth, and, if he can be believed, saw money piled up like heaps of grain in their houses. There were some merchant princes at the head of firms which had branches in all the main commercial centres of the empire, controlled the wholesale trade, and were advanced enough to use bills of exchange or letters of credit and to engage in insurance business, including marine insurance. One of them, Virji Vora of Surat, who was a banker as well as a merchant, was reputed to be the richest merchant in the world. He was the monopolist of European imports on the west coast, being at the head of the syndicates which bought up cargoes valued at five hundred thousand rupees. In the next century there were, as Burke remarked, merchants and bankers who vied in capital with the Bank of England and whose credit often supported a tottering State. Prominent among them were the Seths of Murshidabad, a Marwari firm of millionaires bankers, who dominated the Indian

financial world. They financed both the farmers of revenue and the government of Bengal to which they gave bills of exchange at sight of a crore of rupees (equivalent to a million sterling), and have been not inaptly called the Rothschilds of India."[2]

In British India not only were the higher posts in the civil services and the army reserved for the British until towards the end of the British rule, but the British had also a lion's share of the most lucrative spheres of the country's commerce, banking and industry. In Muslim India, the Hindus were supreme in the field of economic activity. If Muslims had advantages in higher posts of administration (excluding revenue) and in the army, Hindus had practically the monopoly of trade and finance. Bernier, writing in the days of Aurangzeb, affirms that the Hindus possessed "almost exclusively the trade and wealth of the country."[3] O'Malley, depending on a contemporary Dutch account, says, "In the first half of the seventeenth century it was noticed that practically all the industrial workers were Hindus, the Muslims practising scarcely any handicrafts except weaving and dying, while the subordinate operations of trade were carried on by the agency of Hindus, who were responsible for all the book-keeping, buying, selling and general business of brokerage on behalf of the Muslim merchants who employed them. Later the Hindus seem to have improved their position, holding the power of the purse as financiers, bankers, merchants and traders."[4]

It was the normal policy of the Timurid rulers, inside and outside India, to encourage trade. In India Sher Shah Suri had, shortly before Akbar, taken far-reaching steps to encourage internal trade by linking up the distant parts of the country through an efficient system of roads and by abolition of inland tolls and duties. The Mughals more than maintained Sher Shah's policy, but what distinguishes Mughal rule is the importance which foreign trade attained during this period. It was partly the result of the discovery of the sea-route to India, but its progress would have been limited if conditions in the country had not favoured foreign trade. "The growth of European trade was not merely related to the peace and centralisation which followed in the wake of the Mughal rule, but the Mughal government took active steps to encourage it from the very beginning." Both Akbar and Jahangir interested themselves in the foreign sea-borne trade, and Akbar himself took part in commercial activities for a time.

The extension of foreign trade was primarily due to the fact that with rare exceptions, the Mughals welcomed the foreign trader, received him with courtesy and consideration, provided ample protection and security for his transactions, and levied very low custom duty (usually no more than $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ *ad valorem*). Even then large-scale foreign trade would not have been possible except for the expansion of handicrafts and industry, resulting in large surplus of exportable goods. It existed because the country had goods and commodities to offer, and it is interesting to note that Indian exports "at that time consisted mostly of manufactured articles, and cotton cloth from India was in great demand in Europe and elsewhere. Indian trade in dye stuffs centred around indigo, so much sought after by European traders. Saltpetre, pepper, spices, opium, sugar, woollen and silk cloth of various kinds, yarn, asafoetida (*hing*), salt, beads, borax, turmeric, lac, sealing wax and drugs of various kinds, figured among the articles of export." The principal imports were bullion, horses, and a certain quantity of luxury goods for the higher classes, like raw silk, coral, amber, precious stones, superior textiles (silk, velvet, brocade, broadcloth), perfumes, drugs, china goods and European wines. By and large, however, in return for their goods Indian merchants insisted on payment in gold or silver. Naturally this was not popular in England and other countries of Europe. Sir Thomas Roe bitterly complained lamenting that "Europe bleedeth to enrich Asia,"[5] but the demand for articles supplied by India was so great and her requirements of European goods so limited that Europe was obliged to trade with India on her own terms, until the eighteenth century, when special measures were taken in England and elsewhere to discourage the demand for Indian goods.

Industry and Handicrafts.

The chief export of India during the Mughal rule consisted of textiles. In particular, the manufacture of cotton goods had assumed such extensive proportions that in addition to satisfying her own needs India sent cloth to almost half the world. "Besides feeding her own markets, India also supplied the east coast of Africa, Arabia, Egypt, Burma, Malacca, the Straits, and certain minor Asiatic markets."[6] The textile industry which was well established in Akbar's day, continued to flourish under his successors, and soon the operations of Dutch and English traders brought India into

direct touch with Western markets. This resulted in great demand for Indian cotton goods from Europe, which naturally increased production at home. Even the silk industry—especially in Bengal—was in flourishing condition. In fact, Bernier wrote, "There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common stockhouse for these two kinds of merchandise, not of *Hindostan* or the Empire of the *Great Mogol* only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe."[7]

Apart from silk and cotton textiles, other main industries were shawl and carpet weaving, woollen goods, pottery, leather goods and articles made of wood. Chittagong, owing to its proximity to sources of suitable timber specialised in shipbuilding, and at one time supplied ships to distant Istanbul. The commercial side of the industry was in the hands of middlemen but the Mughal government, like the earlier Sultans, made its own contribution. The emperor controlled a large number of royal workshops, busily turning out articles for his own use, for his household, for the court and for the imperial army. Akbar took special interest in the development of indigenous industry. He was directly responsible for the expansion of silk weaving at Lahore, Agra, Fathpur Sikri and in Gujarat. He opened a large number of *karkhanas* at important centres and imported master weavers from Persia, Kashmir and Turkistan to train local artisans. He also sent envoys to foreign countries to bring their products for copying. Haji Habibullah was sent to Goa and a number of craftsmen were sent along with him to acquire the arts of the Europeans.[8] Akbar took so much interest in the indigenous handicrafts and industry that he would frequently visit the workshops near the palace and sit and relax while watching the artisans at work. This naturally encouraged the craftsmen, and their status was raised in the eyes of others, Akbar went further in his efforts to build up various industries, like shawl and carpet weaving. "In order to foster a demand for such goods, Akbar ordered the people of certain ranks to wear particular kinds of locally woven coverings—an order which resulted in the establishment of a large number of shawl manufactories in Lahore ; and inducements were offered to foreign carpet-weavers to settle in Agra, Fathpur Sikri and Lahore, and manufacture carpets to compete with those imported from Persia."[9]

These efforts resulted in great expansion of industry. In the course of time, the foreign traders established close contracts with important markets in India and new articles or commodities which were more in demand in western Europe began to be produced in increasing quantities.

Cities and Towns.

All foreign travellers praise the wealth and prosperity of Mughal cities and large towns. The Jesuit missionary, Monserrate, who accompanied Akbar in his journey to Kabul, stated that Lahore in 1581 was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia." Finch, who travelled in the country in the early days of Jahangir, found both Agra and Lahore to be much larger than London, and this testimony is supported by others. Other cities like Surat—"a city of good quantity, with many fair merchants and houses therein,"—Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Benares and Patna similarly excited the admiration of visitors. The new port towns of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and Karachi developed under British rule, but they had their predecessors in Satgaon, Surat, Cambay, Lari Bunder and other ports.

The prosperity of the cities was due to the peace and order in the country, and to the expansion of industry and commerce in urban areas. The efficient system of city government provided by the Mughals greatly helped. The pivot of urban administation was the *kotwal*—the city governor who had sweeping executive and judicial powers, but whose responsibilities were even greater. It was his duty to prevent and detect crime, to perform many of the functions now assigned to the Municipal Boards, to regulate prices, and in general, to be responsible for the peace and prosperity of the city. The efficient discharge of these onerous duties depended on the personality of the individual city governor, but the Mughals tried to ensure high standards by making the *kotwal* personally responsible for the property and the security of the citizens. Akbar had laid down (probably following Sher Shah Suri's example in fixing the responsibility of the village chiefs for thefts and robberies on roads passing through their territory), that the *kotwal* was to either recover stolen goods or be responsible for the loss. That this was not only a pious hope is borne out by the testimony of several foriegn travellers, who state that the *kotwal* was personally liable to make good the value of any stolen property which he was unable to recover. Of course, the *kotwals* often found pretexts to evade the ultimate responsibility, but these regulations kept

them on their toes and the foreign travellers have recorded the elaborate measures which they took to prevent thefts. These efforts were generally successful. Thefts in the cities were few and foreign visitors have recorded that their property was well protected. The extent of the security which prevailed in the large cities made them "reasonably comfortable places for residence and business", and naturally contributed to the prosperity of these areas.

The well-protected urban life provided ample scope for display of talent and business skill by the local commercial classes. The business acumen of the hereditary trading classes of India has been highly praised in the past. According to one traveller, they were "as subtle as the devil", and their organisation on the basis of caste guilds increased their powers. Not only were their disputes settled by their *panchayats*, but they would frequently impose pressure on the government by organised action. Foreign visitors record that the all-powerful governors and *kotwals* were very sensitive to this, and in spite of hardships inseparable from a despotic system of administration, the business communities had their own means of obtaining redress and were in a flourishing condition.

Rural Area.

The conditions in the rural areas during the Mughal period were very much the same as at present, with one important difference—the Muslim rulers had not disturbed the old organisation of the villages and state activity in the rural areas was almost exclusively connected with the collection of the land revenue. As O'Malley says, "The administrative machinery can scarcely be said to have extended to the villages." The villages had their own *panchayats* to settle their disputes, and existed as small, autonomous, village republics as they had done in ancient times. So long as the land revenue "was paid, and so long as there was no disturbance of the peace, endangering the general security or outbreaks of the crime preventing the safety of travellers and merchants, the villagers were left to manage their own affairs, with headmen and councils of elders to try their petty cases, and village watchmen to prevent crime."[10] The state impinged very little on village life, except for the collection of land revenue, but the land revenue was also very often recovered on a village basis rather than from individuals, and the age-old arrangements were preserved. The incidence of land revenue (at least theoretica-

lly) was substantially higher under the Mughal and in Hindu states (like Vijayanagar) than in British India, but the state undertook concerted measures to improve the condition of the peasantry. Apart from remission or reduction of land revenue when crops failed, there was reduction in government demand even when, on account of bumper crops, prices fell. For example, between 1585 and 1590 very large sums had to be written off because a series of exceptionally good harvests had resulted in a surplus and peasants could not sell their crops. The state also advanced loans to the cultivators and occasionally provided seeds and implements for digging wells.

The collectors were required to follow an active policy of agricultural development—to bring waste lands under the plough and to increase the area of more valuable crops. For these purposes they could reduce the rates ordinarily charged and they could also advance the capital required.[11] Loans advanced to the cultivators for seeds, implements, bullocks, or digging of wells were called *Taqavi*—an expression which has continued in modern land revenue administration.

As Moreland and Chatterjee say, "The absence of agrarian trouble suggests that the peasants, as a whole, were contented," but their lot, as that of the present day cultivator, dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon, must have been a hard one. There is some basis for believing that the Mughals concentrated more on the welfare and embellishment of the towns and cities than on villages where age-old institutions were allowed to hold their sway.

General Health and Medical Services.

One remarkable feature of the times noticed by many foreign travellers, was the good health of the local inhabitants. Fryer, writing of the mortality among the English at Bombay and the adjacent parts says, "......the country people lived to a good old age, supposed to be the reward of their temperance." Bernier also speaks of "general habits of sobriety among the people," though this did not apply to a few amongst the upper classes or the royal family. The European travellers found "less vigour among the people than in the colder climates, but greater enjoyment of health." From their accounts, even the climate would appear to have been healthy. "Gout, stone complaints in the kidneys, catarrh,......are nearly unknown ; and persons who arrive in the country afflicted with

any of these disorders soon experience a complete cure." The Mughal emphasis on physical fitness and encouragement of out-of-door manly games also raised the general standard of health. Everyone was trained to be a soldier, and was expected to be a good rider, a keen *shikari* and able to distinguish himself in indigenous games. Ovington found that the English at Surat were "much less vigorous and athletic in their bodies than Indians." Of course, in the seventeenth century there was excessive drinking amongst Europeans, which made them an easy prey to ill-health in the tropics.

Public hospitals had been provided in Muslim India, at least since the days of Firuz Tughluq, and though it would be ridiculous to compare them with the arrangements introduced during the British period, the system seems to have extended during the Mughal period. Jahangir states in his *Tuzuk* that on his accession to the throne, he ordered the establishment, at government expense, of hospitals in large cities. "That this was not merely a vainglorious and hypocritical order not intended to be translated into practice is fully borne out by the evidence of the *Mi'rat-i-Ahmadi.* We are told that hospitals were established by the imperial Government for the treatment of the sick and those who could not maintain themselves or bear the expenses of treatment. There was a physician-in-chief, and several others under him, of both the Ayurvedic and the Yunani systems. They were paid by the government and 2,000 rupees annually was granted for the distribution of medicines. It is unfortunate that the contemporary Muslim chroniclers never thought of including such matters of social importance in their records."[12]

Social Conditions.

A comparison of the social conditions under the Mughals with those of modern times would show that there has been a slow but visible change, particularly among the upper and the educated classes. In the Mughal period early marriage was very much in vogue amongst the Hindus. For girls, seven was considered to be the ideal age for marriage and the age-limit of twelve could be crossed only at the cost of grave social opprobrium.[13] Monogamy was the norm but polygamy was by no means rare—especially amongst the rich. Marriage negotiations were uudertaken by the professional broker or the friends of either party. The marriage ceremonies were more or less the same as observed at present and the character of the

average Indo-Pakistani home and the socio-ethical ideas which influenced it have not undergone any fundamental change. The son's duty to his parents and the wife's duty to her husband were viewed almost as religious obligations. The household of the polygamist was a proverbial home of troubles. Superstitions played a prominent part in the daily life of the people. Charms were used not merely to ensnare a restive husband but also to secure such other ends as the birth of a son or the cure of a disease. The fear of the evil eye was ever present, and the young child was considered particularly susceptible. People believed in all sorts of omens, and astrologers were very much in demand, even at the Mughal court.

The well-to-do Hindu city dwellers wore tussore *dhoties* and *khwasa* cloth. "On festive occasions men wore trousers called *ijars* and *qaba* or long tunic of muslin after the Mughal style. The *ijars* were worn very narrow and long with plenty of lines and creases. The richer classes (among the Hindus) had actually adopted *ijar*, shirt (*jama*) and *cabava* with a turban as their habitual outfit. But most of them put on white stuffs and their turbans were smaller and their breeches shorter than those of Muslims. They also wore stockings under Muslim influence, but these stockings it, seems, were of leather."[14]

The Muslim aristocrats and officers lived in grand style[(a)] and almost made a cult of display. "Even in the God-forsaken corners of the country, their houses had *hamams* or bathrooms, a rare luxury in Bengal, while in the houses of the Mirzas there were even audience-halls decorated with rich cushions and canopies. The houses of the Muslim gentry were big and spacious with beautiful apartments and halls. Many of these were flat-roofed and had beautiful gardens, green arbours and even covered walks. Some even had bathing pools and fish ponds. Rich Persian carpets and fine mats covered the floor in the houses of the rich. The

(*a*) This section is based on Roychaudhuri's *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir* but foreign travellers note that Muslims made a great display outside, but often niggardliness prevailed inside the house. For example, Manucci refers to those Pathans who came to the court "well-clad and well-armed, carrolling on fine horses richly caparisoned and followed by several servants" but when they reached home, "they divested themselves of all this finery, and tying a scanty clouth round their loins and wrapping a rag round their head, they take their seat on mat, and live on *Khichri* or badly cooked cow's flesh of low quality, which is very abundant and cheap" (VII, p. 453).

Muslims had benches and stools as well, but they preferred to sit cross-legged on the mat and carpets. The Muslims generally shaved their heads and kept beards. The well-to-do amongst them put silver on large *kabas* made of finest cotton cloth, silk stuffs or gold and of all the costliest things. These dresses came down to the knee, were folded around the neck and were attached in front from top to bottom. Red and white silken sashes with tasseles, from which would hang beautiful scimitars, were also used."[15]

The grave manners and the elaborate etiquette of the Muslim upper classes impressed foreign visitors. In social gatherings they spoke "in a very low voice with much order, moderation, gravity and sweetness." Betel and betelnut were presented to the visitors, and they were escorted with much civility at the time of departure. Rigid forms were observed at meals. Dice was the favoured indoor game, while polo or *chaugan*—for which there was a special playground even at Dacca—elephant fights, hunting excursions and picnics were the popular outdoor pastimes. The grandees rode in *Palkis*, preceded by uniformed mounted servants. Many "drove in fine, two-wheeled carts, carved with gilt and gold, covered in silk, and drawn by two little bulls which could race with the fastest horses."

The Muslims betrothed their children between the ages of six and eight, but the marriage was generally not solemnised before they had attained the age of puberty. Among the richer classes both polygamy and divorce are said to have been very common. Schouten notes that if a wife could prove before the *Qazi* that she had been ill-treated by her husband, or that he did not provide her with maintenance, she could secure dissolution of her marriage.[b] In such cases the female children went with their mother while the boys stayed with the divorced husband. *Purdah* was observed very strictly.

Position of the Hindus.

In spite of the systematic efforts made by Aurangzeb to apply Muslim law to the affairs of the state. the position of the Hindus greatly improved. Islamic law had been evolved in Muslim lands and was primarily intended to regulate the affairs of a predominantly Muslim society. Its effective application to a country like India, with a predominantly non-Muslim population, occasionally raised

(b) See *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir* by T. Roychaudhuri, p. 2)5.

difficult problems and even involved conflicts, but from Akbar's days most of its provisions concerning the non-Muslims remained in abeyance except under Aurangzeb. The Mughal administration was more systematically organised than the Sultanate, but the position of Hindus during this period was decidedly better than during the earlier reign. As pointed out by Sri Ram Sharma, the position of the Hindus in state services in the reign of Shah Jahan was much better than the position of the Indians under the British, until the formation of the caretaker-government on the very eve of the independence of India. Of course, they practically monopolised trade and finance[(c)]. Even in less material affairs we see a new vigour and vitality amongst the Hindus. The widespread religious movements, engendered by contact between Islam and Hinduism, had produced a new religious zeal amongst the masses not possible under the older Brahmanism which was exclusive in outlook.

The Muslim historians ignore all signs of religious revival amongst the Hindus, but there is enough evidence about its vigour and extent. The new regional literature, *e.g.* of Bengal and Maharashtra, which owed not a little to the new movement, is a clear mirror of what was taking place in the Hindu society. Hindu activities in Bengal, which have been more thoroughly studied than of other areas, indicate not only the rise of a new literature, but an era of extensive temple-building and a vigorous intellectual life. According to Roychaudhuri, "following the organisation of Bengal Vaishnavism into a well-ordered sect and the simultaneous consolidation of Mughal rule, a large number of temples were built during the comparatively peaceful and prosperous years of the later seventeenth century."[16] The significance of this phenomenon becomes clear, if it is remembered that practically throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, Aurangzeb remained on the throne of Delhi and is stated to have followed a ceaseless campaign of temple destruction! The developments in the intellectual life were equally noteworthy.

(*c*) The rich Hindu bankers even financed the rival claimants for the throne. The role of Jagat Seths of Murshidabad in the history of Bengal is well-known. Even the War of Succession out of which Aurangzeb emerged victorious was financed by the Jain bankers of Ahmadabad. For details of a loan of 5½ Lakhs of rupees advanced by a Jain banker, and *farmans* issued by Murad and Aurangzeb to repay it, see Commissariat's *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, pp. 69-76.

The rise of Navadipa as "a great centre of Sanskritic" learning and the vogue of Navyanyaya (New logic) belong to this period.

In relation to Islam, Hinduism was exhibiting a new vigour, greater self-confidence and even a spirit of aggressive defiance. Hinduism is not a missionary religion, and it is often thought that during Muslim rule conversions were only from Hinduism to Islam. This is, however, not true. Hinduism was by now very much on the offensive and was absorbing a number of Muslims. When Shah Jahan was returning from Kashmir, in the sixth year of his reign, he discovered earlier that Hindus of Bhadauri and Bhimbar forcibly married Muslim girls and converted them to their own faith. They were cremated at their death according to Hindu rites. Jahangir had tried to stop this practice but with no success. Shah Jahan also issued orders declaring such marriages unlawful. "So widespread was this practice of converting Muslim girls to Hinduism that these orders discovered more than four thousand such women."[17] Many such instances were found in Gujarat, (W. Pakistan), and other parts of the former Punjab. Partly to deal with such cases, and partly to conform to his early notions of an orthodox Muslim king, Shah Jahan opened a department to deal with conversions. According to Sri Ram Sharma, after the tenth year of his reign, Shah Jahan seems to have left the proselytising activities of the Hindus alone, but they continued. Even later, we come across several cases of the conversion of Muslims, not recorded by the court historians. A large number of Muslims—including at least two Muslim nobles, Mirza Salih and Mirza Haider—were converted to Hinduism by the Vairagis.[18] When the Sikh Guru Hargobind took up his residence at Kiratpur in the Punjab, some time before 1645, he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims. According to the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, not a Muslim was left between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan.[19] His predecessor, Guru Arjun, "had incurred Jahangir's displeasure on account of his proselytizing activities. Some Muslims accepted him as their religious leader and thus came to renounce Islam." Besides, Muslims were paying homage to Hindu holy places, and as recorded by Jahangir in his *Tuzuk*, Hindu shrines of Kangra and Mathura attracted a number of Muslim pilgrims.

The Hindu position was so strong that at a number of places they defied Aurangzeb's orders for the collection of *jizya*. For

example, on 28 January, 1693, the *Amin-i-Jizya* for the province of Malwa sent a soldier to collect *jizya* from the *jagir* of one Devi Singh. "When he reached the place, Devi Singh's men fell upon them, pulled his beard and hair, and sent him back empty-handed. The Emperor thereupon ordered a reduction in the *jagir* of Devi Singh."[20] Earlier, another *Amin* had fared much worse. He himself proceeded to the *jagir* of a *mansabdar* to collect the tax, and in these efforts was killed by the Hindu *mansabdar*. Similar opposition was offered to the orders for the destruction of the newly-built temples. "In March, 1671, it was reported that a Muslim officer who had been sent to demolish the Hindu temples in and around Ujjain was killed with many of his followers on account of the riot that had followed his attempts at destroying the temples there."[21]

Udaipur was at war with Delhi and during the operations, some temples were destroyed. "Bhim, a younger son of the Rana, retaliated by attacking Ahmadnagar and demolishing many mosques, big and small, there."[22] At places such incidents occurred without any provocation. We have referred to the letters of the Mujaddid indicating how Muslims were hindered in the performance of their religious worship during the reign of Jahangir. During the reign of Aurangzeb, "in Gujarat, somewhere near Ahmadabad, *kolis* seem to have taken possession of a mosque and prevented Friday prayers there. Imperial orders were thereupon issued to the provincial officers in Gujarat to secure the use of the mosque for Friday prayers."[23]

The Muslim historians, in order to show the extreme orthodoxy of Aurangzeb, have recorded many reports of temple-destruction. On a closer scrutiny, however, there seem to be good grounds for believing that all the reports were not correct, and quite often no action was taken on Imperial orders. For example, we read about the destruction of the same temple at Somnath during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The second destruction took place, Sri Ram Sharma thinks, as the temple had been repaired.[24] The greater likelihood is that in this and in many similar cases, in spite of orders, no destruction ever took place. The reports of the Muslim historians are not confirmed by other data relating to Aurangzeb. "If the English Factors are to be believed, his (Aurangzeb's) officers allowed the Hindus to take back their temples from them on payment of large sums

of money."[25] In course of time in Hindu areas the old temples were not touched, though the new temples were closed as unauthorised constructions.

As a matter of fact, if the situation is closely examined, it appears that the Mujaddid's complaint that under Muslim rule, as it existed in Hind-Pakistan, Islam was in need of greater protection than other religions, does not appear to have been completely unfounded. Aurangzeb, of course, tried to arrest and even reverse this trend, and some other rulers also had occasional spells of Islamic zeal, whether due to political or to religious motives. But by and large, it is perhaps fair to say that during Muslim rule, Islam suffered from handicaps and discrimination, which almost outweighed the advantages it enjoyed as the religion of the ruling dynasty. This paradox becomes intelligible if the basic Muslim political theory is kept in mind, under which the non-Muslim communities, so long as they paid certain taxes, were left to manage their own affairs. This local and communal autonomy severely circumscribed the sovereignty of the Muslim state, and in most matters the caste guilds and the village *panchayats* exercised real sovereignty, which they naturally utilised to safeguard their creed and way of life. It was this power which enabled them to evade, ignore or even defy unwelcome orders from the capital. A curious light on the situation, as it actually existed in the country, is thrown by the penalties and economic losses which a Hindu had to suffer on adoption of Islam. Practically till the end of Muslim rule, a Hindu who became a Muslim automatically lost all claim to ancestral property. Professor Roychaudhuri says :

"That in India conversion was not so brisk was partly due to the reluctance of the rulers to permit the enjoyment of all the economic privileges and rights which a convert had before his admission to Islam, though he was at once given all the economic privileges and rights under the Muslim personal law. A *Dhimmi* who turned a Muslim had to surrender his rights to ancestral and family property."[26]

This extraordinary position was a natural result of the application of the Hindu law, which, according to the Muslim legal system, governed Hindu society even under Muslim governments, and under which apostacy resulted in disinheritance. In the last days of Muslim rule, Shah Jahan, who began as an orthodox

king, tried to redress the balance by issuing orders that "family pressure should not prevent a Hindu from being admitted to Islam" and laid down that a convert should not be disinherited. Whether these orders could overcome, except in a few glaring cases forced upon the attention of the *qazis*, the subtle but solid pressure of "the joint family system" and the power of the caste *panchayats* must remain a matter of speculation.

The question, however, of the handicaps or advantages of one community against another is not so basic. It concerns only unusual and abnormal events or periods, but the important fact is that during normal times such conditions of harmony and unusual tolerance prevailed in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, as did not exist anywhere else, and were a constant puzzle, even annoyance, to European visitors. "The Jesuits, unaccustomed to religious liberty, as they had been in Europe, seem to have been as much dazzled by the toleration granted by Jahangir as they had been with Akbar."[27] The comments of contemporary foreign travellers are, indeed, most interesting and revealing. Almost every one of them had commented on the general religious tolerance and religious liberty enjoyed by the non-Muslims under Muslim rule. As we shall see, some of them got into difficulties on account of the official ban on the slaughter of animals held sacred by the Hindus. The Jesuit Fathers, of course, bemoaned and criticised this policy of tolerance of all religions. They declared the destruction of Hindu temples by Muslims "a praiseworthy action"[28] and criticised their "carelessness"[29] in allowing public performance of Hindu sacrifices and religious practices. When Akbar granted the followers of the Raushaniya sect "the freedom to follow their religion and to obey and reverence the son of their prophet (as they called him)," they were frankly critical. Monserrate sadly commented : "He (Akbar) cared little that in allowing everyone to follow his own religion he was in reality violating all religions."[30]

Even in Aurangzeb's reign a cow could not be slaughtered even in important places like Surat. Attempts made by English factors to obtain beef by slaughtering cows often led to riots. "In Surat the Hindus paid a fixed sum to the Mohammadans in return for sparing the cows. In 1608 a riot was caused at Surat by a drunken sailor Tom Tucker who killed a calf. Similar occurrances at Karwar and Honavar led to outbreaks, in one of

which the whole factory was murdered."[31] Della Vaile noticed prohibition of cow-slaughter in Bombay, but nothing brings out the true nature of the Mughal administration and its solicitude for the susceptibilities of the Hindus than the experience of the Portuguese missionary traveller, Manrique, about whom O'Malley writes :

"In a village where he stopped for the night, one of his followers, a Musalman, killed two peacocks, birds sacred in the eyes of Hindus, and did his best to conceal the traces of his deed by burying their feathers. The sacrilege was, however, detected, the whole party arrested, and the offender sentenced to have a hand amputated, though this punishment was eventually commuted to a whipping by the local official, who explained that the Emperor had taken an oath that he and his successors would let the Hindus live under their own laws and customs and tolerate no breach of them."[32]

In one important sphere, however, the Mughal government did its best to stop an old Hindu practice. This was *Sati, i.e.* "widow burning." The Muslim rulers had been actively discouraging it from the beginning, but according to the European travellers, it was totally suppressed by Aurangzeb. Akbar had issued general orders prohibiting *Sati* and in one noteworthy case personally intervened, by rapid marches, to save a Rajput princess from immolating herself on the bier of her husband. Similar efforts continued to be made in the succeeding reigns. According to Pelsaert, "governors did their best to dissuade widows from immolating themselves, but by Jahangir's orders were not allowed to withhold their sanction if their resolution could not be shaken. Travernier (writing in the reign of Shah Jahan), observed that widows who had children were not allowed in any circumstances to burn, and that in other cases "governors did not readily give permission, but could be bribed to do so." Aurangzeb was most forthright in his efforts to stop *Sati*. According to Manucci, on his return from Kashmir (December, 1663), he "issued an order that in all lands under Mughal control, never again should the officials allow a woman to be burnt." Manucci adds, "This order endures to this day."[33] As pointed out by Sarkar,[34] "this humanitarian order," though not mentioned in the formal histories is recorded in the official guide-books of the reign (*Dastur-ul-'Amal*, 1030). Of course, the possibility of an evasion of govern-

ment orders, *e.g.* through payment of bribes, exists—and continues to exist today—but European travellers clearly record that for all practical purposes, *Sati* had ceased to be practised by the end of Aurangzeb's reign. Ovington says in his *Voyage to Surat* (1689):—

> "Since the Mahometans became Masters of the Indias, this execrable custom is much abated, and almost laid aside, by the orders which *nobobs* receive for suppressing and extinguishing it in all their provinces. And now it is very rare, except it be some Rajahs' wives, that the Indian women burn at all."[35]

Europe knew the Mughal rulers only as "the Grand Mughals." They ruled a vast empire and maintained a splendid court. This has tended to obscure those spiritual and humane qualities which characterised the Mughal way of life and have endeared the *Mughal Tahzib-o-Tamadan* (Mughal Culture) to the succeeding generations of Hindus and Muslims. The activity round the royal court, though important, represents a limited sphere of national life. The greatness of the Mughals lay in the fact that their influence permeated the entire society. They exercised a powerful integrating influence, and gave the society harmony, dignity and poise.

Mughal way of life.

The human and spiritual traditions of the Mughals began with Babur, the founder of the dynasty. A hard-bitten realist and a soldier of fortune, Babur had also a tender heart. The story of his death, which he courted to bring his son's sufferings on himself, shows the inner character of the man. He also had a marked spiritual and religious streak, which evinced itself in his translation of the works of the Naqshbandi saint Khwaja 'Ubaid-ullah Ahrar, and the devotion he displayed to his teachings. His successor Humayun was a weak ruler and a poor general, but the forbearance he showed to his brothers also reflects his gentle nature. Akbar's spiritual interests are well-known. They led him astray, and created many problems. But the spiritual ideals which he placed before himself and the others had an ennobling effect on the society. He was large-hearted and intensely humane. Indeed, it is difficult not to admire the humanity of a mighty ruler who would go and sit among the artisans of the royal workshop and discuss their work with them. Even the hard-drinking Jahangir had great magnanimity of character. As Abul Fazl

says this was for the Mughals an essential qualification for a monarch, and even for the nobility.

These qualities represented the ideals held dearest in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. The Mughals valued and nourished them, till they permeated in some degree the entire society. Not that there was nothing sordid or selfish. The common people suffered from poverty, superstitions and disease. The court life, although distinguished by great politeness and dignity of manners, was also marked by hypocrisy, intrigue and a sickening atmosphere of sycophancy. This was, however, only a part of the picture and a side which came to the fore in the later days. From the days of Jahangir a marked demoralistion set in, but it would be unfair to ignore the counteracting influences. The rulers generally accepted high and noble spiritual standards which they tried to maintain and there were other disciplining forces. Religion may have accounted for superstitions but it also helped the maintenance of proper moral standards. Until the increase of foreign trade brought European rarities and novelties to the subcontinent, and exercised a great corrupting influence on the bureaucracy, the life even of the nobility was simple. Their requirements had to be mainly confined to what was produced within subcontinent, and with the Muslim and Hindu emphasis on the simplicity of life and the transitory nature of the world, living was essentially simple.

This was, of course, true mainly of the general public. The orderliness, dignity and poise of the Mughal court set the tone for society, and widespread spiritual influences gave mental peace and poise. The Sufi emphasis was not on the increase of wants but on their reduction and a peaceful philosophical attitude of mind was encouraged. Study of ethical works like *Gulistan Bostan*, *Akhlaq-i-Jalali*, *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, and *Anwar-i-Suhaili* was common during the period, and had a healthy moral influence. There were some ugly scars on the face of society but by and large a happy and healthy equilibrium had been achieved. People had learnt to live gracefully and usefully, within limited means. Even outsiders could not help "imbibing genuine respect and admiration for the simple dignity of their lives, the quiet courtesy of their manners, their uncomplaining endurance of hardships, their unbounded hospitality, and the feeling for spiritual values, which in spite of gross superstitions is unmistakable in the Indian

atmosphere".

The greatest exponent of the Mughal way of life was a Mughal—Ghalib. He was born long after the sun of Mughal glory had set and he lived to see the exile of Bahadur Shah. His basic financial resources were very meagre—sixty-two rupees and eight annas a month! Still, he managed to maintain a dignified existence and enshrine in his works the spirit of Mughal culture and the beauty and dignity of the Mughal way of life.

CHAPTER XXVII

ART AND CULTURE

The "Great Mughals" had raised a noble edifice. Not only did they build up a vast empire and administer it on principles of religious toleration and fairplay, rare in those days, but their achievements in the cultural sphere were equally striking. In the field of architecture they have left masterpieces, which continue to excite the wonder and admiration of the world. Their paintings received tributes from Rembrandt and Sir Joshua Reynolds, two of the greatest artists of the West. In Persian literature, Mughal India excelled contemporary Iran itself, and although its ornate prose and poetic conceits are not popular today, the *Sabk-i-Hindi* (the Indian school) exercised powerful influence even in distant Turkey. This was also the period of the growth of the regional languages—of Tulsi Das and Sur Das, Khushhal Khan Khattak and Rahman Baba, Shah 'Abdul Latif and Waris Shah, and of the rise and growth of Urdu.

Education.

We have dealt with the changes which took place in the educational curriculum, and the impetus which the *ma'qulat, viz.* the mental sciences like logic, philosophy and *'ilm-ul-kalam* (scholastic theology), received during Akbar's reign. About the same time, a marked improvement is noticeable in the teaching of religious sciences. This was due to Akbar's conquest of Gujarat and the opening up of ports like Cambay and Surat to those scholars from northern India who wished to go to Hijaz for further study of Arabic and Islamic sciences. The standard of learning in these subjects rose and we come across scholars like Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis (1551—1642) in this age. The extensive study of *hadis*, in which Indian scholars were to distinguish themselves in the eighteenth century, began about this time and was due to the contact with Arabia. There was vigorous educational and literary activity during the Mughal period at the capital and at other centres like Sialkot, Lahore, Ahmadabad, and Burhanpur, and as Rawlinson has pointed out, "the high degree of culture in Mughal India was largely the result of the excellent system of education."

Bernier was, however, critical of the educational methods and arrangements in the Mughal empire. He was acquainted with the improvements in pedagogy, introduced into Europe after the Renaissance and naturally found deficiencies in a system which was becoming stagnant. He deplored the lack of universities of the European type, and reproduced at considerable length the reproaches with which Aurangzeb confronted his tutor for wasting his time on metaphysics and grammar and ignoring practical subjects like geography, history and politics.[1] It has to be admitted that leaving aside the individual scholars, who specialised in certain secular subjects and the general introduction of logic and philosophy in the curriculum, the educational system was primarily religious and there were glaring deficiencies. There was great extension of education, particularly during the reign of Aurangzeb, but the content of education remained as it had been left by Fathullah Shirazi in the days of Akbar. Geography had practically no place in the curriculum, with the result that people were ignorant of geographical facts even about the neighbouring countries. The *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* give detailed and accurate information about different parts of the empire, and in the later part of the Mughal rule, books appeared giving what may be called geographical information, but these were not very scientific and did not generally become current among the educated classes. Cartography was altogether ignored.

Besides, education was not systematised, and although state gave away large sums in rent-free grants to the *ulama* setting up *madrasas* and teaching pupils, there was no separate department of education. No regular annual examinations were held, and, of course, there were no "inspections" by higher authorities to ensure maintenance of uniform standards.

It is generally thought that Muslim education decayed with the decline of Muslim rule, but the actual position was just the reverse. The reduced calls made by the state employment on Muslim manpower left more men free to devote themselves to academic and literary work. Quite a number of educational institutions and foundations, like the colleges established by Ghazi-un-din Khan Firuz Jang, Sharaf-ud-daula and Raushan-ud-daula in Delhi, belong to this period. Even the standardisation of the educational curriculum was accomplished in the eighteenth century. The *Dars-i-Nizamia*, named after Mulla Nizam-ud-din

(d. 1748) of Farangi Mahal, provided instruction in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, logic, scholasticism, *tafsir* (commentary on the Quran), *fiqh* (Islamic Jurisprudence), *hadis* and mathematics. This curriculum has been criticised for containing too many books on grammar and logic and in general for devoting too much attention to formal subjects and too little to useful secular subjects like history and natural sciences or even religious subjects like *tafsir* and *hadis*. But it provided good mental discipline and its general adoption was responsible for the widespread interest in intellectual and philosophical matters, which Sleeman noticed in the next century. In the period in which it was systematised, it was perhaps reasonably adequate for the average student. Those wishing to specialise or pursue a particular branch of knowledge went to the specialists in that subject. *Dars-i-Nizamia* may be considered as "the General Course." The needs of the students, specially interested in religious subjects, were better served at institutions like *Madrasa-i-Rahimia*, the forerunner of the modern seminary of Deoband, where *tafsir* and *hadis* were the principal subjects of study, but for those needing general mental training, and qualifying for the posts of *munshis*, *qazis* or even general state service, *Dars-i-Nizamia* provided a satisfactory basis and has been replaced only in modern times. Sleeman has paid high tribute to the quality of Muslim education in India :

> "Perhaps there are few communities in the world among whom education is more generally diffused than among Muhammadans in India. He who holds an office worth twenty rupees a month commonly gives his sons an education equal to that of a Prime Minister. They learn, through the medium of Arabic and Persian languages, what young men in our colleges learn through those of Greek and Latin—that is, grammar, rhetoric, and logic. After his seven years of study, the young Muhammadan binds his turban upon a head almost as well filled with the things which appertain to these branches of knowledge as the young man raw from Oxford—he will talk as fluently about Socrates and Aristotle, Plato and Hippocrates, Galen and Avicenna;[(a)] (alias Sokrat, Aristotalis,

(*a*) This had been noticed as early as the days of Jahangir. Sir Thomas Roe wrote in a letter addressed to Archbishop of Canterbury on 30 October, 1616, "The Mahometan Mulhaes know somewhat in philosophy and the

Aflatun, Bukrat, Jalinus and Sina).........”[2]

Sleeman writes elsewhere : "The best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Muhammadans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk subjects beyond the everyday occurrences of life. A Muhammadan gentleman of education is tolerably acquainted with astronomy, as it was taught by Ptolemy, with the logical ethics of Aristotle, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or, as they call him, Sena ; and he is a very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science and arts, and very much inclined to do so and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times.”[3]

The position is that there was widespread enthusiasm for education, and so far as ancient and medieval philosophy is concerned, there was much diffusion of knowledge through Arabic and Persian sources, but new subjects like geography did find there way into the curriculum, and there was no modernisation of the educational system, such as was taking place in Europe.

Education in Muslim India was not confined to men only. In the Mughal period, we come across scholarly and cultured princesses, and women saints. "Women, owing to the *purdah* system, could not attend public institutions, but in nearly every nobleman's establishment a school-mistress or governess was kept. Muhammadan noblemen demanded culture in their wives, and Akbar, always in advance of his age, built a Girls' school at Fathpur Sikri. Many Muhammadan women were patrons of literature and themselves writers. The memoirs of Gulbadan Begum, Akbar's aunt, are well-known and his foster-mother Maham Anaga, endowed a college at Delhi. Akbar's wife Salima Sultana, the famous Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and Aurangzeb's sister, the Princess Jahanara Begum, were poetesses of note. Muhammadan women, despite *purdah,* governed empires and led armies in the field ; among these, the Sultana Raziya of Delhi, Chand Bibi, the heroic defender of Ahmadnagar, and the masterful Nur Jahan, were the most distinguished.”[4] Aurangzeb did not encourage poetry at his court, but his own daughter, Zeb-un-Nissa was a poetess of merit.

Mathematicks, are great astrologers, and can talk of Aristotle, Euclid Averroes, and other authors."

The spread of knowledge and intellectual development is linked up with the growth of libraries. Printing was not introduced in northern India till after the end of the Muslim rule, but hundreds of *katibs* (calligraphists) were available in every big city, and no Muslim noble would be considered cultured, unless he possessed a good library. Many had magnificent collections. "The imperial palaces contained immense libraries. According to Father Manrique, the library of Agra in 1641 contained 24,000 volumes, and was valued at six and a half million rupees, or nearly three-quarters of a million sterling."[5]

Philosophy.

The philosophy which has studied in Muslim India, as in other parts of the Muslim world, was derived from the Persian and the Arabic writers but was, like the current "Yunani" system of medicine, ultimately Greek, being "little more than a modification of the Neo-platonism of the fifth and sixth centuries which combined Aristotelianism with the mysticism of Iamblichus......the philosophers, while accepting the Aristotelian doctrine of Emanations, gave their chief attention to the Aristotelian aspect of the system ; the Sufis, on the other hand, while acquiscing in the Aristotelian explanations of natural phenomena, devoted themselves almost exclusively to the theosophical side."[6]

The study of philosophy was sub-divided into two major subdivisions, namely, "Theoretic or speculative philosophy" (*Hikmat-i-Nazzriya*), which treated of matters beyond human control, and "Practical Philosophy" (*Hikmat-i-'Amaliya*), which treats of matters within human control. Each of these has three sub-divisions. Those of theoretic philosophy are : (1) "Metaphysics" or "theology" (*'Ilm-i-Ilahi*), which treats of beings essentially incorporeal, as the First Cause (*Mebda-i-Awwal*),[b] the Intelligences and the Souls; (2) Mathematics (*'Ilm-i-Riyazi*),[c] which treats of things conceivable by the mind as existing apart from the matter, but which can have no objective existence save in matter, such as quantities and magnitudes and geometrical figures. This subdivision has four departments, namely, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic and music. (3) Physics (*'Ilm-i-Tabi'i*), which deals with

(*b*) The first cause of philosophy is God in the language of religion.

(*c*) Literally "Disciplinary Science". The Muslim intellectuals used to teach this subject to their disciples to discipline their minds before starting on the more conjectural subjects of Metaphysics and Physics.

things not to be conceived as existing apart from matter, as the Four Elements and all composed of them.[d]

The three sub-divisions of practical Philosophy are :—(1) Ethics (*'Ilm-i-Akhlaq*), which treats of the duty of man considered as an individual, (2) "Economics" (*'Ilm-i-Tadbir-ul-Manzil*), which treats of duty of man considered as a member of a family or household, (3) Politics (*'Ilm-i-Tadbir-ul-Madina*) which treats of the duty of man considered as a member of a community or state.[e]

The above system of philosophy was current in most Islamic countries and in Muslim India. Even the religious writers like Shah Wali-Ullah were well acquainted with its concepts. It finds an echo in such standard books as *Akhlaq-i-Jalali*, and could be traced to very early Arabic or even Greek works. There are, however, indications to show that at least some intellectuals of Mughal India tried to keep themselves abreast of the progress of modern philosophy in Europe. Bernier who was very critical of the state of education in India admits that at least two nobles at Aurangzeb's court were keenly interested in European learning. One of them was Fazil Khan, who later became Wazir of Aurangzeb and whom "he (Bernier) taught the principal languages of Europe, after he had translated for him the whole philosophy of Gassendi in Latin, and whose leave he could not obtain, till he had copied for him a select number of best European books, thereby to supply the loss he should suffer of his person".[7] The other was Danishmand Khan who maintained Bernier over a number of years, and about whom he wrote : "Besides my Nawab, Agha Danishmand Khan, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philosophical studies in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretaty of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse. Astronomy, geography and anatomy are his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendy and Descartes."[8]

Under the Sultanate the study of medicine was confined to

(*d*) Logic (*'Ilm-i-Mantiq*) is not included in this scheme. It was not regarded as in itself a science, but as the instrument by which the sciences were investigated.

(*e*) This section follows the analysis contained in Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry*, Vol. 1, pp. 39-40.

Medical Science.

the works written in Central Asia or to the Hindu sources. Very few works of the period have survived. We have much larger material available about the Mughal period, which was marked by large-scale Iranian influence. At least five books of Yusuf bin Muhammad Yusufi (of Herat) who flourished during the reign of Babur and Humayun have survived. He wrote popular works, based on specialist and detailed works in Arabic, Persian and Indian languages. The study of medicine reached a new stage with the arrival in Akbar's reign of many physicians from Gilan, which had become an important centre of the study of medicine, philosophy and medieval sciences in Iran. Among important works of the period are the voluminous Arabic commentary on Avicenna's *Qanun* by Akbar's court physician 'Ali Gilani, and a Persian commentary on *Qanun* by Hakim Abul Fath Gilani. Shams-ud-din was Akbar's chief physician in the early part of his reign, and was given the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk (Physician of the realm). He was a great admirer of philosophers like Avicenna, but disliked Akbar's religious innovations, and ultimately left the country for Hijaz. His son, Abul Qasim achieved fame in the days of Akbar's successors, and was given the title of Hakim-ul-Mulk by Shah Jahan.

In the Deccan States of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar, which were attracting able scholars from Iran by the sea-route, composition of medical works was proceeding even more vigorously. Some of the Persian physicians of Akbar's court, including Hakim Abul Fath Gilani and Hakim 'Ali Gilani were, originally attached to the courts of the Deccan rulers. Amongst important works composed in the Deccan were the Persian translation of *Tazkirat-ul-Kahhalin*, the well-known Arabic book dealing with eye diseases and eye doctors, and many works of Rustum Jurjani. Another interesting work completed in the Deccan was *Dastur-ul-Atibba*, a compendium of Hindu medicine prepared by the famous historian Firishta. "He says in the preface of his book that after reading the medical works current in Iran, Turan and Arabia, he was desirous of studying the writings of the physicians of Hindustan, and finding them extremely trustworthy and accurate, he was induced to write, for the benefit of his Muslim brethren residing in India, the present summary of their teaching."[9]

By the end of Akbar's reign a number of important works

on medical subjects had appeared in Muslim India, and now even the nobility was taking a direct interest in the subject. Hakim Amanullah Khan, son of Jahangir's famous general Mahabat Khan, has left a number of works including, *Umm-ul 'Ilaj* which has been lithographed and *Dastur-ul-Hunud*, which is a translation of a Sanskrit book. The most important writer on medical subjects during Shah Jahan's reign was Hakim Nur-ud-din, grandson of 'Ain-ul-mulk Shirazi and a nephew of Abul Fazl. An important medical work of the period was *'Ilajat-i Dara Shukohi*, a voluminous medical compendium dedicated to Prince Dara Shukoh.

Indo-Muslim medicine received great attention during Aurangzeb's reign, and many of the Yunani text-books, which are current to-day, date from this period. They are largely the work of Hakim Muhammad Akbar, popularly known as Arzani, who compiled *Tibb-i-Akbar, Mizan-ut-Tibb, Mufarrih-ul-Qulub, Ta'rif-ul-Amraz, Mujarrabat-i-Akbari* and *Tibb-i-Nabvi* (translated from Jalal-ud-din Siyuti). They are either translations (with amplifications) or compilations, but are well-arranged and have been deservedly popular. Rieu records about *Tibb-i-Akbar* that "It has been repeatedly printed in the East,—Calcutta, 1830 ; Delhi, A. H. 1265 ; Bombay, A. H. 1264, 1275, and 1279 A. H. ; Tehran, A. H. 1275 and Lucknow, 1289."

There were other major works composed during Aurangzeb's reign like *Riyaz-i-'Alamgiri*, the comprehensive Materia Medica, completed by Muhammad Reza Shirazi in a period of 10 years (1670—1679) and dedicated to the Emperor. After Arzani, the knowledge of Yunani medicine became widespread, and it is neither possible nor necessary to enumerate names. Two leading physicians and writers on medicine, however, deserve to be mentioned. One of them was Hakim 'Alavi Khan, the personal physician of Muhammad Shah, who treated Nadir Shah during his illness at Delhi and whose skill was so appreciated by the Persian invader that he took him to Iran. He composed *Tuhfa-i-Muhammad Shahi* and a number of other works in Persian and Arabic. The next important name is that of Hakim Sharif Khan of Shah 'Alam's reign. He was not only a successful physician and a writer of numerous works on medicine, but built up very noble traditions of medical practice, which have been maintained in his family—by physicians like Hakim Mahmud Khan during

the nineteenth century and Hakim Ajmal Khan during the twentieth century—and have been a beacon of light to the entire profession.

It may not be out of place to add a few words regarding Hakim 'Alavi Khan, to whom reference has been made above. His real name was Mirza Muhammad Hashim, and he was born in Shiraz. He migrated to India in 1699, at the age of 35, and was presented to Aurangzeb, who gave him a post on the staff of one of his sons. In the next reign, the *Hakim* got the title of 'Alavi Khan. Some years later, he became the physician-in-chief to Muhammad Shah and got the title of *Mu'tmad-ul-Muluk*, (the trusted of the kings) with a *mansab* of six thousand and stipend of Rs. 3, 000 a month. Elgood, the medical historian of Persia, says about him: "His personality and his assignments recall most forcibly the famous physicians of the Golden Age of Baghdad". When Nadir Shah was in Delhi, he developed dropsy and his feet became swollen. Even otherwise, Nadir suffered from symptoms which, according to Elgood, suggest a gastric ulcer or even cancer. 'Alavi Khan treated him and in a short time the unpleasant symptoms disappeared. The popular story is that the *Hakim* sent a small jar containing a specially prepared *gulqand*, covered with gold and silver leaves. The medicine was to be taken in small doses but Nadir liked the taste so much that he finished the whole thing at one sitting, and sent back the empty jar with the remarks, "*Halwa-i-Khub ast* ; *digar biyared*"—"It is a good sweet-meat. Let me have more". Nadir Shah was so much impressed by 'Alavi Khan that he insisted on his accompanying him to Persia. The *Hakim* agreed on the condition that on reaching his capital, the Shah would permit him to leave his services to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. For nearly two years Nadir was under 'Alavi Khan's care, and as a result Shah's disposition was so much improved that "for a fortnight together he would not order the discipline of the stick, much less command any one to be deprived of his eyes or life". On the Hakim's departure for Mecca he engaged a French doctor to look after him but as stated by Elgood, "he was in no sense a fitting successor to 'Alavi Khan." The Hakim performed the *Haj*, returned to Delhi and died at the advanced age of 80 on 3 July, 1749. A year before his death, he created a *waqf* of his library, for the use of students and general public. He lies buried, according to his will,

in the precincts of the tomb of Hazrat Nizam-ud-din Auliya.

Yunani *Tibb,* as compared to modern allopathic medicine, was of a rudimentary nature. The supply of physicians was not plentiful and judged by the demand for European doctors—particularly surgeons—and the extent to which their services proved valuable to the members of royal family e.g., to Princess Jahan Ara and Emperor Farrukhsiyar, the local talent was apparently unequal to all demands. The general health and longivity of the inhabitants, however, suggests that the medical services were not so inadequate and the local physicians were able to deal with the normal problems. As early as 1616, they were able to observe the important characteristics of the bubonic plague and suggest suitable preventive measures. According to a contemporary account in *Iqbal Nama,* written in Jahangir's reign, "when the disease was about to break up a mouse would rush out of its hole, as if mad, and striking itself against the door and the walls of the house, would expire. If immediately after this signal the occupants left the house and went away to the jungle, their lives were safe. If otherwise, the inhabitants of the village would be spirited away by the hands of death." As pointed out by Edwardes and Garrett, the writer may claim the credit of having established 300 years ago two facts about plague which are now widely accepted by modern medical science *viz.*, the association of the rat (or mouse) with the spread of the disease, and the need of evacuating infected areas without delay.

A crude form of vaccination against smallpox seems to have been employed by eastern doctors and it was vaguely realised that the introduction of a mild form of cowpox prevented the virulent form of smallpox. "Inocculation against smallpox, that is, the introduction of a mild form of cowpox to prevent virulent form of smallpox was introduced from Turkey in England in 1771, by Lady Mary W. Montagu, whose husband had been British Ambassador at Constantinople".[10] An article in the *Asiatic Register* (London) for 1804 contained a translation of a memorandum by Nawab Mirza Mehdi Ali Khan who described from personal observations, the method adopted by a Hindu *chaube* of Benares to keep a thread drenched in "the matter of postule on the cow" to cause an easy irruption on the two arms of a child to avoid a virulent attack of smallpox.

Vedic medicine was well-developed among the Hindus, but

as stated by Dr. Chopra "education in surgery was abhorred by the Hindus as the dissecting of limbs was considered to be inhuman. But the Muslims had no such aversion, and they practised inocculation and performed operations." He quotes Elphinstone's remarks about Muslims, "Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the feotus from the womb and in their early works enunciate no less than one hundred and twenty-seven surgical works." According to Munucci, *Jarahs* performed some remarkable operations and could provide artificial limbs. Muslims' neglect of anatomy, however, militated against any great progress in surgery and when the West discovered the use of chloroform, the Muslim East was left far behind.

LITERATURE DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

Persian Literature.

Since the Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore in the beginning of the eleventh century, Persian had been the official language of the Muslim government and the literary language of the higher classes, but with the advent of the Mughals it entered a new era. Hitherto Persian had reached this subcontinent mainly from Afghanistan, Turkistan and Khorasan, and had many common features with Tajik, but with the establishment of closer relations between India and Iran after Humayun's visit to that country and arrival of a large number of distinguished Iranis in the reign of Jahangir and later Mughal rulers, the linguistic and literary currents began to flow from Iran itself. Shiraz and Isfahan now replaced Ghazni and Bukhara in literary inspiration, and there was considerable polishing and refining of the language.

A very large number of prominent Irani poets, like 'Urfi, Naziri, Talib and Kalim permanently migrated to the Indo-Pak subcontinent, and at times level of Persian literature was higher in the Mughal India than in the contemporary Safavid Iran. Unluckily the type of poetry, which was popular in both countries at this time, was the subtle and the involved style, made popular by Fughani of Shiraz. It lacked the simplicity and spontaneity of the early poets like Hafiz, Khayyam and Amir Khusrau, and the poets wrote more from the head than from the heart. This school of poetry culminated in Bedil, the best known poet of Aurangzeb's reign. He is so subtle in his ideas and far-fetched in his similes

and metaphors as to be often obscure but his poetry is marked by a great originality and profoundity of thought. From love, the traditional preoccupation of Persian poets, he turned to the problems of life and human behaviour, and in certain circles (particularly in Afghanistan and Tajikistan) he ranks high as a philosophical poet. Two poets, who outshine others in a distinguished crowd, were Faizi and Ghalib. Faizi, whose genius matured before the large-scale immigration of poets from Iran and the introduction of the "new" school of poetry, was Akbar's poet-laureate, and his poetry mirrors a great and triumphant age. Ghalib (1796—1869), who was attached to the court of the last Mughal king, Bahadur Shah, began in the style of Bedil, but soon outgrew it and came under the spell of the immigrant Irani poets—'Urfi, Naziri, Zahuri and Hazin. His maturer work epitomises all that is best in the different schools of Mughal poetry—profoundity and originality of Bedil's thought combined with the polished diction of 'Urfi and Naziri. He wrote largely of love and life, but the deep, melancholy note in his poetry reflects the sad end to which the Mughal empire was drawing in his day.

Next to poetry, history and biography were most extensively cultivated. Historians of the Mughal period include Abul Fazl, whose comprehensive *Akbar Nama* has been called by Rawlinson "the most important historical work which India has produced." Badauni, who had his bias and even venom, but was a consummate artist, a master of the telling phrase and capable of evoking a living picture, with a few, deft strokes, the intelligent and orderly Firishta and Khafi Khan, and last but not the least the author of *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhirin,* recognised by foreign students not inferior to "the historical memoirs of Europe" and a compilation of which "Lord Clarendon or Bishop Burnett need not have been ashamed to be the author." In biographies the palm is borne by Babur's autobiography, originally written in Turkish, but soon translated into elegant Persian by Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. There were several other biographical works, including the comprehensive *Ma'asir-ul-Umara* dealing with the Mughal nobility, and numerous other biographies of saints, poets and statesmen. A very interesting historical work written during the early years of Aurangzeb's reign is *Dabistan-i-Mazahib,* which has been translated into English under the misleading title,

"School of Manners" but which is really a "History of Religions" written by a liberal, objective, seeker after truth. The author belonged to the band of the writers and thinkers, who had gathered around Dara Shukoh, and contains considerable first-hand information about the non-Muslim sects like the Sikhs and the Yogis.

European writers (like Professor E. G. Browne, who was writing "A Literary History of Persia" and not "A History of Persian Literature") do not rate the Persian literature produced in the Indo-Pak subcontinent very high, but the Persian scholars like Dr. Reza Zada Shafaq are more appreciative and have given it a prominent place in their histories of Persian literature. Persian literature produced in this subcontinent is important not only for its intrinsic worth, but also on account of the influence it has exercised on the formation and shaping of regional literatures, especially those cultivated by the Muslims. Apart from the influence on vocabulary and the deep invisible influence on thought, Persian contributed a number of literary genres to Urdu and the regional languages, provided models for the writers and supplied themes for many major literary works. Next to Islam, the Persian literary heritage is the most important basis of the cultural unity of Muslim India.

Hindi.

It is characteristic of the policy and outlook of the Mughal government, that next to Persian, the language which received great patronage at the Mughal court, was Hindi. From Akbar's days the practice started of having a Hindi *Kavi Rai* (poet-laureate) along with the Persian *Malik-ul-Shu'ara*. Already Muslim poets like Jaisi and Kabir had enriched the Hindi language. Indeed, a Hindu writer says, "It must not be forgotten that Muslims were the first to employ the regional language of Hindi for a literary purpose which as we know was totally neglected by the Brahmans as a vulgarized speech unworthy of attention."[11] The greatest Hindi poet of Akbar's days was the famous Tulsidas who wrote away from the worldly courts, but there were well-known poets amongst Akbar's courtiers. Raja Birbal (1528—83) was the *Kavi Rai*, but the Hindi works of Akbar's famous general, 'Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, have been better preserved. 'Abdur Rahim was not only a skilful Hindi poet himself but patronised a number of other Hindi poets. Even in the time of Aurangzeb, "The title of Kabi-

rai continued to be given to deserving poets." Aurangzeb's sons, including Mu'azzam who ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah and Prince A'zam, were known as patrons of Hindi literature. It is interesting to observe that during the later Mughal period Hindi poets like Bihari followed the same ornate style which was popular with the contemporary Persian poets.

Rise of Urdu.

Until the decline of the empire Urdu literature scarcely received any encouragement at the Mughal court, but it was being systematically nourished in the south by the Sufi saints and the Deccani kings. Nusrati, the first prominent Urdu poet was attached to the court of Bijapur. He mainly wrote *masnavis*. His language is archaic and far remote from modern Urdu. The first *diwan* of Urdu *ghazals* was compiled by Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1581—1611), ruler of Golkonda and founder of the city of Hyderabad, Deccan. There were many other poets at the courts of Bijapur and Golkonda but modern Urdu poetry really began with Wali (d. 1707) who came in contact with the standard spoken Urdu of the Mughal camp during the long campaigns of Aurangzeb in the Deccan. He was a great artist and a poet of true feeling. Originally from Ahmadabad (Gujarat), he spent a number of years in the Deccan and also visited Delhi. He blended the Deccani and Gujarati idioms with the polite and more sophisticated language of the north, and following the traditions of standard Persian literature produced poetry which took Delhi by storm. In the language which had been neglected at the Mughal court, he had produced poetry which could not but win respect and attention. This stirred the poets of the capital and the tradition started of writing poetry in Urdu, instead of or in addition to Persian poetry.

Development of Urdu Poetry and Beginning of Urdu Prose.

Once Urdu was adopted as the medium of literary expression by the writers of the metropolis, its development was rapid, and it soon replaced Persian as the court language and principal literary language of Muslim India. To some extent Wali had paved the way for this. He was advised by his teacher, Gulshan, to draw upon the vast storehouse of themes and metaphors in Persian poetry. He followed this advice, and transferred to Urdu poetry ideas and images, with which readers of Persian poetry were familiar. Thus enriched, Urdu could replace Persian poetry, and

although a proportion of Wali's verse is in Deccani idiom, a good proportion is in polished, standard Urdu, which became the literary language of Muslim India and Pakistan. The process of change-over to the new literary language was facilitated by certain other factors. The invasion of Delhi by the Persian monarch Nadir Shah and the massacres perpetrated by his army must have led to a revulsion of feeling against everything Persian—including the language. An acute literary controversy of the period further hastened the process. Hazin, a major Persian poet who came to India to escape Nadir Shah, was subjected to great hardship in the unsettled conditions prevailing at that time, and in a controversy with Arzu, the foremost local writer of Persian verses, expressed his contempt not only for the Persian poetry written in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent but everything pertaining to the area. Some local writers sided with him, but the general effect of the controversy must have been to set people thinking about the advisability of writing in Persian, and it is not without significance that Arzu trained two rising poets (Mir and Sauda) to write in Urdu rather than in Persian.

Thus the ground was prepared for the literary change-over. What was needed was the appearance of talented writers in the new language to give it a literary status. This was provided by Mazhar (1699-1781), Sauda (1717-1780), the Sufi poet Dard (1719-1785) and above all Mir (1724-1808)—popularly known as the "four pillars of classical Urdu poetry."

Flowering of Regional Literature.

The encouragement which the growth of regional languages and literatures received with the advent of Muslim rule, has been mentioned earlier. Muslim rulers, who were not hampered by any religious devotion to Sanskrit, freely patronised Bengali, Kashmiri, Hindi, Deccani and other languages of the people. This trend was most powerful in the regional kingdoms which grew up after the weakening of the Delhi Sultanate. Persian continued as the court language in these kingdoms but local languages were freely patronised and became respectable vehicles of literary expression.

The literary trend under Mughal rule was not exactly in the same direction. The establishment of a well-organised central government at Delhi, with cohesive control over the outlying regions, resulted in greater linguistic unification, and the influence of Persian became far more dominant. Mughal rule, however, in-

directly assisted the regional literatures. Apart from the direct patronage of Hindi at the Delhi court, the conditions in the country helped the regional literatures. The general peace and tranquillity, greater prosperity, particularly in urban areas, the more general diffusion of education and the extensive patronage of literature by the Mughal emperors and the nobility, led to extensive literary activity, from which the regional literatures benefited. By now they had developed so much that they could not wither away by want of direct court patronage, and the general prosperity in the country was enough to sustain them on the basis of public support. The result was that a marked literary activity in the regional languages continued along with the cultivation of Persian, and particularly in the later part of Mughal rule there was a great outburst of literary activity in Bengali, Deccani, Hindi, Sindhi, Pushto, Kashmiri and other regional languages.

ARCHITECTURE

Architecture, which had already achieved a high level of development under the Sultanate, was to reach a pinnacle of glory under the Mughals. Although Babur's stay in India was brief, and he was pre-occupied with the conquest of the country, he found time to summon from Constantinople pupils of the great Ottoman architect *Sinan,* and entrust to them construction of mosques, and other buildings. He states in *Babur Nama* that everyday 680 Indian stone masons worked on his buildings at Agra and another 1500 were employed at Gwalior, Sikri, Biana and other places. Time has dealt harshly with the buildings constructed in the reigns of Babur and Humayun, and only four of the minor ones have survived. It is, however, interesting to observe that these buildings exhibit no trace of local influence and are distinctly foreign. The most important building belonging to this period—but owing nothing to the Mughal tradition—is the mausoleum of Humayun's successful rival, Sher Shah, built on an elevated plinth in the midst of a lake at Sahsaram (Bihar). It is a magnificent structure, and has been described as an intermediate link between the "austerity of the Tughluq buildings and the feminine grace of Shah Jahan's masterpiece."

Akbar evinced great interest in architecture. His most ambitious project was his new capital and the numerous buildings at Fathpur Sikri, which was the seat of the imperial court from

1569 to 1584. Some of the buildings at Sikri are dominated by the Hindu style of architecture and reflect the emperor's regard for the Hindu tradition. Persian influences were equally strong in his day and are reflected in the magnificent tomb of Humayun, built early in 1569 at Delhi. Akbar's efforts were not confined to tombs, mosques and palaces but covered a wide field. He built fortresses, villas, towers, *sarais,* schools and tanks. The *Buland Darwaza*—the magnificent southern gate of the mosque at Sikri—, is for all practical purposes a separate structure, and has been described as "one of the most perfect architectural achievements in the whole of India." Akbar built two major fortresses at Agra and Lahore. The fort which was built on the banks of Ravi, at about the same time, as that at Agra, was planned and constructed on practically the same grand scale. As a matter of fact, "its lay-out generally indicates an advance on that of the more southernly capital as it is rectangular in plan and the interior arrangements are more regularly aligned." The buildings within the Lahore Fort were greatly altered by Shah Jahan and later, by the Sikhs. The material and the style of the structure at Lahore are different from those of the buildings at Fathpur Sikri. At Lahore there is plenty of carved decoration, representing living things. "Elephants and lions figure in the brackets and peacocks on the friezes, from which it may be inferred that Hindu craftsman predominated, and that the supervision of the Mughal overseers was of a very tolerant order." Perhaps, these features may be more correctly ascribed to Akbar's own taste and predilictions.

Akbar's death in 1605 was followed by a pause in building activities of the Mughals. His successor Jahangir was less interested in architecture than in painting and gardens. Akbar's tomb at Sikandra and some other buildings were constructed during his reign, but perhaps, in this field Jahangir's greatest contribution was in laying out of a number of large formal gardens which adorn many cities of Kashmir and the Punjab. The Mughal garden is a regular and formal arrangement of squares, usually in the form of terraces placed on a slope (for easy distribution of water), with pavilions at the centre. Artificial pools with numerous fountains form an important part of the plan and the flagged causeways are shadowed by avenues of trees. Babur and Akbar had made a beginning in this direction, but during

Jahangir's reign a number of lovely gardens came into existence, like the Shalamar Bagh and the Nishat, laid out in Kashmir by Jahangir and his Wazir Asaf Khan respectively. Later Shah Jahan had a larger garden (Shalamar) constructed near Lahore, but his interest was primarily in grand edifices. Jahangir's beautiful mausoleum at Shahdara near Lahore was probably planned by the emperor himself, but it was completed in the next reign by his widow Nur Jahan. It suffered serious damage in the reign of Ranjit Singh, when amongst other things, the marble pavilion in front of the building, which offered a central point of interest, was removed. Jahangir's tomb has been over-shadowed by the great Taj Mahal. It cannot be fairly judged after the spoliation by the Sikhs and in any event it lacks many noble features of the later construction, but even now it is a beautiful building, decorated by "lavish application of inlaid marbles, glazed tiles and painted patterns, some of which are remarkably good examples of mural decoration." Not far from Jahangir's resting place Nur Jahan lies buried in an unpretentious tomb.

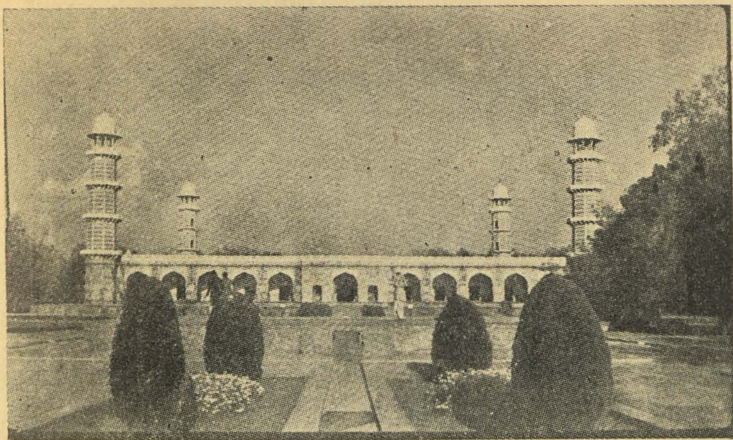
Shah Jahan was the greatest builder amongst the Mughals. One secret of his success was the liberal use of the marble. "Like the Roman emperor who boasted that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble, he could fairly claim that he found Mughal cities of sandstone, and left them of marble." He replaced many sandstone structures of his predecessors in the forts of Agra and Lahore and other places with marble palaces, but the change of the material was not the only new feature. This change itself called for and facilitated a corresponding change in architectural treatment. "The building acquired a new sensibility. Instead of the rectangular character of the previous period there arose the curved line and flowing rhythm of the style of Shah Jahan while the chisel of the stone carver was replaced by the finer instruments of the marble cutter and the polisher." Even more important than the change of the material and treatment was the grand conception, the bold and the elaborate vision of the great artist, the Emperor himself.

The style of Shah Jahan's principal edifices is basically Persian but it is clearly distinguished from the Irani style by the lavish use of white marble, minute and tasteful decoration, particularly the open-work tracery which ornaments the finest buildings and provides "the apt combination of spacious design with

an almost feminine elegance." Amongst the more famous of Shah Jahan's buildings are the Pearl Mosque and the Taj Mahal at Agra, the Red Fort and Jami'a Masjid at Delhi, palaces and gardens at Lahore, a beautiful mosque at Thatta in Sind, a fort, a palace and mosque at Kabul, royal buildings in Kashmir and many edifices at Ajmer and Ahmadabad.

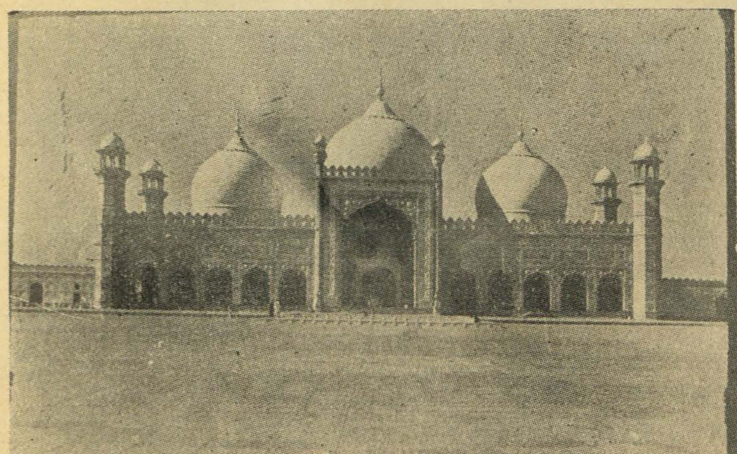
At Agra and Delhi "the white marble style" was in vogue, but a different style was current in the Punjab. It consisted of brick construction, with occasional sandstone additions and its distinctive character lay in the glazed tile decoration which often covered the entire surface. "Brick and tile style of Lahore" was partly due to the fact that the Punjab, an alluvial plain, was away from the sources of the stone material, but artistic traditions also played their part. "Since the days of the Ghaznavid occupation, the Punjab capital has been inclined to cultivate an independent architectural tradition, and instinctively to look to the north-west and beyond for its aesthetic inspiration. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Safavid art of Persia had attained its zenith, and for a time Lahore appears to have come under its powerful spell. It was not that the buildings of the Punjab were exact reproduction of those of Shah Abbas the Great ; they displayed a certain individuality, but the brick construction was based on that prevailing in Persia, and the glazed tiles were of the same style as those produced in the famous kilns of Kashan and other places on the Iranian plateau."[12] As a matter of fact, glazed tiles for buildings at Lahore seem to have been "imported in bulk from Kashan," and in Lahore, as in Iran, the style is commonly known as Kashi. During Shah Jahan's reign a large number of buildings in this style were erected at Lahore and its neighbourhood, but owing to the impermanent nature of brick construction many of them are in ruins and some have entirely disappeared. The finest example of this style is Wazir Khan's mosque, which was erected in 1634 by the local governor. Other buildings constructed in this style at Lahore were Gulabi Bagh, Chauburji and Ali Mardan Khan's tomb. Many of the constructions did not rise to the great architectural standards of Delhi and Agra, but tile decoration was of the highest order and "the brilliantly designed arabesques in variegated hues lit by the eastern sun produce a vitality of effect disarming all criticism."[13] The glazed tile buildings of the Punjab and Sind incidentally

6 (a) (i)



Jahangir's Tomb

6 (a) (ii)



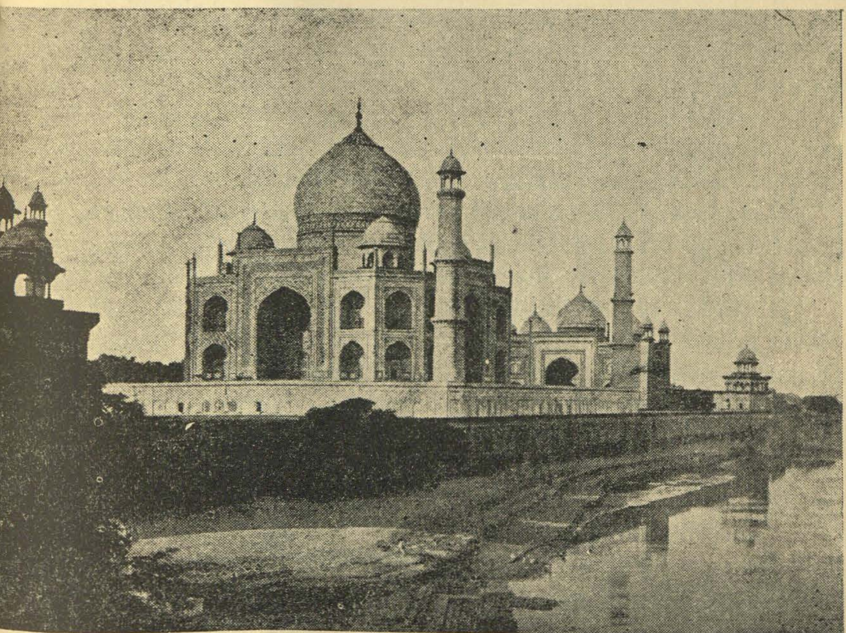
Shahi Masjid, Lahore

6 (b) (i)



Mulla Shah and Hazrat Mian Mir

6 (b) (ii)



Taj Mahal

reflect "tile ardent desire for a display of exuberant colour innate in the East."

Aurangzeb was not a great builder but amongst some buildings of merit erected in his reign is the great Badshahi Mosque of Lahore, completed in 1674. Its construction was supervised by Fidai Khan Koka, Master of Ordnance, whose engineering skill and experience enabled him to design and erect a building of great size on a sound basis. It is one of the biggest mosques in the subcontinent, if not in the world, and there is a certain dignity in its broad quadrangle leading up to the *facade* of the sanctuary. Its ornamentation is boldly conceived, but perhaps representing Aurangzeb's puritanical taste is sparingly introduced and therein the building suffers in comparison with the Great Mosque at Delhi. It is, however, a grand edifice. "The three bulbous domes are well-proportioned, and rise into a grand mass of white marble above the western wall, which presents an almost unbroken surface masonary of imposing appearance."

Lower Sind had an interesting architectural history, reflecting changes in the political power and artistic traditions. Sind as well as south-western Punjab are alluvial plains, and buildings in bricks are, therefore, characteristic of the area. "Such a monochromatic prospect which this vast plain presents, cries out for colour, so that it became the custom to decorate all buildings with brilliant scheme of glazed tiles. This method of ornamentation was probably first introduced by the Arabs and was revived later by intercourse with Persia." Sind tiles are not, however, copies of the Persian model and are different even from those of the Punjab. The normal Sind tradition is for brick and glaze but surprisingly enough the best known set of buildings in the area—*i.e.* those at the Makli hills, near Thatta—follow a different pattern. They are constructed entirely of stone and are carved in a style suggesting the influence of Akbar's buildings at Fathpur Sikri. Some of these buildings were erected when the country was first included within the Mughal empire and some date from the earlier reigns of Sammas, Arghuns and Tarkhans, who had their capital at Thatta. The similarity in the style of these buildings and those at Fathpur Sikri may either be due to the influences of Akbar's large-scale buildings in a distant part of the subcontinent, or the buildings at Thatta as well as those at Sikri, may both have owed something to common

influences—*e.g.*, masons and material from Rajputana. About the tomb of the Samma ruler Jam Nizam-ud-din (1461-1509), Brown says: "It is possible that some of the stonework of this building is of Brahmanical origin, procured from a neighbouring temple, as there are miniature *shikaras* and Hindu motifs among the carved details".[14] Thatta is also famous for its Jami'a Masjid, which was built under Shah Jahan's orders in 1647 and is one of the largest buildings in Sind. Although "produced to the order of the Mughal emperor, it was executed according to the brick and tile tradition of the indigenous style". It is decorated with finest type of coloured glaze and is remarkable for the prodigality of decoration. James, a former Commissioner of Sind, said about this building, "The Emperor Shah Jahan's mosque.........possesses the most magnificent fictile adornment, I should say, of any building in the world. Were it a cathedral in England, its history would be known to the minutest detail, and many monographs would be written about it".[15]

Mughal architecture in Bengal has suffered because Rajmahal, which was the capital of Man Singh and Shah Shuja', and which contained many beautiful palaces and other buildings has been engulfed by the changes in the course of the adjacent river. In Bengal the main Mughal effect was concentrated on eastward expansion of dominion and its protection from the raids of the Portuguese and Arakanese pirates. For this purpose the Mughals moved the capital to Dacca, nearly 170 miles to the east of the old Muslim capital of Gaur. Lack of stone in the new area must have handicapped building activity, and Travernier, who visited Dacca in 1666, says that the residences of the Mughals consisted entirely of wood and "they usually used to reside in tents pitched in a large court". Even before Travernier wrote, inside the old Dacca city, the Bara Katrah had been built by Mir 'Abdul Qasim, Diwan of Shah Shuja', who also built an *'Idgah* outside the city. The more important Mughal buildings of Dacca were constructed under Sha'ista Khan, who was Viceroy of Bengal for nearly a quarter of a century. They consist of the Lalbagh Fort, the tomb of Sha'ista Khan's daughter Pari Bibi, and a mosque near the tomb. Owing to the paucity of building material, they are of a smaller size than the normal Mughal buildings, but are solid and contain interesting architectural details.

After Shah Jahan Mughal architecture, even at the capital, declined but some interesting buildings were put up from time to time. The Tomb of Safdar Jung at Delhi erected in 1783, is indicative of the decline in the architectural standards, which was to become more manifest in the hybrid structures, exhibiting European and Mughal influences, at Lucknow.

PAINTING

An account has been given of the development of fine arts under the Timurid princes at Herat and elsewhere. The flowering of Mughal culture, particularly in the realm of painting, was largely an extension of this development. Bihzad of Herat, who was a great master of portraiture and has been styled the "Raphael of the East", is regarded as the ancestor of the Mughal school of painting. Babur, like his Timurid cousins, had some painters in his service but made no efforts to foster the art in his newly-won empire. Humayun may be considered the original founder of the Mughal school. During his wanderings in Persia and what is now Afghanistan, he came across painters who had studied under Bihzad, and persuaded Mir Sayyid 'Ali, the pupil of Bihzad and Khwaja 'Abdus Samad to join his court at Kabul in 1550. They accompanied Humayun to Delhi and formed the nucleus of the Mughal school of painting, which was, however, properly developed only under Akbar. He took a personal interest in the art and organised the imperial school with his usual zeal for all creative activity. The school was under the emperor's direct control and supervision, and the more prominent of the painters, who, numbering more than a hundred, worked in a large state building at Fathpur Sikri, were granted imperial ranks as *mansabdars* or *ahadis*. Abul Fazl states that "the works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the *Daroghas* and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to the excellence of workmanship or increases the monthly salaries". Akbar's painting establishment which was headed by Khwaja 'Abdus Samad, known by the title of Shirin Qalam (or sweet pen) with reference to his skill in calligraphy, and contained a small number of trained Persian artists, came in the course of time to have a preponderance of Hindu artists. They had previous training in wall-painting and joined with the Persian painters in decorating the walls of Akbar's new capital, between 1570-85. They were quick to learn the principles and techniques of the Persian art, and the

joint efforts of Persian and Indian artists soon led to the rise of a distinct school of Mughal painting. Of the 17 pre-eminent royal artists of Akbar's days as many as thirteen were Hindu. The foreign artists included Khwaja 'Abdus Samad who became the Master of the Mint in 1577 and was subsequently appointed *Diwan* at Multan, Farrukh Beg, and Khusrau Quli. Amongst the Hindus, Basawan Lal and Daswant were pre-eminent. Occasionally many artists collaborated in the painting of a single picture, the leading artists sketching the composition and other painters putting in the parts at which they were expert. Akbar's artists specialised in portraiture and book illustration. The Emperor's album, containing likenesses not only of Akbar and the royal family but of "all the grandees of the realm", has been lost, but many examples of the book illustrations of the period *e.g.*, *Razm Nama* at Jaipur, *Babur Nama* in the British Museum, and the *Akbar Nama* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, have survived.

Akbar's traditions were maintained by Jahangir who rightly claimed to be a great connoisseur of the art. In his *Memoirs*, he claims that he was very fond of pictures and had developed such a critical judgment that by seeing a picture he could tell the name of the painter, whether alive or dead. "If there were similar portraits finished by several artists I can point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait is finished by several painters I can mention the names of those, who had drawn the different portions of the single picture. In fact, I can declare without fail by whom the brow and by whom the eye lashes were drawn and if anyone had touched upon the portrait after it had been drawn by the first painter".[16] The main remnants of Jahangir's principal picture-albums are in the State Library of Berlin, while another album, entitled *Muraqqa'-i-Gulshan*, which was taken away by Nadir Shah during his sack of Delhi, is in the Imperial Library at Teheran.

Under Jahangir's discriminating patronage, the art flourished and reached great heights. Indian painters became so skilful that they could faithfully copy any painting, local or foreign. The Emperor greatly appreciated gifts of paintings from foreign visitors and Sir Thomas Roe records that once when he presented a painting in the morning, by the evening several likenesses of the same had been prepared by the native artists. They were such faithful copies that for a short time Roe had some difficulty in

spotting the original. The most famous painters of Jahangir were Agha Raza of Herat and his son Abul Hasan, the Kalmuck artist, Farrukh Beg (who succeeded 'Abdus Samad as the leader of the school), Muhammad Nadir and Muhammad Murad, both of Samarqand, Ustad Mansur, the leading animal painter, Bishan Das, Manohar and Govardhan. These painters, with many others, were constantly in attendance at the Emperor's establishment at the capital and during tours, and were commissioned to paint any incident or scene that struck the royal fancy. The artist's brush made up for the absence of the camera and helped not only to preserve likenesses for the future but also brought distant faces nearer home. When a Mughal embassy visited Persia, it was accompanied by the painter Bishan Das who painted for Jahangir the likenesses of the Safavid king and his courtiers.

The debt of the historian to the Mughal painters is, however, greater. As Vincent Smith says, "The works of the Indo-Persian draughtsmen and painters furnish a gallery of historical portraits, lifelike and perfectly authentic, which enable the historian to realise the personal appearance of all the Mughal emperors and practically of almost every public man of note in India for more than two centuries. It may be doubted if any other country in the world possesses a better series of portraits of the man who made history".[17] One can only regret that this invaluable source-material has not been adequately utilised by historians.

Shah Jahan was interested in architecture but painting, like all other arts, continued to flourish in his day. He reduced the number of court painters, keeping only the very best and forcing others to seek the patronage of the princes and the nobles but the art did not suffer by this. Dara Shukoh was a patron of painting and nobles like Zafar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, who had a beautiful anthology of the works of the living poets prepared, illustrated with their paintings, employed many artists, while some set up studios in the bazars.

Smith considers Shah Jahan's reign as the heyday of Mughal painting. "All critics, presumably, would admit that Indo-Persian art attained its highest achievements during the reign of the magnificent Shah Jahan (1627-58) when the land enjoyed comparative peace, and a luxurious court offered liberal encouragement to all artists capable of ministering to its pleasure. The fierce scenes of bloodshed in which earlier artists delighted were replaced by

pageants of peaceful splendour, the old aggressive colouring was toned down, or dispensed with, and a general refinement of style and execution was cultivated."[18] An interesting feature of the period, typical of the general predominance of the indigenous elements in various spheres—the secretariat, literature, music—was that only one Persian artist was employed by Shah Jahan. More prominent painters of the period were Chitarman, Anupchattar, Rai Anup (possibly the same person) court painter to Prince Dara Shukoh, Manohar, Muhammad Nadir of Samarqand, Mir Hashim and Muhammad Faqirullah Khan. The preponderance of the Hindus amongst leading court painters, while indicative of the emancipation of the local school from dependence on Iran, also reflects the increased Hindu importance under Shah Jahan in all spheres of life.

Dara Shukoh's album presented to his wife Nadira Begum is now in the Commonwealth Library, London. Another splendid collection of Shah Jahan's period, created as *waqf* by a Mughal nobleman in 1661-62, is in the British Museum and contains a gorgeous picture of Shah Jahan's court and the famous picture of Sher Muhammad Qawwal by Muhammad Nadir.

Aurangzeb, the ultra-orthodox Muslim, could not be very fond of painting, but he did not forbid it, and the number of paintings produced during his reign does not seem to have been smaller than in the previous reign. There is no evidence of ambitious book-illustrations like the *Razm Nama*, which is said to have cost the equivalent of £40,000, but portraiture was popular and many portraits of the emperor himself have survived. In one case, he used the artist's skill for a purpose similar to the one for which Bishan Das was sent to Persia. During the imprisonment of his rebellious son Muhammad Sultan, his portrait was painted at regular intervals by order of the emperor and submitted for royal inspection. Aurangzeb was thus able to keep himself informed of his son's health, without visiting the fort prison of Gwalior.

Mughal paintings have been praised by experts for their artistic excellence and are also valuable to the historians for the side-light they throw on the dress, appearance, habits and customs of the courtiers, the religious celebrities and others. The standard of the art, however, depended not only on the taste of individual ruler but on his prosperity, and with the disintegra-

7 (a)



Sher Muhammad Qawwal

Th
of in

7 (b)



A lady under a blossoming tree
(From Dara Shukoh's Albumn)

tion of the empire, the artists migrated from the capital to other centres like Oudh and Hyderabad and their standard of work greatly declined.

Efforts have been made by Havell and Anand Coomarswamy to link Rajput painting with Ajanta frescoes, but Goetz and Vincent Smith are of the view that the bulk of Rajput painting was posterior to, rather than contemporary with the Mughal painting at the court of Akbar and Jahangir, and both schools have a common technique, seemingly derived from the Persian painting.[19]

MUSIC

Mughals patronised music on a lavish scale, and in this Akbar led the way. Abul Fazl gives the names of nearly forty prominent musicians and instrument-players, who flourished at Akbar's court. The principal artists came from Gwalior, Malwa, Tabrez (in Iran), and Kashmir. The most famous musician of the period was Tansen. He is stated by some Muslim chroniclers to have been brought up in the hospice of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior, while the Hindu tradition describes him as a disciple of Swami Haridass. It is not certain whether he formally adopted Islam, but his son, Bilas Khan, was certainly a Muslim. "A singer like him," wrote Abul Fazl, "has not been in India for the last two thousand years." Tansen composed and introduced a *Malhar*, a *Todi*, and a *Sarang*, which are known as *Mian-ki-Malhar*, *Mian-ki-Todi*, and *Mian-ki-Sarang* respectively, and retain their popularity. Tansen, though generally considered as one of the greatest musicians this subcontinent has produced, was not very popular with the ultra-conservative Hindu musicians. The Hindus hold him principally responsible for the deterioration of the Hindu music. He is said to have "falsified the *rags*, and two, *Hindol* and *Megh*, of the original six have disappeared since his time."[20]

Although Tansen made some changes, the variety of music most extensively cultivated at Akbar's court was the ancient *Dhrupad*. The same tradition was continued by Bilas Khan, the inventor of *Bilas Todi*, but Jahangir's main interest was in painting and music received greater encouragement under his successor Shah Jahan. He had nearly thirty prominent musicians and instrument-players at his court, generously rewarded for good performance, and the court chroniclers give along notices of the

leading musician on whom the title of Gun Raj Khan was conferred. At Shah Jahan's court the stately *Dhrupad* continued its sway, though there was a marked tendency towards beautification and ornamentation. The *Khiyal* variety of music was also beginning to assert itself.

Aurangzeb (1658-1707) had himself studied the art of music, but with his deepening puritanism he began to neglect it for religious reasons. In 1688, he disbanded the large band of musicians attached to the royal court. A story is generally told of how the court musicians, desiring to draw the attention of the Emperor to their distressing conditions came past his balcony, carrying a gaily dressed corpse upon a bier and chanting mournful funeral songs. When the Emperor asked what it was, they told him that music had died from neglect and that they were taking its corpse to the burial ground. He replied at once, "Very well, make the grave deep, so that neither voice nor echo can issue from it."[21]

During Aurangzeb's reign music ceased to enjoy royal patronage, but the popularity of the art with the upper classes was, by now, too firmly established to allow it to languish. Perhaps the art even gained by being cultivated by its true votaries, and a large number of books on the history and theory of Indo-Muslim music were written during Aurangzeb's reign. One of the most famous was the *Rag-darpan* (The Mirror of Music), written by Faqirullah (Saif Khan), who was at one time governor of Kashmir. It purports to be a translation of *Man-Kauthal* written at the court of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior, but contains much additional information, derived from other sources.

With the reaction against Aurangzeb's puritanism under his grandson Jahandar Shah and his great-grandson, Muhammad Shah, music gained unprecedented popularity. In conformity with their tastes music became more decorous, and the *Khiyal* or the ornate school of music came into its own. The *Khiyal* developed slowly, and drew from many sources. Literally the term means, "thought," "imagination", "phantasy", and technically stands for "imaginative" or Romantic school of music. As the Arabic origin of the word signifies, this music developed after the Muslim advent, but traditionally its themes echo the Hindu legends of Krishna and his Gopis. Probably the court musicians catering to the mundane interest of their patrons found it

expedient to adapt the legends and treatment which had been developed by musicians and Bhagats of the Krishna cult. This variety of music did not gain a firm footing at the Delhi court, until the decline of the Mughal empire, and is closely associated with the court of Muhammad Shah Rangila.

The most famous musician of the court of Muhammad Shah was Ni'mat Khan, who later appears to have taken the *nom-de-plume* of Sadarang. He composed many *Khiyals* in Muhammad Shah's name. "Nearly seventy percent of the standard *Khiyals* sung today were either composed by Sadarang or Muhammad Shah Piya-Rangila, the names being put to the songs either at the beginning or at the end."

With the weakening of the Mughal empire and setting up of provincial governments, music was encouraged in provincial capitals, and just as Lucknow became the refuge of Urdu poets, musicians in northern India flocked to the court of the Nawab-Wazirs of Oudh. At Lucknow, music underwent some important changes. With the break-up of the empire and the loss of the patronage of a formal and highbrow royal court, the musicians had to take account of the tastes of the middle classes, and even of the man-in-the-street. As a result, the quality and the variety of music underwent a subtle change. Moreover, folk-music which had been ignored by the serious musicians in the past, but which had been gradually developing after the Muslim conquest, and had by now gained from the general cultural improvements of the Mughal period, began to secure recognition and some of its forms were adopted by better-known musicians. "*Khiyal*", writes Dr. Halim, "which required considerable exertion and exactitude made less appeal, not to speak of the acrobatic and mathematical music embodied in *Dhrupad*. A music which made an appeal to sensual emotions suited the peoples' temperament better. In these conditions two different forms of light music took their origin—*Thumri* and *Tappa*, both springing from the provincial court of Lucknow. *Thumri* may very conveniently be classified as love music because apart from making an appeal to the senses, by harping on notes, or by the repetition of a word or syllable in scores of beautiful settings, its subject matter consists of the feeling between lover and the beloved. It differs from the *Khiyal* in the sense that, whereas in the *Khiyal* love is symbolic and allegorical, in *Thumri* it is actual and real. *Tappa* was invented by

Shori, a court musician of Lucknow. Its origin is traced to the song of the camel-drivers of the Punjab, its rhythm being determined by the pace of the camel. Some even trace its antiquity to the Tartar-Mongol cameleers. Shori's contribution consisted in converting an old outlandish popular mode into a civilised form of music. But it must be remembered that *Thumri* and *Tappa* are regarded as *Dhuns* or tunes of music and do not conform to the actual rules of grammar as rigidly as *Dhrupad* and *Khiyal* do. *Dhrupad* and *Khiyal* singing did not go out of vogue. They existed side by side but suffered in competition with their more popular rivals, just enumerated."[22]

CHAPTER XXVIII

MUSLIM CIVILISATION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

Legacy of Muslim Era.

In the Indo-Pak subcontinent Muslims came across a civilisation which, in many respects, was a complete antithesis of Islam. The Hindus had highly developed speculative and contemplative arts, but under the caste system, life had little to offer, materially or spiritually, to the lower classes who constituted the vast majority of the population. Caste determined every phase of human life, the profession to be adopted and the knowledge to be acquired. A Hindu scholar, summing up the condition of the Hindu society in those days, writes: "The power of the Brahmins had become oppressive. The rules of caste became more and more stringent as Kulinism was stereotyped. While better ideals in religion were upheld by the Brahmins, the gap between man and man was widened by caste restrictions. The lower strata of society groaned under the autocracy of the higher, who shut the portals of learning against the inferior classes. They were also debarred from having any access to a higher life, and the religion of the new school (Puranik) became the monopoly of the Brahmins as if it were the commodity of the market place."[1]

Islam was a stranger to all this. In India, Islam played a humanitarian and liberating role partly by offering within its fold, complete equality and an opportunity for social, economic, intellectual, and spiritual development, to the millions who were leading a sub-human existence. Speaking of the influence of Islam on converts in Bengal, Sir William Hunter wrote:

"To these poor people, fishermen, hunters, pirates, and lowcaste tillers of the soil, Islam came as a revelation from on high. It was the creed of the ruling race, its missionaries were men of zeal who brought the gospel of the unity of God and the equality of man in its sight to a despised and neglected population. It appealed to the people, and it derived the great mass of its converts from the poor. It brought in a higher conception of

God, and a nobler idea of the brotherhood of man. It offered to the teeming low castes of Bengal, who had sat for ages abject on the outermost pale of the Hindu community, a free entrance into a new social organisation."[2]

The indirect results of the impact of Islam on the structure of the Hindu society were no less important. After its contact with Islam the character of Hinduism was materially changed. A new conception of human relationship began to grow in the Hindu society; reformers such as Ramanand, Nanak, and Chaitanya arose in all parts of the country, and began to preach against the rigidity of caste, emphasising the importance of good deeds rather than of birth. As a result, the rigours of the caste system were softened, and life became more bearable for the lower classes.

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the rise of vernacular literature in India was the fruit of peace and economic prosperity under the Muslim empire of Delhi,[3] but this is not the whole truth. Peace and prosperity were, of course, conductive to literary activity, but regional literatures would not have developed if the Muslim rulers had not actively assisted and patronised literary efforts in the languages of the people. Almost all Muslim courts in India maintained a tradition of encouraging art and literature and this naturally helped the regional literatures. But it was not merely a matter of goodwill. Muslim nobles and kings could encourage popular languages because they were not hampered by the Hindu ban on patronage of all languages except Sanskrit. For Hindus Sanskrit was the Divine Language, and the powerful Brahmans threatened with Divine displeasure all those who cultivated other languages. Muslims were free from this taboo. They freely encouraged the languages of the people, and the part played by Muslim rulers in the rise of Bengali and Hindi has been outlined elsewhere.

Indian administration even under the British followed, in a large measure, the lines evolved in the course of centuries by 'Ala-ud-din Khalji, Sher Shah Suri and Akbar, and extended by Aurangzeb to the Deccan. The centralised system of government and revenue administration, which the British perfected in India was obviously not based on the County system of old England, and was only a continuation and an improved, Westernised form of the Mughal system of government. This is generally recognis-

ed. Stanley Lane-Poole wrote in 1903: "English Collector-Magistrates follow much the same system, in essential outline, as that which Akbar adopted......". It is not possible to dwell at length on Muslim legacy in the field of administration, but those broad aspects of political heritage which influenced national life may be briefly mentioned. The first is that Muslim rulers unified India and centralised administration as had never been the case before. Not only was the extent of 'Ala-ud-din Khalji's and Aurangzeb's empires greater than that of Asoka, but there was closer co-ordination between various parts than ever existed under any Hindu or Buddhist king. As Sir Jadunath Sarkar says, "The Mughal empire at its greatest extent covered a large portion of our country than the Indian dominion of Asoka or Samudragupta. These Hindu empires also consisted of loosely united collections of independent provinces which did not acquire any homogeneity, nor created a sense of political unity or nationality, among their people. Each province led its own life, continued its old familiar system of government (though under the agent of the central power), and used its local tongue ; on the other hand, the two hundred years of Mughal rule, from the accession of Akbar to the death of Muhammad Shah (1556-1748), gave to the whole of northern India and much of the Deccan also, uniformity of the official language, administrative system and also a popular lingua franca for all classes, except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. Even outside the territory directly administered by the Mughal Emperors, their administrative system, official nomenclature, court etiquette, and monetary type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu Rajahs".[4]

The unification and centralisation which was made possible by the administrative ability and skill of the Muslim rulers, opened up a new chapter in the history of India, and led to closer political, linguistic, cultural, and spiritual integration of various parts of the subcontinent. It is impossible to study all these aspects here, but the extent of Muslim influence on Indian society may be seen from the fact that the consolidation of Hinduism owed not a little to the political consolidation of India. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has summed up the following as "the gifts of the Muslim age to India" :—

"(*i*) Restoration of touch with the outer world, which

included the revival of an Indian navy and sea-borne trade both of which had been lost since the decline of the Cholas.

(ii) Internal peace over a large part of India, especially north of the Vindhyas.

(iii) Uniformity secured by the imposition of the same type of administration.

(iv) Uniformity of social manners and dress among the upper classes, irrespective of creed.

(v) Indo-Saracen art, in which the medieval Hindu and Chinese schools were blended together. Also, a new style of architecture, and the promotion of industries of a refined kind (*e.g.* shawl, inlaying work, kimkhwab, muslin, carpet, *etc.*)

(vi) A common lingua franca, called Hindustani or Rekhta, and an official prose style (mostly the creation of Hindu munshis writing Persian, and even borrowed by the Maratha *chitnises* for their own vernacular).

(vii) Rise of our vernacular literature, as the fruits of peace and economic prosperity under the empire of Delhi.

(viii) Monotheistic religious revival and Sufism.

(ix) Historical literature.

(x) Improvements in the art of war and in civilization in general."[5]

Impact of Indo-Muslim Culture In Foreign Lands.

It is commonly assumed that Muslim India was only "at the receiving end," and made no contribution to the cultural or spiritual life of other countries. This view is not correct. The subject has yet to be studied properly, but there are enough indications to show that although the attention of Indian Muslims was devoted largely to the huge problems within the Indo-Pak subcontinent, their spiritual and cultural impact on the outside world, especially the Muslim countries, was not negligible. To take religious influences first, the celebrated Dutch scholar Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has established that the spread of Islam in Malaya and Indonesia was the work of missionaries and traders from the Indo-Pak subcontinent. The study of the cultural life of Malaya by Sir Richard Winstedt has also shown that the cultural and literary life in Malaya was closely modelled on that of Muslim India. From the middle of the seventeenth century,

influence of Muslims of Hind-Pakistan increased, particularly on account of those saints and scholars who settled in Hijaz. They included Shaikh Sibghatullah of Broach, who established a monastery near Medina and became a renowned teacher. His pupil Shaikh Ahmad Shanawi was the teacher of Maulana Ahmad Qashashi (1660), whose pupils included well-known Indonesian scholars and authors, like Abdur Ra'uf. European scholars also speak highly of Nur-ud-din Randeri (originally from Rander, near Surat), who settled down in Indonesia and wrote a large number of works in Malayan language during the middle of the seventeenth century. Winstedt writes about him :

"A stern critic of the heterodox views of two Sumatran pantheists was Shaikh Nur-ud-Din bin Ali al-Raniri, son of a Gujarati by a Malay mother, a prolific author who settled in Acheh and wrote a well-known book on the pillars of Islam called *Sirat al-mustakim* and a scholarly history entitled *Bustan al-Salatin*, 'The Garden of Kings,' with a conclusion on science, including physiognomy and medicine. He wrote also many polemical treatises......Nur-ud-Din was highly educated and is one of the most distinguished thinkers who wrote in Malay."[6]

The influence of Indian Islam was even more marked in the areas towards the west. From the dawn of the Muslim rule many pious and able individuals moved to Iraq, Hijaz and other areas in the heart of the Muslim world, and made important contributions to the cultural and religious life of their adopted homelands. Contact between Arabia and India was most extensive during the Arab rule in Sind, and in an earlier chapter, we have referred to some Sindhi scholars, who distinguished themselves in Baghdad. Amongst them Bu'Ali Sindhi, by initiating the great Sufi Bayazid Bustami in *tauhid*, profoundly influenced the history of Sufi thought. In the Ghaznavid period, we come across the great scholar, Imam Hasan Saghani—the traditionalist, philologist and diplomat who gained prominence at the Abbasid court. To more recent times belongs Murtaza Zabidi, a native of Bilgram and a pupil of Shah Wali-Ullah, who lived so long at Zabid bin Yemen, that he came to be known as Zabidi and even scholars like D. B. Macdonald have made a mistake about his place of origin. Ultimately he moved to Cairo to become "the best scholar of his age, not only in Egypt but in the whole of the Islamic world." His ten-volume commentary on the *Qamus* was

the main foundation of Lane's Arabic Lexicon, and according to D. B. Macdonald, profoundly influenced the course of Islamic studies and intellectual trends.[7] Another native of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, who gained renown in foreign lands was Rahmat-ullah al-Hindi. Apart from the foundation of *Madrasa-i-Saulatia* in Mecca, he wrote *Izhar-al-Haq*, "the first great classic of modern Muslim polemic" against Christianity, which according to Dorman "has never been superseded." Originally written in Persian, it was translated into Arabic, Turkish, French, English and German. The Arabic version has been repeatedly printed in Egypt, and became the basis for subsequent Muslim polemical writing in dealing with the Christian missionaries in the Ottoman empire and elsewhere.

The contribution of Muslim India to the history of Sufism in *bilad-i-Islam* was even more noteworthy. The historians of Islam in Sudan have recorded that the most popular Sufi order in that country, *i.e.* Qadiria was introduced there by an Indian Muslim, Taj-ud-din Bihari. Perhaps even more important was the spread of the Naqshbandia-Mujaddidia order in the Ottoman Empire. Naqshbandia order originated in Central Asia, and one might have reasonably expected that the branch of the order established in Turkey would be from Central Asia direct. Actually this is not so. The Sufi order which originally became popular in the Ottoman Turkey was the local order of Baktashis, but it was later superseded by the Mujaddidia (Indian) branch of the Naqshbandia order. The most important spiritual link between Muslim India and Ottoman Turkey was provided by Shaikh Khalid Kurd of Sulaimania (1776-1816), who studied under Shah Ghulam 'Ali and Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz of Delhi, and returned to Kurdistan to become the foremost saint of that country.[a]

Spiritual contacts between Muslim India and other Muslim countries through itinerant saints and wandering scholars have yet to be studied by historians. It is, however, interesting to read in works like Gibb's *History of Ottoman Poetry* that in two out of

(*a*) See Rose's edition of Brown's *Dervishes*, p. 446, regarding Shaikh Khalid's eminence. A modern Turkish scholar, Dr. Kufravi made the history of Naqshbandia order in Turkey the subject matter of his thesis for the Ph. D. degree. In this he has devoted a separate chapter to Indian influences. For details regarding *Asafi-al-Muwarid*, an Arabic biography of Shaikh Khalid, see *Catalogue of Bankipur Library*, Vol. XII, p. 90.

four classical periods, Turkish poets followed Hind-Pakistan. The Third Period beginning with the end of the sixteenth century was dominated by the style of 'Urfi and Faizi and in the Fourth Period, roughly corresponding with the eighteenth century, the influence of Sa'ib and Bedil,[8] along with that of Shaukat was dominant. Bedil is even now one of most popular poets in Afghanistan and Tajikistan, and the influence of *Sabk-i-Hindi* outside the borders of the Indo-Pak subcontinent would be an interesting study.

Cultural contacts between Mughal India and the Ottoman empire must have been reasonably close, in spite of distance. We find that the fame of Mulla 'Abdul Hakim of Sialkot reached Turkey during his lifetime. The celebrated Turkish bibliographer, Haji Khalifa, refers to him in his *Kashf-uz-Zunun* and says that his commentary on Khiyali's book was the best amongst many. Political embassies between Mughal emperors and the Ottoman sultans were seldom successful, but the reception which Dara Shukoh's scholarly envoy, Mulla Shauqi[9], received at the hands of scholars in Istanbul was warm and sincere. It is even more interesting to see that in the eighteenth century, the legal compendium most extensively used in the Ottoman Empire was the one compiled in Muslim India under the supervision of Emperor Aurangzeb. Sir Hamilton Gibb and Prof. Bowen write in their *Islamic Society and the West* : "Indeed it was a compendium of legal decisions, the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, compiled by a commission of jurists in India about the end of the seventeenth century, which was one of the books most widely used in the Ottoman lands in the eighteenth"[10] century. They quote the famous author Muradi about these *fatwas*, "They became famous in the Hijaz, Egypt, Syria and Rum, were universally used, and formed a source upon which the *Muftis* drew for their *Fatwas*."[11]

There are indications of attention being given to literature and art produced in Muslim India, even in Western Europe. The modern study of Hinduism in Europe began with Dupont's Latin translation of Dara Shukoh's *Sirr-i-Akbar*. The celebrated European painters were also showing lively interest in Mughal miniatures. "The fact that no less a figure than the great Rembrandt was one of the first to be captivated by the artistic quality of figural paintings from a Muslim country speaks for

itself. He owned a collection of twenty-five Mughal miniatures which he liked so much that he copied them when, about 1656, adverse conditions forced him to part with them. That it was not an unusual caprice of Rembrandt to have such miniatures in his possession is shown by the fact that the same paintings were later owned by several leading English painters of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. The president of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds greatly admired another fine set, now one of the treasures of the British Museum."[12]

Spirit of Indo-Muslim Culture.

We have come to the end of our account of Muslim civilisation during the period of Muslim rule in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. Its warp and woof was made up of four different strands—the indigenous (which includes not only the Indian, but also the Afghan element), the Islamic (or Arabic), the Turkish and the Persian. Recently, there has been a tendency to overlook the indigenous component, but its influence is deep-rooted and all-pervading. It has been powerful, not only on account of the predominantly non-Muslim environment in which Indo-Muslim culture developed or because of the heritage of an ancient civilisation, but because of the Indian origin of the vast majority of the Muslims of this subcontinent. The Indian element is in their very blood, and shows itself not only in numerous usages and practices carried over from their ancestral Hindu society, but even in unconscious reactions and basic mental make-up. The influence of Islam has been equally comprehensive, and with the vigorous Islamic revival of the later centuries has tended to overshadow the indigenous element. The Turkish rulers and aristocracy contributed most in the sphere of government, law, dress, and food. The Persian contribution was prominent in the realm of literature, fine arts, mysticism and philosophy.

Essentially, however, the two basic components of Indo-Muslim civilisation which give this civilisation its peculiar flavour were two—the Indian and the Islamic. It represents the creative efforts and reactions of a Muslim society in a predominantly non-Muslim area. This peculiar situation has resulted in developments and trends, which distinguished the course of Muslim civilisation in this subcontinent from developments in countries where population is predominantly Muslim. This

peculiar situation of Indian Islam and the dissimilarity between two main elements of Indo-Muslim civilisation has resulted in a curious phenomenon. At times the attractions of the native element proved powerful, and there was a large-scale assimilation of indigenous elements, as under Akbar, Dara Shukoh, and in the writings of Kabir. At other times there was a vigorous reaction against non-Muslim elements, resulting in greater repugnance towards them than was traditional in the history of Islam. These two conflicting trends, inherent in the local situation, have had other consequences too. It is not without significance that the puritanical Wahabism has won maximum support, outside its own desert home, in the Indo-Pak subcontinent. The presence of large non-Muslim element has also been a persistent challenge for missionary effort, in which the Muslims of the subcontinent have distinguished themselves, even in recent times. The vast resources of wealth at the disposal of the Muslim rulers have also been a major factor in the quality and grandeur of the Muslim civilisation in the subcontinent.

The local situation has resulted in a basic conflict, which, as Tripathi has pointed out, we can easily see even in two sons of Shah Jahan—Aurangzeb and Dara Shukoh—and which may be called the basic conflict of Indian Islam. This situation has resulted in tensions and occasionally in conflicts, but, outside somewhat narrow circles, the long-term result of two heterogenous elements constituting the warp and woof of Indian Islam has been a growth of forbearance and toleration of conflicting practices and beliefs. Conflicts could not persist indefinitely, and inevitably an attitude of "live and let live" was developed. The degree of religious tolerance prevalent in Mughal India struck all foreign travellers. Bartold in his survey of Muslim Culture, comparing the Muslim civilisation in the Indo-Pak subcontinent with the developments in other Muslim lands, pinpoints this fact. "Only India under the grand Mughals lived under different conditions and the Islamic State in that country was superior to contemporary Europe in riches and religious toleration." This toleration extended not only towards non-Muslims, but also to the minority sects of Islam. Perhaps in no country outside Iran, where Shi'aism is the state religion, has Shi'a genius had such an opportunity for making a contribution in the realm of literature, administration, and statecraft. Even in the religious sphere the

contributions of Shi'a leaders, like Mulla Muhammad Yazdi in Akbar's days and Syed Amir 'Ali in the modern times, has not been confined to their own sect. Sunnis, on the other hand, have not hesitated to follow Shi'a leaders, and in fact a good few of them are *Tafzilis* in sentiment if not in belief. All this has been possible because of the normal prevalence of an attitude of toleration. This forbearance, subject to the deep attachment to Islam, which is a characteristic of the Muslims in the subcontinent, extends relatively speaking to the European civilisation also.

In the realm of fine arts there has been great collaboration between Muslims and non-Muslims. Music, as patronised by Muslim rulers and practised by Muslim artists was fundamentally Hindu. Mughal painting was essentially Persian in origin, but the lists of the distinguished native artists at the Mughal court contained more Hindu names than Muslim. Even in architecture, in certain areas (*e.g.*, Gujarat) and at certain times, the Hindu influence was not small.

In understanding the character of the Muslim approach to the problems in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, it is worth remembering that although revivalist thinkers like Hazrat Mujad-did-i-Alif-i-Sani and Iqbal have exercised a powerful influence, the religious teacher with the greatest following and influence has easily been Shah Wali-Ullah, perhaps the most catholic and broad-minded of religious reformers of the Modern Muslim world. He, his sons, and their disciples dominated the Muslim thought during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their influence is very much alive today. The powerful *jihad* movement which they organised in the north-west did not succeed, but the religious revival which their followers brought about in Bengal was a movement of utmost importance. More than that, they reorganised religious education on lines which have been adopted in almost all *madrasas* and which are a major factor in shaping Muslim minds.

A position similar to that of Shah Wali-Ullah in the religious sphere has been, in recent times, in the literary field. He was the father of Urdu prose, the greatest of Urdu poets and in Persian poetry only ranks below Amir Khusrau and Iqbal. He has been universally popular with Hindus and the Muslims, and his poetry reflects a personality of broad sympathies, deep humanity and

liberal views. Amir Khusrau who occupied a similar position in the pre-Mughal period, and may be said to have laid the foundation of the Indo-Muslim cultural tradition, displayed the same qualities.

The personalities and contributions of Akbar and Mujaddid-i-Alif-i-Sani, Dara Shukoh and Aurangzeb are of great interest, and particularly the rule of Mujaddid and Aurangzeb in reactivating and consolidating Islam has been of the greatest importance, but perhaps, they represented extreme swings of the pendulum. The normal Muslim tradition in the subcontinent has been of "the middle of the road"—represented by Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din Ajmeri, Shah Wali-Ullah, Amir Khusrau and Ghalib. Such, at any rate, was the position during the period, which has been dealt with in this book. It ended with the great struggle of 1857 in which the Hindus and the Muslims—the Rani of Jhansi and Nana Farnavis as well as the *Mujahids* of Bareli and Prince Birjis Qadr of Oudh—led the rebellion against the British in the name of the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah. This state of affairs was not, however, to last very long. Partly due to the forces which were released during the British period and partly owing to the fundamental divergence between the Hindu and the Muslim points of view, the equilibrium which had been maintained during the Muslim rule was upset and the basis for harmony destroyed. Owing to the vigorous Hindu revivalism of the nineteenth century, exhibiting itself in the movements for replacement of Urdu by Hindi and in the works of such influential writers as Bankim Chander Chatterji, the rise of the militant Arya Samaj and due to other economic, political and ideological factors, the basis for harmony was shattered and Muslims asked for a division of the subcontinent. This, however, belongs to another period and will be dealt with in a separate volume.

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ABBREVIATIONS

'Afif :	*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif (B. I.).
Ashraf :	*Life and condition of the people of Hindustan* (J. A. S. B.).
Badauni :	*Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* (B. I.).
Barani :	*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (B. I.).
Bernier :	*Travels in the Mughul Empire,* 1656-58. 1891.
Roychaudhuri :	*Bengal under Akbar & Jahangir* by T. Roychaudhuri, Calcutta, 1953.
C. H. I. :	*Cambridge History of India* (Ist Edn.).
E. & D. :	*History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians* by Elliot & Dowson (Ist Edn.).
E. & G. :	*Mughal Rule in India* by Edwardes and Garret (Ist Edn.).
History of Bengal :	*History of Bengal* (Dacca University).
H. C. I. P. :	*History and Culture of the Indian People* by R. C. Majumdar (Bombay).
J. A. S. B. :	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Calcutta.
J. A. S. P. :	*Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan,* Dacca.
Moreland :	*Agrarian System of Moslem India* (Ist Edn.).
The Muslim Community :	*The Muslim Cummunity of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947)* by Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi.
Panikkar :	*A Survey of Indian History* (5th Edn.)
Qureshi :	*The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* (Ist Edn.).
Raverty :	*Tabqat-i-Nasiri* (Tr.) (B. I.).

Note : (B. I.) after a title indicates that the edition issued in Bibliotheca Indica Series published by Asiatic Society of Bengal has been used, while (N) is placed after the publications of Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

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